THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS,

OR,

Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,

FROM THE

Death of Queen ELIZABETH

TO THE

Beginning of the CIVIL WAR in the Year 1642.

WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts for a further REFORMATION in the CHURCH; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their principal DIVINES.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

VOL. II.

But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not conſumed one of another, Gal. v. 15.

DUBLIN:

Printed for BRICE EDMOND, Bookſeller, at *Addiſon's-Head* in *Dame-ſtreet*,

MDCCLV.

A 56, 999

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THE PREFACE.

THE favourable acceptance of the firſt Volume of this work has encouraged me to publiſh a ſecond, which carries the Hiſtory forward to the beginning of the Civil War, when the two Houſes of Parliament wreſted the ſpiritual ſword out of the hands of the King and Biſhops, and aſſumed the Supremacy to themſelves.

There had been a ceſſation of controverſy for ſome time before the death of Queen Elizabeth; the Puritans being in hopes, upon the acceſſion of a King that had been educated in their own principles, to obtain an eaſy redreſs of their Grievances; and certainly no Prince ever had it ſo much in his power to compromiſe the differences of the Church, as King James I. at the Conference of Hampton-Court; but being an indolent and vain glorious Monarch he became a willing captive to the Biſhops, who flattered his vanity, and put that maxim into his Head, No Biſhop, no King. The creatures of the Court, in lieu of the vaſt ſums of Money they received out of the Exchequer, gave him the flattering Title of an Abſolute Sovereign, and to ſupply his extravagancies, broke through the conſtitution, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his Son's Reign; while himſelf, ſunk into luxury and eaſe, became the contempt of all the powers of Europe. If King James had any principles of Religion beſides what he called King-Craft, or diſſimulation, he changed them with the climate; for from a rigid Calviniſt he became a Favourer of Arminianiſm in the latter part of his Reign; from a Proteſtant of the pureſt Kirk upon earth, a Doctrinal Papiſt; and from a diſguiſed Puritan, the moſt implacable enemy of that People, putting all the ſprings of the Prerogative in Motion, to drive them out of both Kingdoms.

But inſtead of accompliſhing his deſigns, the number of Puritans increaſed prodigiouſly in his Reign, which was owing to one or other of theſe Cauſes.

Firſt, to their ſtanding firm by the Conſtitution and Laws of their Country; which brought over to them all thoſe Gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons, and in the ſeveral Counties of England, who found it neceſſary, for the preſervation of their Properties, to oppoſe the Court, and to inſiſt upon being governed according to Law; theſe were called State Puritans.

Secondly, to their ſteady adherence to the Doctrines of Calvin, and the Synod of Dort, in the points of Predeſtination and Grace, againſt the modern interpretations of Arminius and his Followers. The Court Divines fell in with the latter, and were thought not only to deviate from the principles of the firſt Reformers, but to attempt a coalition with the Church of Rome; while moſt of the Country Clergy being ſtiff in their old opinions (though otherwiſe well enough affected to the Diſcipline and Ceremonies of the Church) were in a manner ſhut out from all preferment, and branded with the name of Doctrinal Puritans.

Thirdly, to their pious and ſevere manner of Life, which was at this time very extraordinary. If a Man kept the Sabbath, and frequented Sermons; if he maintained family Religion, and would neither ſwear, nor be drunk, nor comply with the faſhionable vices of the times, he was called a Puritan: this, by degrees, procured them the compaſſion of the ſober part of the Nation, who began to think it very hard, that the number of ſober, induſtrious, and conſcientious People, ſhould be haraſſed out of the Land, for ſcrupling to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies, which had no relation to the favour of God, or the practice of Virtue.

Fourthly, it has been thought by ſome, that their increaſe

increaſe was owing to the mild and gentle government of Archbiſhop Abbot. While Bancroft lived the Puritans were uſed with the utmoſt rigor, but Abbot having a greater concern for the Doctrines of the Church than for its ceremonies, relaxed the penal Laws, and connived at their proſelyting the people to Calviniſm. Arminianiſm was at this time both a Church and State Faction; the Divines of this perſwaſion apprehending their ſentiments not very conſiſtent with the received ſenſe of the thirty nine articles; and being afraid of the cenſures of a Parliament or Convocation, took ſhelter under the Prerogative, and went into all the ſlaviſh meaſures of the Court to gain the Royal Favour, and to ſecure to their friends the chief preferments in the Church. They perſwaded his Majeſty to ſtifle the predeſtinarian Controverſy, both in the Pulpit and Preſs, and would, no doubt, in a few years, have got the balance of numbers on their ſide, if by graſping at too much they had not precipitated both Church and State into confuſion. It was no advantage to thoſe Divines that they were linked with the Roman Catholicks; for theſe being ſenſible they could not be protected by law, cried up the prerogative, and joined their forces with the Court Divines, to ſupport the diſpenſing power; they declared for the unlimited authority of the Sovereign on the one hand, and the abſolute obedience of the Subject on the other; ſo that tho' there is no real connection between Arminianiſm and Popery; the two parties were unhappily combined at this time to deſtroy the Puritans, and to ſubvert the conſtitution and laws of their country.

But if Abbot was too remiſs, his ſucceſſor Laud was as much too furious, for in the firſt year of his Government, he introduced as many changes as a wiſe and prudent Stateſman would have attempted in ſeven; he prevailed with his Majeſty to ſet up the Engliſh Service at Edinburgh, and laid the foundation of the Scots Liturgy; he obtained the revival of the Book of Sports; he turned the Communion

Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 506.

tables into altars; he ſent out injunctions which broke up the French and Dutch churches; and procured the repeal of the Iriſh Articles, and thoſe of England to be received in their place. Such was his rigorous proſecution of the Puritans, that he would neither ſuffer them to live peaceably in the land, nor remove quietly out of it! his Grace was alſo the chief mover in all thoſe unbounded acts of power which were ſubverſive of the rights and liberties of the people: And while he had the reins in his hands drove ſo near the precipices of popery and tyranny, that the hearts of the moſt reſolved proteſtants turned againſt him, and almoſt all England became Puritan.

I am ſenſible that no part of modern hiſtory has been examined with ſo much critical exactneſs, as that part of the reign of King Charles I. which relates to the riſe and progreſs of the civil War; here the writers on both ſides have blown up their paſſions into a flame, and inſtead of hiſtory, have given us little elſe but panegyrick or ſatyr. I have endeavoured to avoid extremes, and have repreſented things as they appeared to me, with modeſty, and without any perſonal reflections. The character I have given of the religious principles of the Long Parliament was deſignedly taken out of the Earl of Clarendon's hiſtory of the Grand Rebellion, that it might be without exception: and I am of opinion, that the want of a due acquaintance with the principles of the two Houſes with regard to Church Diſcipline, has miſled our beſt hiſtorians, who have repreſented ſome of them as zealous Prelatiſts, and others as cunning Preſbyterians, Independants, Sectaries, &c. whereas in truth they had theſe matters very little at heart. The King was hampered with notions of the divine right of dioceſan epiſcopacy, but the two Houſes (excepting the Biſhops) were to a man of the principles of Eraſtus, who maintained, "That Chriſt "and his Apoſtles had preſcribed no particular form "of diſcipline for his Church in after ages, but had "left

" left the Keys in the hands of the civil magi-
" ſtrate, who had the ſole power of puniſhing
" Tranſgreſſors, and of appointing ſuch particular
" forms of church government from time to time,
" as were moſt ſubſervient to the peace and wel-
" fare of the commonwealth." Indeed theſe were the ſentiments of our church reformers, from Archbiſhop Cranmer down to Bancroft. And though the Puritans in the reign of Queen Elizabeth writ with great eagerneſs for the divine right of their Book of Diſcipline, their poſterity in the next reigns were more cool upon that head, declaring their ſatisfaction, if the preſent epiſcopacy might be reduced to a more primitive ſtandard. This was the ſubſtance of the Miniſters Petition in the year 1641. ſigned with ſeven hundred hands. And even thoſe who were for Root and Branch, were willing to ſubmit to a Parliamentary Reformation, till the Scots revived the notion of Divine Right in the aſſembly of divines. However, 'tis certain, the Two Houſes had no attachment to Preſbytery or Independancy, but would have compromiſed matters with the King upon the epiſcopal Scheme, as long as his Majeſty was in the field, but when victory had declared on their ſide they complied in ſome meaſure with their northern friends, who had aſſiſted them in the war: but would never part with the power of the Keys out of their own hands. If the reader will keep this in mind, he will eaſily account for the ſeveral Revolutions of church government in theſe unſettled times.

'Tis not to be expected, that the moſt diſintereſted writer of theſe affairs ſhould eſcape the cenſures of different parties; I thought I had already ſufficiently expreſſed my intentions in publiſhing the Hiſtory of the Puritans; but becauſe it has been inſinuated in a late pamphlet, that it looked like a plot againſt the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, I think it proper to aſſure the world once for all, that what I have written is with no ill ſpirit, or deſign againſt the peace of

Expoſt. Letter, p. 29, 30.

the Church or Nation; that I have no private or party views; no patron; no aſſociates; nor other proſpect of reward, than the pleaſure of ſetting the Engliſh Reformation in a true light, and of beating down ſome of the fences and incloſures of conſcience. Nor can there be any inconvenience in remembring the miſtakes of our anceſtors, when all the parties concerned are gone off the ſtage, and their families reconciled by inter-marriages; but it may be of ſome uſe and benefit to mankind, by enabling them to avoid thoſe Rocks on which their forefathers have ſplit. When I am convinced of any miſtakes, or unfair repreſentations, I ſhall not be aſhamed to retract them before the world; but facts are ſtubborn things, and will not bend to the humours and inclinations of artful and angry men; if theſe have been diſguiſed or miſreported, let them be ſet right in a decent manner, without the mean ſurmiſes of Plots and Confederacies, and whoever does it, ſhall have mine as well as the thanks of the publick.

I have no controverſy with the preſent Church of England, which has abandoned, in a great meaſure, the perſecuting principles of former times; for tho' I am not unacquainted with the nature and defects of religious eſtabliſhments, yet neither my principles nor inclinations will allow me to give them the leaſt diſturbance, any further than they impoſe upon conſcience, or intrench upon the rights of civil Society. If the Preſbyterians or Independants have been guilty of ſuch practices in their turns, I ſhall freely bear my teſtimony againſt them, and think I may do it with a good Grace, ſince I have always declared againſt reſtraints upon conſcience among all parties of chriſtians; but if men will vindicate the juſtice and equity of oaths Ex Officio, and of exorbitant Fines, Impriſonment and Baniſhment, for things in their own nature indifferent; if they will call a relation of the illegal ſeverities of Council Tables, Star Chambers, and High Commiſſions, a Satyr againſt the

Ibid p. 12.

the preſent Eſtabliſhment, they muſt uſe their liberty, as I ſhall mine, in appearing againſt eccleſiaſtical oppreſſion, from what quarter ſoever it comes.

I have freely cenſured the miſtakes of the Puritans in Queen Elizabeth's reign; nor will I be their advocate any longer than they have Scripture, reaſon, and ſome degree of good manners on their ſide. If it ſhall at any time appear, that the body of them lived in contempt of all lawful authority, or bid defiance to the laws of their country, except in ſuch caſes wherein their conſciences told them, It was their duty to obey God rather than Man; if they were guilty of rebellion, ſedition, or of abandoning the Queen and the Proteſtant Religion, when it was in danger, let them bear their own reproach; but as yet I muſt be of opinion, that they were the beſt friends of the conſtitution and liberties of their country; that they were neither unquiet nor reſtleſs, unleſs againſt tyranny in the State, and oppreſſion upon the Conſcience; that they made uſe of no other weapons, during a courſe of fourſcore years, but prayers to God, and petitions to the Legiſlature for redreſs of their grievances, it being an article of their belief, "That abſolute Submiſſion was "due to the ſupreme Magiſtrate in all things "lawful," as will ſufficiently appear by their proteſtations in the beginning of the reign of King James I. I have admitted that the Puritans might be too ſtiff and rigid in their behaviour; that they were unacquainted with the rights of conſcience; and, that their language to their ſuperiors the Biſhops was not always decent and mannerly: "Oppreſſion maketh wiſe men mad." But ſurely, the depriving, impriſoning and putting men to death for theſe things, will not be vindicated in our times.

In the Preface to the firſt volume of this Hiſtory I mentioned with pleaſure the growing ſentiments of religious liberty in the Church of England, but complained

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plained of the burden of Subſcriptions upon the Clergy; and of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, as prejudicial to the cauſe of Religion and Virtue, among the Laity; for which reaſons the Proteſtant Diſſenters throughout England intended to petition for a repeal or amendment of theſe Acts the enſuing Seſſion of Parliament, if they had met with any encouragement from their ſuperiors, or had the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. The Sacramental Teſt is, no doubt, a diſtinguiſhed mark of reproach which they have not deſerved; and I humbly conceive, no very great ſecurity to the Church of England, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed, that one ſingle act of occaſional conformity can take off the edge of all their imagined averſion to the Hierarchy, who worſhip all the reſt of the year among Non-conformiſts. Nor can the repeal of theſe Acts be of any conſiderable advantages to the body of Diſſenters, becauſe not one in five hundred can expect to reap any private benefit by it to himſelf or family; their zeal therefore in this cauſe muſt ariſe principally from a regard to the liberties of their Country, and a deſire of reſcuing one of the moſt ſacred rites of Chriſtianity from the profanation to which it is expoſed.

Hiſt. Teſt. p. 16, 23, 25.

But it ſeems this will not be believed, till the Diſſenters propoſe ſome other pledge and ſecurity by which the end and intent of the Sacramental Teſt may be equally attained for (ſays a later writer) the Legiſlature never intended them any ſhare of truſt or power in the Government; and he hopes they never will, till they ſee better reaſons for it than have hitherto appeared. Muſt the Diſſenters then furniſh the Church with a law to exclude themſelves from ſerving their King and country? Let the diſagreeable work be undertaken by Men that are better ſkilled in ſuch unequal ſeverities. I will not examine into the intent of the Legiſlature in this place; but if Proteſtant Non-conformiſts are to have no ſhare of truſt or power in the Government, why are they choſen into ſuch offices, and

and ſubject to fines and penalties for declining them? Is it for not ſerving? This, it ſeems, is what the Legiſlature never intended. Is it then for not qualifying? Surely this is a penalty upon Conſcience. I would aſk the warmeſt advocate for the Sacramental Teſt, Whether the appointing Proteſtant Diſſenters for Sheriffs of Counties, and obliging them to qualify againſt their Conſciences under the penalties of a Premunire, without liberty of ſerving by a deputy, or of commuting by a fine, is conſiſtent with ſo full a Toleration, and exemption from penal laws, as this writer ſays they enjoy? 'Tis true, a good Govern- Hiſt. Teſt. p. 25.
ment may take no advantage of this power, but in a bad one men muſt qualify, or their Liberties and Eſtates be at the King's mercy; it ſeems therefore but reaſonable, (whatever the intent of the Legiſlature may be) that Proteſtant Diſſenters ſhould be admitted to ſerve their Country with a good Conſcience in offices of Truſt as well as of Burden, or be exempted from all pains and penalties for not doing it.

'Tis now pretty generally agreed, That receiving Ibid. p. 22.
the Holy Sacrament meerly as a qualification for a place of civil profit or truſt, is contrary to the ends of its inſtitution, and a ſnare to the Conſciences of Men; for tho' the law is open, and "they who obtain of-"fices in the State know beforehand the conditions "of keeping them," yet when the bread of a numerous family depends upon a qualification which a man cannot be ſatisfied to comply with, 'tis certainly a ſnare. And tho' I agree with our Author, that "if the "minds of ſuch perſons are wicked, the law does not "make them ſo," yet I am afraid it hardens them, and makes them a great deal worſe. How many thouſands come to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with reluctance! and, perhaps, eat and drink Judgment to themſelves; the guilt of which muſt be chargeable either upon the Impoſers or Receivers, or upon both. Methinks therefore charity to the Souls of Men, as well as a concern for the purity of our Ho-

ly

ly Religion, ſhould engage all ſerious Chriſtians to endeavour the removal of this grievance; and ſince we are told, that the appearing of the Diſſenters at this time is unſeaſonable, and will be ineffectual; I would humbly move our right reverend Fathers the Biſhops, not to think it below their high Stations and Dignities, to conſider of ſome expedient to roll away this reproach from the Church and Nation, and agree upon ſome ſecurity for the former (if needful) of a civil nature, that may leave room (as King William expreſſes it in his Speech to his firſt Parliament) "For the Admiſſion of all Proteſtants that are able "and willing to ſerve their Country." The Honour of Chriſt and the cauſe of publick virtue, ſeem to require it. And for as much as the influence of theſe Acts affects great numbers of the Laity in a very tender part, I ſhould think it no diſhonour for the ſeveral Corporations in England, as well as for the Officers of the Army, Navy, Cuſtoms, and Exciſe, who are more peculiarly concerned, to join their intereſts in petitioning the Legiſlature for ſuch relief. And I flatter myſelf that the wiſe and temperate behaviour of the Proteſtant Diſſenters in their late General Aſſembly in London; with the dutiful regard that they have always ſhewn to the peace and welfare of his Majeſty's Perſon, Family, and Government, will not fail to recommend them to the Royal Protection and Favour; and that his Moſt Excellent Majeſty in imitation of his glorious Predeceſſor King William III. will in a proper time recommend it to his Parliament to ſtrengthen his Adminiſtration, by taking off thoſe reſtraints which at preſent diſable Proteſtant Diſſenting Subjects from ſhewing their Zeal in the Service of their King and Country.

DANIEL NEAL.

London,
March 6, 1732-3.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

From the Death of Queen Elizabeth to the Death of Archbiſhop Bancroft.

THE Royal Houſe of the Stuarts has not been more calamitous to the Engliſh Church and Nation, in the male Deſcendants, than ſucceſsful and glorious in the female: The four Kings of this Line while in power, were declared Enemies of our civil Conſtitution; they governed without law, levied taxes by the Prerogative, and endeavoured to put an end to the very being of Parliaments. With regard to Religion; the two firſt were neither ſound Proteſtants nor good Catholicks, but were for reconciling the two Religions, and meeting the Papiſts half way; but the two laſt went over entirely to the Church of Rome, and died profeſſedly in her Communion.

King James I. 1603.

Of the Houſe of the Stuarts.

The

King James I. 1603.

The female Branches of this Family being married among foreign Proteſtants, were of a different ſtamp, being more enclined to Puritaniſm than Popery; one of them [Mary, eldeſt daughter of King Charles I.] was Mother of the Great King William III. the Glorious Deliverer of this Kingdom from Popery and Slavery; and another [Elizabeth Daughter of James I.] was Grandmother of his late Majeſty King George I. in whom the Proteſtant Succeſſion took place, and whoſe numerous Deſcendants in the perſon and off-ſpring of his preſent Majeſty, are the defence and Glory of the whole Proteſtant Intereſt in Europe.

King James's behaviour in Scotland.

King James was Thirty ſix years of age when he came to the Engliſh Throne, having reigned in Scotland from his Infancy. In the year 1589, he married the Princeſs Anne, Siſter to the King of Denmark, by whom he had three Children living at this time, Henry Prince of Wales, who died before he was nineteen years of age [1612.] Elizabeth married to the Elector Palatine 1613, and Charles who ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom. His Majeſty's behaviour in Scotland raiſed the expectations and hopes of all Parties; the Puritans relied upon his Majeſty's education; upon his ſubſcribing the ſolemn League and Covenant; and upon his publick declaration in the General Aſſembly at Edinburgh, 1590, when ſtanding with his Bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to Heaven, "He praiſed "God that he was born in the time of the Light of the "Goſpel, and in ſuch a place, as to be King of ſuch a "Church, the ſincereſt [pureſt] Kirk in the World. The "Church of Geneva (ſays he) keep Paſche and Yule "[Eaſter and Chriſtmaſs] what have they for them? They "have no Inſtitution. As for our Neighbour Kirk of Eng-"land, their Service is an evil ſaid Maſs in Engliſh; they "want nothing of the Maſs but the Liftings. I charge "you, my good Miniſters, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, "Gentlemen, and Barons, to ſtand to your Purity, and "to exhort the People to do the ſame; and I, forſooth, "as long as I brook my life, ſhall maintain the ſame."

Expectations of the Puritans.

Calderwood's Hiſt. Ch. Scotland, p. 256.

In his ſpeech to the Parliament 1598, he tells them, "That he minded not to bring in Papiſtical or Anglicane "Biſhops." Nay, upon his leaving Scotland, to take poſſeſſion of the Crown of England, he gave publick thanks to God in the Kirk of Edinburgh, "That he had "left both Kirk and Kingdom in that ſtate which he in-"tended not to alter any ways, his Subjects living in "peace."

Calderwood's Hiſt. Ch. Scotland. p. 418.

"peace." But it ſeems all this was King-craft, or elſe his Majeſty changed his Principles with the Climate. The Scots Miniſters did not approach him with the diſtant Submiſſion and Reverence of the Engliſh Biſhops, and therefore within nine months he renounced Preſbytery, and eſtabliſhed it for a maxim, No Biſhop no King; ſo ſoon did this pious Monarch renounce all his former principles (if he had any) and break through the moſt awful and ſolemn vows and oaths! When the Long Parliament addreſſed King Charles I. to ſet up Preſbytery in the room of Epiſcopacy, his Majeſty objected his Coronation oath, in which he had ſworn to maintain the Clergy in their Rights and Privileges; but King James had no ſuch ſcruples of Conſcience, for without ſo much as aſking the conſent of Parliament, General Aſſembly or People, he enter'd upon the moſt effectual meaſures to ſubvert that Kirk Diſcipline which he had ſworn to maintain with hands lifted up to Heaven, at his Coronation, and ſolemnly ſubſcribed with his Queen and whole Family, in the year 1581, and 1590.

King James I. 1603. Ib. p. 473.

The Papiſts put the King in remembrance, that he was born of Roman Catholick Parents, and had been baptized with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome; that his Mother of whom he uſually ſpoke with reverence, was a Martyr for that Church; and that he himſelf, upon ſundry occaſions, had expreſſed no diſlike to her Doctrines, though he diſallowed of the Uſurpations of the Court of Rome over foreign Princes; that he had called the Church of Rome his Mother Church; and therefore they preſumed to welcome his Majeſty into England with a petition for an open Toleration.

And of the Papiſts.

But the Biſhops of the Church of England made the earlieſt application for his Majeſty's Protection and Favour. As ſoon as the Queen was dead Archbiſhop Whitgift ſent Dr. Nevil, Dean of Canterbury, into Scotland, in the name of the Biſhops and Clergy of England, to give his Majeſty aſſurance of their unfeigned duty aud loyalty; to know what commands he had for them with reſpect to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and to recommend the Church of England to his protection and favour. The King replied, that he would uphold the Government of the Church as the Queen left it; which comforted the timorous Archbiſhop, who had ſometimes ſpoke with great Uneaſineſs of the Scotch Miſt.

Early application of the Biſhops to the King. Life of Whitgift, p. 559.

Upon his Majeſty's arrival all Parties addreſſed him, and among others, the Dutch and French Churches, and the

Of the Dutch and French Churches.

King James I. 1603.

the Engliſh Puritans; to the former his Majeſty gave this anſwer, "I need not uſe many words to declare my "good-will to you, who have taken ſanctuary here for "the ſake of Religion; I am ſenſible you have enriched "this Kingdom with ſeveral arts and manufactures; and I "ſwear to you, that if any one ſhall give you diſturbance "in your Churches, upon your application to me, I will "revenge your cauſe; and though you are none of my "proper Subjects, I will maintain and cheriſh you as "much as any Prince in the World." But the latter met with very different uſage.

Strype's Ann. Vol. ult. p. 387.

Notwithſtanding all the precautions that were taken to ſecure the elections of Members for the next Parliament; the Archbiſhop wiſhed he might not live to ſee it, for fear of ſome alterations in the Church; for the Puritans were preparing petitions, and printing pamphlets in their own vindication; but by the Archbiſhop's vigilance (ſays Mr. Strype) not a petition or pamphlet eſcaped without a ſpeedy and effectual anſwer.

Millenary Petition preſented April 1603.

Clark's Life of Hilderſham, p. 126.

While the King was in his progreſs to London the Puritans preſented their Millenary Petition ſo called, becauſe it was ſaid to be ſubſcribed by a thouſand hands, though there were not more than eight hundred out of twenty five Counties. It is entitled, "The humble petition of the "Miniſters of the Church of England, deſiring Refor-"mation of certain Ceremonies and abuſes of the Church;" the preamble ſets forth, "That neither as factious men, "affecting a popular Parity in the Church, nor as Schiſ-"maticks aiming at the Diſſolution of the State Eccleſi-"aſtical, but as the faithful Miniſters of Chriſt, and loyal "Subjects to his Majeſty, they humbly deſired the redreſs "of ſome abuſes. And though divers of them had for-"merly ſubſcribed to the Service-Book, ſome upon Pro-"teſtation; ſome upon Expoſition given; and ſome with "Condition; yet now they, to the number of more than "a thouſand Miniſters, groaned under the burden of hu-"man Rites and Ceremonies, and with one conſent threw "themſelves down at his Royal Feet for relief in the "following particulars:

1. In the Church Service, "That the Croſs in Baptiſm, "the Interrogatories to Infants, Baptiſm by Women, "and Confirmation, may be taken away; that the "Cap and Surplice may not be urged; that examination "may go before the Communion; that the Ring in Mar-"riage may be diſpenſed with; that the Service may be abridg'd;

" abridged; Church Songs, and Muſick, moderated to " better edification; that the Lord's day may not be pro- " faned, nor the obſervation of other Holy Days ſtrictly " enjoined; that Miniſters may not be charged to " teach their People to bow at the Name of Jeſus; and " that none but canonical Scriptures be read in the " Church. King James I. 1603.

2. Concerning Miniſters, " That none may be admit- " ted but able men; that they be obliged to preach on the " Lord's-day; that ſuch as are not capable of preaching " may be removed or obliged to maintain Preachers; that " Non-reſidency be not permitted; that King Edward's " Statute for the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the Clergy " be revived; and that Miniſters be not obliged to ſubſcribe " but according to Law, to the Articles of Religion, and the " King's Supremacy only.

3. For Church Livings. " That Biſhops leave their " Commendams; that Impropriations annexed to Biſhop- " ricks and Colleges be given to Preachers incumbents only, " and that Lay-impropriations be charged with a 6th or 7th " part for the maintenance of a Preacher.

4. For Church Diſcipline. " That Excommunication, " and Church cenſures be not in the name of Lay-chan- " cellors, &c. that men be not excommunicated for twelve " penny matters, nor without conſent of their Paſtors; that " Regiſter's places, and others having Juriſdiction, do not " put them out to farm; that ſundry Popiſh Canons be re- " verſed; that the length of Suits in Eccleſiaſtical Courts " may be reſtrained; that the oath Ex Officio be more " ſparingly uſed; and licences for marriages without Banes " be more ſparingly granted.

" Theſe things, ſay they, we are able to ſhew not to be " agreeable to the Word of God, if it ſhall pleaſe your Ma- " jeſty to hear us, or by writing to be informed, or by con- " ference among the learned to be reſolved."

The King met with ſundry other Petitions of the like nature, from moſt of the Counties he paſſed through; but the Heads of the two Univerſities having taken offence at the Millenary Petition, for demiſing away the Impropriations annexed to Biſhopricks and Colleges, which (ſays Fuller) would cut off more than the nipples of the breaſts of both Univerſities in point of maintenance, expreſſed their reſentment different ways: Thoſe of Cambridge paſt a Grace, June 9th. " That whoſoever in the Univerſity " ſhould openly oppoſe by word or writing, or any other way,

King James I. 1603.

" Doctrine or Diſcipline of the Church of England eſta-
" bliſhed by law, or any part thereof, ſhould be ſuſ-
" pended Ipſo facto from any degree already taken, and
" be diſabled from taking any degree for the future."
About the ſame time the Univerſity of Oxford, publiſhed an
Anſwer to the Miniſters Petition, entitled, " An Anſwer of
" the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and other Heads
" of Houſes in the Univerſity of Oxford, to the petition of
" the Miniſters of the Church of England, deſiring Re-
" formation;" dedicated to the Archbiſhop, the Chancel-
lors of both Univerſities, and the two Secretaries of State.
The anſwer ſhews the high Spirit of the Univerſity; it re-
proaches the Miniſters in very ſevere language for ſubſcrib-
ing, and then complaining; it reflects upon them as facti-
ous Men, for affecting a party in the Church, and then
falls ſeverely on the Scots Reformation, which his Majeſty
had ſo publickly commended before he left that Kingdom.
It throws an odium upon the petitioners, as being for a li-
mited Monarchy, and for ſubjecting the titles of Kings to
the approbation of the people. It then goes on to vindi-
cate all the grievances complained of, and concludes with
beſeeching his Majeſty not to ſuffer the peace of the State
to be diſturbed, by allowing theſe Men to diſturb its polity.
" Look upon the reformed Churches abroad (ſay they)
" and whereſoever the deſire of the petitioners takes place,
" how ill it ſuits with the State of Monarchy; does it be-
" come the ſuper-eminent authority and regal perſon of a
" King, to ſubject his ſovereign power to the over-ſwaying
" and all-commanding power of a Preſbytery? That his
" meek and humble Clergy ſhould have power to Bind
" their King in chains, and their Princes in links of iron?
" That is, to cenſure him, and if they ſee cauſe, to pro-
" ceed againſt him as a tyrant. That the ſupreme Magiſ-
" trate ſhould only be a maintainer of their proceedings,
" but not a commander in them; theſe are but petty a-
" bridgments of the Prerogative Royal, while the King
" ſubmits his Sceptre to the Sceptre of Chriſt, and licks
" the duſt of the Churches feet." They then commend
the preſent Church Government as the great ſupport of
the Crown, and calculated for unlimitted Subjection to it;
and aver, " That there are at this day more learned Men
" in this land, in this one Kingdom, than are to be found
" among all the Miniſters of the Religion in France,
" Flanders, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Geneva, Scot-
" land, or (to ſpeak in a word) all Europe beſides." Such
a vain-

Abſtract of the Anſwer of the Univerſity of Oxford. L. of Whitgift, p. 567.

Strype's Ann. Vol. alt. p. 374.

a vain-glorious piece of ſelf-applauſe is hardly to be met with. They muſt have a mean opinion of the King's acquaintance with the learned world, to uſe him in this manner, at a time, when, though there ſome very conſiderable Divines among ourſelves, there were as many learned Men in the foreign Univerſities, as had been ſince the Reformation, as the Beza's, Scaliger's, Caſaubon's, &c. whoſe works have tranſmitted their great names down to poſterity. King James I. 1603.

And that the Divines of Cambridge might not come behind their Brethern of Oxford, the Heads of that Univerſity writ a letter of thanks to the Oxonians for their Anſwer to the petition, in which "they applaud and commend their weighty arguments, and threaten to battle "the Puritans with numbers; For if Saul has his thouſands (ſay they) David has his ten thouſands. They acquaint them with their decree of June 9, and bid the "poor pitiful Puritans [Homunciones miſerrimi] anſwer "their almoſt a thouſand Books in defence of the Hierarchy, before they pretend to diſpute before ſo learned "and wiſe a King." A mean and pitiful triumph over honeſt and virtuous Men, who aimed at nothing but to bring the diſcipline of the Church a little nearer the Standard of Scripture! And of the Univerſity of Cambridge.

But that his Majeſty might part with his old friends with ſome decency, and ſeem to anſwer the requeſt of the petitioners, he agreed to have a conference with the two parties at Hampton Court, for which purpoſe he publiſhed a Proclamation from Wilton, October 24th, 1603. "Touching a meeting for the hearing, and for the determining "things pretended to be amiſs in the Church." In which he declares, "That he was already perſwaded, that the "conſtitution of the Church of England was agreeable to "God's Word, and near to the condition of the Primitive Church; yet becauſe he had received information, "that ſome things in it were ſcandalous, and gave offence, "he had appointed a meeting to be had before himſelf "and Council, of divers Biſhops and other learned Men, "at which Conſultation he hoped to be better informed of "the State of the Church, and whether there were any ſuch "enormities in it; in the mean time he commanded all his "ſubjects not to publiſh any thing againſt the State Eccleſiaſtical, or to gather ſubſcriptions or make ſupplications, "being reſolved to make it appear by their chaſtiſement, how "far ſuch a manner of proceeding was diſpleaſing to him, Proclamation for a conference. L. of Whit. B. IV. c. 31.

King James I. 1603.

" for he Was determined to preſerve the Eccleſiaſtical " State ſuch in form as he found it eſtabliſhed by the law, " only to reform ſuch abuſes as he ſhould find apparently " proved."

Ibid. p. 570.

The Archbiſhop and his Brethren had been indefatigable in poſſeſſing the King with the excellency of the Engliſh Hierarchy, as coming near the practice of the Primitive Church, and beſt ſuited to a Monarchial Government; they repreſented the Puritans as turbulent and factious, inconſiderable in number, and aiming at confuſion both in Church and State; and yet, after all, the old Archbiſhop was doubtful of the event, for in one of his letters to Cecil Earl of Saliſbury, he writes, " Though our humorous and

L. of Whit. Append. No. 43.

" contentious Brethren have made many petitions and mo- " tions, correſpondent to their natures, yet to my comfort " they have not much prevailed. Your Lordſhip, I am " ſure, does imagine that I have not all this while been idle, " nor greatly quiet in mind; for who can promiſe himſelf " reſt among ſo many vipers."

Conference at Hampton Court.

The place of conference was the Drawing Room, within the Privy Chamber at Hampton Court; the diſputants on both ſides were nominated by the King. For the Church, there were nine Biſhops, and about as many Dignitaries, viz.

Dr. Whitgift Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft Biſhop of London, Dr. Mathew Biſhop of Durham, Bilſon Biſhop of Wincheſter, Babington Biſhop of Worceſter, Rudd Biſhop of St. David's, Watſon Biſhop of Chicheſter, Robinſon Biſhop of Carliſle, and Dove Biſhop of Peterborough.

Dr. Andrews Dean of the Chapel, Overal Dean of St. Paul's, Barlow Dean of Cheſter, Bridges Dean of Saliſbury, Field Dean of Glouceſter, King Archdeacon of Nottingham; beſides the Deans of Worceſter and Windſor.

For the Puritans were only four Miniſters, Dr. John Raynolds, Dr. Thomas Sparks, Profeſſors of Divinity in Oxford, Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Knewſtubs of Cambridge. The Divines for the Church appeared in the habits of their reſpective diſtinctions; but thoſe for the Puritans in fur gowns, like the Turkey Merchants, or like the profeſſors in foreign Univerſities. When the King conferred with the Biſhops he behaved with ſoftneſs, and a great regard to their character; but when the Puritan Miniſters ſtood before him, inſtead of being Moderator, he took upon him the place of Reſpondent, and bore them down with his majeſtick

Frowns

Frowns and Threatnings, in the midſt of a numerous crowd of Courtiers, for all the Lords of the Privy Council were preſent; while the Biſhops ſtood by and were little more than ſpectators of the Triumph. King James I. 1603.

The account of this Conference was publiſhed only by Dr. Barlow, who being a party (ſays Fuller) "ſet a ſharp "edge on his own, and a blunt one on his adverſaries wea-"pons." Dr. Sparks and Raynolds complained, that they were wrong'd by that relation; and Dr. Jackſon declared, that Barlow himſelf repented upon his death-bed, of the Injury he had done the Puritan Miniſters in his relation of the Hampton-Court conference. Mr. Strype has lately publiſhed a letter of the Biſhop of Durham to Hutton Archbiſhop of York, which agrees pretty much with Barlow; but Mr. Patrick Galloway, a Scots Man, has ſet things in a different light; from all which, and from the King's own letter to Mr. Blake a Scots Man, we muſt form the beſt judgment of it that we can. Peirce, p. 153, 154. Life of Whitgift, Append. No. 45.

The Conference continued three days, (viz.) Jan. 14th, 16th, and 18th; the firſt was with the Biſhops and Deans alone, Jan. 14th, the Puritan Miniſters not being preſent; when the King made a ſpeech in commendation of the Hierarchy of the Church of England, and congratulated himſelf, that "He was now come into the Promiſed Land; "that he ſat among grave and reverend men, and was not "a King, as formerly, without State; nor in a place "where beardleſs boys would brave him to his face. He "aſſured them, he had not called this Aſſembly for any "Innovation, for he acknowledged the Government Eccle-"ſiaſtical, as now it is, to have been approved by mani-"fold Bleſſings from God himſelf; but becauſe he had "received ſome complaints of diſorders, he was willing to "remove them if ſcandalous, and to take notice of them "if but triſling; that the reaſon of his conſulting them by "themſelves, was to receive Satisfaction from them, "(1.) About ſome things in the Common Prayer Book. "(2.) Concerning Excommunication in the Eccleſiaſtical "Courts. (3.) About providing ſome well qualified Mini-"ſters for Ireland; that if any thing ſhould be found meet "to be redreſſed, it might be done without their being "confronted by their Opponents." First Day's Conference between the King and the Biſhops only. Fuller, B. X. p. 8.

In the Common Prayer Book his Majeſty had ſome Scruples about the Confirmation of Children, as if it imported a confirmation of Baptiſm. But the Archbiſhop on his knees replied, that the Church did not hold Baptiſm imper-

King James I. 1603.

fect without Confirmation. Bancroft ſaid it was of Apoſtolical inſtitution, Heb. vi. 2. where 'tis called, The Doctrine of the Laying on of Hands. But to ſatisfy the King it was agreed, that the words "Examination of Children" ſhould be added to Confirmation.

His Majeſty excepted to the "Abſolution of the Church," as too nearly reſembling the Pope's pardon. But the Archbiſhop is ſaid to clear it up to the King's ſatisfaction, only to the Rubrick of the general Abſolution theſe Words were to be added for explanation ſake, "Remiſſion of Sins."

He further objected to private Baptiſm, and Baptiſm by Women. It had been cuſtomary till this time for Biſhops to licence Midwives to their office, and to allow their right to baptize in caſes of neceſſity under the following Oath:

The Oath of a Midwife. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. P. 537.

"I Eleanor —— admitted to the office and occupation of a Midwife, will faithfully and diligently exerciſe the ſaid office, according to ſuch cunning and knowledge as God has given me, and that I will be ready to help and aid as well poor as rich women, being in labour and travail with Child, and will always be ready to execute my ſaid office. Alſo, I will not permit or ſuffer, that any woman being in labour or travail, ſhall name any other to be the father of the Child, than only he who is the right and true father thereof; and that I will not ſuffer any other body's child to be ſet, brought, or laid before any woman delivered of child, in the place of her natural child, ſo far forth as I can know or underſtand. Alſo, I will not uſe any kind of ſorcery or incantation in the time of travail of any woman; and that I will not deſtroy the child born of any woman, nor cut, nor pull off the head thereof, or otherwiſe diſmember or hurt the ſame, or ſuffer it to be ſo hurt, &c. Alſo, that in the miniſtration of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, in the time of neceſſity, I will uſe the accuſtomed words of the ſame Sacrament; that is to ſay, theſe words following, or the like effect, I Chriſten thee in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; and none other prophane words. And that in baptizing any infant born, and pouring water on the head of the ſaid infant, I will uſe pure and clean water, and not any roſe or damaſk water, or water made of any confection or mixture. And that I will certify the Curate of the Pariſh Church of every ſuch baptizing."

Not-

Notwithſtanding this Oath Whitgift aſſured the King, that Baptiſm by women and lay-perſons was not allowed by the Church. Others ſaid it was a reaſonable practice, the Miniſter not being of the Eſſence of the Sacrament. But the King not being ſatisfied, it was referred to conſideration, Whether the word Curate, or lawful Miniſter, might not be inſerted into the Rubrick for private Baptiſm. King James I. 1603.

Concerning Excommunication for leſſer Crimes in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, it was agreed, That the Name ſhould be changed, but the ſame Cenſure retained, or an equivalent thereto appointed. Theſe were all the alterations that were agreed to between the King and the Biſhops in the firſt Day's Conference.

Mr. Patrick Galloway, who was preſent at the Conference, gives this account of it to the Preſbytery of Edinburgh. "That on Jan. 12th the King commanded the "Biſhops, as they would anſwer it to God in Conſcience, "and to himſelf, upon their Obedience, to adviſe among "themſelves, of the corruptions of the Church in Doc-"trine, Ceremonies, and Diſcipline; who after conſulta-"tion reported, that "all was well;" but when his Ma-"jeſty with great fervency brought inſtances to the contra-"ry, the Biſhops on their knees craved with great earneſt-"neſs, That nothing might be altered, leſt popiſh Recuſants, "puniſhed by penal Statutes for their Diſobedience, and "the Puritans, puniſhed by Deprivation from their Callings "and Livings for Non-Conformity, ſhould ſay, they had "juſt cauſe to inſult upon them, as men who had travailed "to bind them to that which by their own mouths now "was confeſſed to be erroneous." Mr. Strype calls this an aſperſion; but I am apt to think him miſtaken, becauſe Mr. Galloway adds theſe words, "When ſundry "perſons gave out copies of theſe actions, I myſelf took "occaſion, as I was an ear and eye-witneſs, to ſet them "down, and preſented them to his Majeſty, who with his "own hand mended ſome things, and eked others that I had "omitted." 'Tis very certain, that Biſhop Barlow had cut off and concealed all the Speeches that his Majeſty made againſt the Corruptions of the Church, and the practices of the Prelates, for five hours together, according to the teſtimony of Dr. Andrews Dean of the Chapel, who ſaid, That "his Majeſty did that day wonderfully play the "Puritan." Remarks on the firſt day's conference. Calderwood's Hiſt. Ch. of Scotland, p. 474.

The ſecond day's Conference was on Monday, Jan. 16. when the four Miniſters were called in, with Mr. Galloway Second day's conference with the Puritans.

King James I. 1603.

Miniſter of Perth in Scotland, on the one part, and two Biſhops and ſix or eight Deans on the other, the reſt being ſecluded. The King being ſeated in his chair, with his Nobles and Privy Counſellors about him, let them know he was now ready to hear their objections againſt the Eſtabliſhment. Whereupon Dr. Raynolds, in the name of his brethren, humbly requeſted,

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preſerved pure, according to God's Word.

2. That good Paſtors might be planted in all Churches, to preach in the ſame.

3. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increaſe of piety.

4. That Church Government might be ſincerely miniſtred according to God's Word.

Reformation of Doctrine.

1. With regard to the Doctrine of the Church he requeſted, that to thoſe words in the 16th Article, "We may "depart from Grace," may be added, "neither totally "nor finally;" to make them conſiſtent with the Doctrine of Predeſtination in the 17th Article; and that (if his Majeſty pleaſed) the nine Articles of Lambeth might be inſerted.——That in the 23d Article theſe words, "In the "Congregation," might be omitted, as implying a liberty for men to preach out of the Congregation without a lawful Call.——That in the 25th Article the Ground for Confirmation might be examined; one paſſage confirming it to be a depraved imitation of the Apoſtles, and another grounding it on their example; beſides that it was too much work for a Biſhop.

Here Bancroft could no longer contain himſelf, but falling upon his knees, begg'd the King with great earneſtneſs to ſtop the Doctor's mouth, according to an antient Canon, that "Schiſmaticks are not to be heard againſt their Biſhops." It is not reaſonable (ſays he) that men who have ſubſcribed to theſe Articles, ſhould be allowed to plead againſt their own Act, contrary to the ſtatute Primo Eliz. The King perceiving the Biſhop in a heat, ſaid, My Lord, you ought not to interrupt the Doctor, but either let him proceed, or anſwer what he has objected. Upon which he replied, "That "as to Dr. Raynold's firſt Objection, the Doctrine of Pre-"deſtination was a deſperate Doctrine, and had made ma-"ny people Libertines, who were apt to ſay, If I ſhall be "ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved; he therefore deſired it might be "left at large. That his ſecond Objection was triſling, "becauſe by the Practice of the Church, none but li-

"cenſed

" cenſed Miniſters might preach or adminiſter the Sa- King
" crament. And as to the Doctor's third Objection James I.
" he ſaid, that the Biſhops had their Chaplains and 1603.
" Curates to examine ſuch as were to be confirmed;
" and that in ancient Time, none confirmed but Biſhops."
To which Raynolds replied in the Words of St. Jerom,
" That it was rather a Compliment to the Order, than
" from any Reaſon or Neceſſity of the thing." And
whereas the Biſhop had called him a Schiſmatick, he de-
ſired his Majeſty, that that Imputation might not lie upon
him; which occaſioned a great deal of mirth and raillery
between the King and his Nobles about the unhappy Puri-
tans. In concluſion the King ſaid, he was againſt encreaſing
the number of Articles, or ſtuffing them with theological
Niceties; becauſe were they never ſo explicit, there will be
no preventing contrary Opinions. As to Confirmation, he
thought it not decent to refer the Solemnity to a Pariſh
Prieſt, and cloſed his Remark with this Maxim, " No Bi-
" ſhop, no King."

After a long interruption the Doctor went on, and deſired a new Catechiſm, to which the King conſented, provided there might be no curious queſtions in it, and that our agreement with the Roman Catholicks in ſome points might not be eſteemed Heterodoxy. He further deſired a new Tranſlation of the Bible, to which his Majeſty agreed, provided it were without marginal Notes, ſaying, that of all the Tranſlations, the Geneva was the worſt, becauſe of the marginal Notes, which allowed Diſobedience to Kings. The Doctor complained of the printing and diſperſing popiſh Pamplets, which reflecting on Bancroft's character, the King ſaid, " What was done of this kind was by warrant
" from the Court, to nouriſh the ſchiſm between the Se-
" culars and Jeſuits, which was of great ſervice. Doctor,
" You are a better College-man than a States-man." To which Raynolds replied, " That he did not intend ſuch
" Books as were printed in England, but ſuch as were im-
" ported from beyond Sea;" and this ſeveral of the Privy-Council owned to be a grievance. The Doctor having prayed that ſome effectual remedy might be provided againſt the profanation of the Lord's day, declared he had no more to add on the firſt Head.

2. With regard to preaching, the Doctor complained of Pluralities in the Church; and prayed, that all Pariſhes might be furniſhed with preaching Miniſters. Upon which Bancroft fell upon his knees, and petitioned his Majeſty, that Of Preaching.

King James I. 1603.

that all pariſhes might have a praying Miniſtry, for preaching is grown ſo much in faſhion (ſays he) that the Service of the Church is neglected. Beſides, Pulpit Harangues are very dangerous; he therefore humbly moved, that the number of Homilies might be encreaſed, and that the Clergy might be obliged to read them inſtead of Sermons, in which many vented their ſpleen againſt their ſuperiors. The King aſked the Plaintiffs their opinion of the Biſhop's motion; who replied, That a preaching Miniſtry was certainly beſt, and moſt uſeful, though they allowed, where preaching could not be had, godly Prayers, Homilies, and Exhortations, might do much good. The Lord Chancellor [Egerton] ſaid, There were more Livings that wanted learned Men, than learned Men Livings; let all therefore have ſingle Coats before others have Doublets. Upon which Bancroft replied merrily, but a Doublet is good in cold weather. The King put an end to the debate, by ſaying, he would conſult the Biſhops upon this head.

Of the Service-book and Ceremonies.

3. But the Doctor's chief objections were to the Service-book and Church Government: Here he complained of the late Subſcriptions, by which many were deprived of their Miniſtry, who were willing to ſubſcribe to the doctrinal Articles of the Church, to the King's Supremacy, and to the Statutes of the Realm. He excepted to "the reading the "Apocrypha; to the Interrogatories in Baptiſm, and to the "Sign of the Croſs; to the Surplice, and other ſuperſtitious "habits; to the Ring in Marriage; to the Churching of "Women by the name of Purification." He urged, that moſt of theſe things were Reliques of Popery; that they had been abuſed to Idolatry, and therefore ought, like the Brazen Serpent, to be aboliſhed. Mr. Knewſtubs ſaid, theſe Rites and Ceremonies were at beſt but indifferent, and therefore doubted, whether the power of the Church could bind the Conſcience without impeaching chriſtian Liberty.——

Here his Majeſty interrupted them, and ſaid, that he apprehended the Surplice to be a very comely garment; that the Croſs was as old as Conſtantine, and muſt we charge him with Popery? Beſides, it was no more a ſignificant ſign than Impoſition of Hands, which the Petitioners allowed in Ordination; and as for their other exceptions, they were capable of being underſtood in a ſober ſenſe; "but as to the "Power of the Church in things indifferent (ſays his Maje-"ſty) I will not argue that point with you, but anſwer as "Kings in Parliament, Le Roy s'aviſera. This is like Mr. "John Black a beardleſs boy, who told me the laſt Confe-

"rence

" rence in Scotland, that he would hold Conformity with " me in Doctrine, but that every man as to Ceremonies " was to be left to his own liberty; but I will have none of " that; I will have one Doctrine, one Diſcipline, one " Religion in Subſtance and Ceremony: Never ſpeak more " to that point, how far you are bound to obey." King Iames I. 1603.

4. Dr. Raynolds was going on, to complain of Excommunication by Lay-Chancellors; but the King having ſaid he ſhould conſult the Biſhops on that head, the Doctor deſired that the Clergy might have Aſſemblies once in three weeks; that in rural Deanries they might have the liberty of Propheſyings, as in Archbiſhop Grindal's time; that thoſe caſes that could not be reſolved there, might be referred to the Archdeacon's Viſitation, and from thence to the Dioceſan Synod, where the Biſhop with his Preſbyters ſhould determine ſuch points as were too difficult for the other meetings;------Here the King broke out into a flame, and inſtead of hearing the Doctor's reaſons, or commanding his Biſhops to anſwer what had been ſaid, told the Miniſters, that he found they were aiming at a Scots Preſbytery, " which " (ſays he) agrees with Monarchy as well as God and the " devil; then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick, ſhall meet, " and at their pleaſure cenſure both me and my Council. " Therefore, pray ſtay one ſeven years before you demand " that of me, and if then you find me purſy and fat, and " my Windpipe ſtuffed, I will, perhaps, hearken to you; " for let that Government be up, and I am ſure I ſhall be " kept in breath; but till you find I grow lazy, let that " alone. I remember how they uſed the poor Lady my Mo- " ther in Scotland, and me in my Minority." Then turning to the Biſhops, he put his hand to his hat and ſaid, " My " Lords, I may thank you that theſe Puritans plead for my " Supremacy, for if once you are out and they in place, I " know what would become of my Supremacy, for, No " Biſhop, no King. Well, Doctor, Have you any thing elſe " to offer?" Dr. Raynolds, " No more, if it pleaſe your " Majeſty." Then riſing from his chair theKing ſaid, " If this " be all your Party have to ſay, I will make them conform, " or I will hurry them out of this Land, or elſe worſe;" and he was as good as his word.

Thus ended the ſecond day's Conference, after four hours diſcourſe, with a perfect Triumph on the ſide of the Church; the Puritan Miniſters were inſulted, ridiculed, and laughed to ſcorn, without either wit or good manners: One of the Council ſaid, He now ſaw that a " Puritan was a Proteſtant Remarks on the 2d days Conference.

" frighted

King James I. 1603.

"frighted out of his wits." Another, that "the Miniſters "looked more like Turks than Chriſtians, as appeared by "their Habits." Sir Edward Peyton confeſſed, that Dr. Raynolds and his Brethren had not freedom of ſpeech; but finding it to no purpoſe to reply they held their peace. On the other hand, the Biſhops and Courtiers flattered the King's wiſdom and learning beyond meaſure, calling him the Solomon of the Age. Bancroft fell upon his knees, and ſaid, "I "proteſt my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of "his ſingular Mercy, has given us ſuch a King, as ſince "Chriſt's time has not been." Chancellor Egerton ſaid, "He "had never ſeen the King and Prieſt ſo fully united in one "Perſon." His Majeſty was no leſs ſatisfied with his own conduct; for in his Letter to Mr. Blake a Scots man, he told him, That he had ſoundly peppered off the Puritans, that they had fled before him, and that their Petitions had turned him more earneſtly againſt them.—"It were no reaſon (ſays his "Majeſty) that thoſe who refuſe the airy Sign of the Croſs "after Baptiſm, ſhould have their Purſes ſtuffed with any "more ſolid and ſubſtantial Croſſes.----They fled me ſo "from argument to argument, without ever anſwering me "directly (ut eſt eorum moris) that I was forced to tell "them, that if any of them, when boys, had diſputed thus "in the College, the Moderator would have fetched them "up and applied the rod to their buttocks.----I have a book "of theirs that may convert Infidels, but ſhall never con-"vert me, except by turning me more earneſtly againſt "them."----- This was the Language of the Solomon of the Age. I leave the Reader to judge, how much ſuperior this wiſe Monarch was in the knowledge of Antiquity, or the art of Syllogiſm to Dr. Raynolds, who was the Oracle of his time for acquaintance with eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Councils and Fathers, and had lived in a College all his days.

Third day's Conference.

The third day's Conference was on Wedneſday, Jan. 18th. when the Biſhops and Deans were firſt called into the Privy Chamber with the Civilians, to ſatisfy the King about the High Commiſſion and the Oath Ex Officio, which they might eaſily do, as being principal Branches of his Prerogative. When the King ſaid he approved of the wiſdom of the Law in making the Oath Ex Officio, the old Archbiſhop was ſo tranſported, that he ſaid, "Un-"doubtedly your Majeſty ſpeaks by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of "God's Spirit." A Committee of Biſhops and Privy Counſellors was then appointed to conſider of leſſening the charges in the High

High Commiſſion, and for planting Schools, and proper Miniſters in the Kingdom of Ireland, and on the Borders of England and Scotland. After which Dr. Raynolds and his Brethren were called in, not to diſpute, but only to hear the few Alterations or Explanations in the Common-Prayer-Book already mentioned; which not anſwering their expectations, Mr. Chadderton fell on his knees, and humbly prayed, that the Surplice and Croſs might not be urged on ſome godly Miniſters in Lancaſhire; and Mr. Knewſtubs deſired the ſame favour for ſome Suffolk Miniſters; which the Biſhops were going to oppoſe, but the King replied with a ſtern countenance, "We have taken pains here to "conclude in a Reſolution for Uniformity, and you will "undo all by preferring the Credit of a few private Men "to the peace of the Church; this is the Scots way, but "I will have none of this arguing, therefore let them "conform, and that quickly too, or they ſhall hear of it; "the Biſhops will give them ſome time, but if any are of "an obſtinate and turbulent Spirit, I will have them en-"forced to Conformity." King James I. 1603.

Thus ended the Mock Conference, for it deſerves no better name, all things being concluded privately between the King and the Biſhops, before the Puritans were brought upon the Stage, to be made a ſpectacle to their enemies, and born down, not with calm reaſon and argument, but with the Royal Authority, I approve, or I diſſent; the King making himſelf both Judge and Party. No wonder therefore, if Dr. Raynolds fell below himſelf, and loſt ſome part of his eſteem with the Puritans, being over-awed by the place and Company, and his Sovereign Opponent. The Puritans refuſed to be concluded by this conference, for the following reaſons, becauſe, Remarks upon the whole.

1. "The Miniſters appointed to ſpeak for them were not "of their nomination or chooſing, nor of one judgment in "the points of controverſy; for being deſired by their "Brethren to argue againſt the Corruptions of the Church "as ſimply evil, they replied, they were not ſo perſuad-"ed. Being further deſired to acquaint the King, that "ſome of their Brethren thought them ſinful, they refuſed "that alſo. Laſtly, Being deſired to give their reaſons "in writing, why they thought the Ceremonies only in-"different; or to anſwer the Reaſons they had to of-"fer to prove them ſinful, they would do neither one "nor other. Chriſtian and Modeſt offer of a conference with the Prelates, Printed 1606.

2. "Becauſe

King James I. 1603.

2. " Becauſe the Points in Controverſy were not thoroughly debated, but nakedly propounded, and ſome not " at all touch'd. Neither was there any one argument to " the purpoſe purſued and followed.

3. " Becauſe the Prelates took the Liberty of interrupting at their Pleaſure thoſe of the other ſide, inſomuch " that they were checked for it by the King himſelf."

They objected alſo to the account of the conference publiſhed by Dean Barlow, as done without the knowledge, advice or conſent of the other ſide, and therefore deſerving no credit; they ſaid that Dr. Moreton had called ſome part of it in queſtion, and rectified ſome ſpeeches fathered on the King: Beſides, that none but Prelates were preſent at the firſt day's conference, when the principal matters were agreed upon.

" Therefore the Puritan Miniſters offer (if his Majeſty " will give them leave) in one week's ſpace to deliver his " Majeſty in writing, a full anſwer to any argument or " aſſertion pronounced in that Conference by any Prelate; " and in the mean time they do aver them to be moſt vain " and frivolous."

If the Biſhops had been men of temper; or if the King had diſcovered any part of that wiſdom he was flatter'd with, all parties might have been made eaſy at this time; for the Biſhops would have complied with any thing his Majeſty ſhould inſiſt on; but by his cowardice, his love of flattery, his high and arbitrary Principles, and his mortal hatred of the Puritans, one of the faireſt opportunities that had ever offered to heal the diviſions of the Church, was entirely loſt.

Proclamation to enforce Conformity.

On the 5th of March the King publiſhed a Proclamation, in which he ſays, " That though the Doctrine and " Diſcipline of the Eſtabliſhed Church were unexceptionable and agreeable to primitive Antiquity, nevertheleſs " he had given way to a Conference, to hear the Exceptions of the Non-Conformiſts, which he had found very " ſlender; but that ſome few explanations of Paſſages had " been yielded to for their ſatisfaction; therefore now he " requires and enjoins all his Subjects to conform " to it, as " the only publick Form eſtabliſhed in " this Realm;" and admoniſhes them not to expect any " further alterations, for that his Reſolutions were abſolutely ſettled." The Common-Prayer-Book was accordingly printed with the Amendments, and the Proclamation prefixed

Remarks.

It was a high ſtrain of the Prerogative, to alter a Form of

of Worſhip eſtabliſh'd by Law, merely by a Royal Proclamation, without conſent of Parliament or Convocation; for by the ſame Authority that his Majeſty altered one Article in the Liturgy, he might ſet aſide the whole; for every ſentence was equally eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament; but this wiſe Monarch made no ſcruple of diſpenſing with the Laws. However, the validity of all Proclamations determining with the King's Life, and there being no ſubſequent Act of Parliament to eſtabliſh theſe Amendments, it was argued very juſtly in the next Reign, that this was not the Liturgy of the Church of England eſtabliſhed by Law, and conſequently not binding upon the Clergy. King James I. 1603.

A Fortnight before this Conference died the Learned and Reverend Mr. Thomas Cartwright, one of the chief of the Puritans, and a great ſufferer for Non-Conformity. He was born in Hertfordſhire, 1535, and enter'd into St. John's College, Cambridge, 1550, where he became a hard Student, never ſleeping above five hours in a night. In the Reign of Queen Mary he left the Univerſity, and became a Lawyer's Clerk; but upon the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth he reſumed his Theological ſtudies, and was choſe Fellow of Trinity College in the year 1563. The year following he bore a part in the Philoſophy Act before the Queen. In the year 1567, he commenc'd Bachelor of Divinity, and three years after was choſen Lady Margaret's Profeſſor. He was ſuch a popular Preacher, that when his turn came at St. Mary's, the Sexton was oblig'd to take down the windows. But Mr. Cartwright venturing in ſome of his Lectures to ſhew the defects of the Diſcipline of the Church, as it then ſtood, was queſtioned for it before the Vice-Chancellor, denied his Doctor's degree, and expell'd the Univerſity, as has been related. He then travelled to Geneva, and afterwards became Preacher to the Engliſh Merchants at Antwerp. King James invited him to be Profeſſor in his Univerſity of St. Andrew's, but he declined accepting it. After his return from Antwerp he was often in trouble by Suſpenſions, Deprivations, and long Impriſonment; at length the great Earl of Leiceſter, who knew his worth, made him Governor of his Hoſpital in Warwick, where he ended his days, December 27th, 1703. He was certainly one of the moſt learned and accute Diſputants of his age, but very ill uſed by the governing Clergy. He writ ſeveral Books beſides his Controverſy with Archbiſhop Whitgift, as his Latin Comment Mr. Cartwright's Death and Character.

King James I. 1603.

Comment on Eccleſiaſtes, dedicated to King James, in which he thankfully acknowledges his being appointed Profeſſor to a Scots Univerſity: His learned confutation of the Rhemiſt Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, to which he was ſolicited not only by Sir Francis Walſingham, but by letter under the hands of the principal Divines of Cambridge, as Roger Goad, William Whitaker, Thomas Crooke, John Ireton, William Fulke, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Gibs Seinthe, Richard Gardiner, William Charke, &c. Such an opinion had theſe Divines of his learning and abilites. He was a perſon of great induſtry and piety, fervent in prayer, a frequent preacher, and of a meek and humble ſpirit. In his old age he was ſo troubled with the Stone and Gout by lying in priſons, that he was obliged always to ſtudy on his knees. His laſt Sermon was on Eccleſ. xii. 7. "Then ſhall "the Duſt return to the Earth, and the Spirit ſhall return to "God who gave it." The Tueſday following he was two hours on his knees in private prayer, and a few hours after quietly reſigned his ſpirit to God, in the 68th year of his age, and was buried in his own Hoſpital. The famous Mr. Dod preached his funeral Sermon.

Archbiſhop Whitgift's Death and Character.

Six weeks after, died his great antagoniſt Dr. John Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; he was born at Great Grimſby in Lincolnſhire, in the year 1530. and educated in Pembrook Hall, Cambridge. He complied with the times in Queen Mary's reign, though he diſapproved of her Religion. He commenced Doctor of Divinity 1569; and was afterwards Margaret and Queen's Profeſſor, and Maſter of Trinity College. Having been a celebrated Champion for the Hierarchy the Queen advanced him firſt to the Biſhoprick of Worceſter, and then to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury. He was a ſevere Governor of the Church, preſſing Conformity with great rigor, for which her Majeſty always gave him her countenance and ſupport. He regarded neither the intreaties of poor Miniſters, nor the interceſſions of Courtiers, but was ſteady to the Laws, and out-went them in the cauſe of Uniformity. Mr. Fuller ſays, he would give fair words and good language, but would abate nothing. Sir G. Paul the writer of his Life, ſays, that Choler was his chief infirmity, which has ſufficiently appeared by the account given of the many perſecutions, oppreſſions, and unjuſtifiable hardſhips the Puritans ſuffered under his Adminiſtration; notwithſtanding which they increaſed prodigiouſly, inſomuch, that towards his latter end his Grace grew weary

weary of the invidious employment; and being afraid of King James's firſt Parliament, died (as it is ſaid) with grief before it met, "Deſiring rather to give an account of his "Biſhoprick to God than to Men." He was at Court the firſt Sunday in Lent, but going to the Council-Chamber to Dinner, he was taken with the dead Palſy on the right-ſide, and with the loſs of his ſpeech; upon which he was carried immediately to Lambeth, where the King viſited him on Tueſday, but not being able to converſe, he lifted up his Eyes and Hand, and ſaid, "Pro Eccleſia Dei," which were his laſt Words. He would have writ ſomething, but could not hold his Pen. His diſeaſe increaſing he died the next day, being the 29th of February, ætat. 73. and was buried at Croydon on the 27th of March following, where he has a fair Monument, with his effigies at length upon it. He was an hoſpitable Man, and uſually travell'd with a great Retinue; in the year 1589, he came into Canterbury with a train of five hundred horſe, of which one hundred were his own Servants. He founded an Hoſpital and Free-ſchool at Croydon, and though he was a cruel perſecutor of the Puritans, yet if compared with his ſucceſſor Bancroft he was a valuable Prelate.

King James I. 1604.

Before the meeting of the Parliament the King iſſued out Proclamations, one commanding all Jeſuits and Prieſts in Orders to depart the Kingdom [Jan. 22d.] in which he was very careful to let the World know, that he did not baniſh them out of hatred to the Catholick Religion; but only for maintaining the Pope's temporal power over Princes. The other was againſt the Puritans, in which there was no Indulgence for tender Conſciences, but all muſt conform, or ſuffer the extremities of the Law.

Proclamations againſt Jeſuits and Puritans. Rapin, p. 250.

The King opened his firſt Seſſion of Parliament with a long Speech, in which there are many ſtrokes of tyranny and arbitrary power: "His Majeſty acknowledges the "Roman Church to be his Mother-church, though defiled "with ſome infirmities and corruptions. That his mind "was ever free from perſecution for matters of conſci-"ence, as he hopes thoſe of that Religion have proved ſince "his firſt coming. He pities the Laity among them, and "would indulge their Clergy if they would but renounce "the Pope's Supremacy, and his pretended power to diſ-"penſe with the murder of Kings. He wiſhes that he "might be a means of uniting the two Religions, for if "they would but abandon their late corruptions, he would "meet them in the mid-way, as having a great veneration

King's Speech to his Parliament. Rapin, p. 261.

King James I. 1604.

" for antiquity in the points of eccleſiaſtical policy. But " then as to the Puritans or Noveliſts, who do not differ " from us ſo much in points of Religion, as in their con- " fuſed form of policy and purity; thoſe (ſays he) are diſ- " contented with the preſent Church Government; they " are impatient to ſuffer any ſuperiority, which makes " their ſect inſufferable in any well govern'd Common- " wealth."

Remarks. Rapin, p. 275.

The Biſhops and their adherents were pleaſed with this Speech, becauſe the King ſeemed reſolved not to ſuffer the Puritans at any rate; the Catholicks did not like his Majeſty's diſtinction between the Laicks and Clericks; but the Puritans had moſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied, to ſee ſo much charity for Papiſts, and ſo little for themſelves. All the Proteſtants in general heard with concern the King's offer to meet the Papiſts half-way. What does he mean? ſay they; is there no difference between popery and proteſtantiſm, but the Pope's authority over Princes? are all other Doctrines to be given up? are the Religions the ſame? and, is this the only point upon which we ſeparated from the Church of Rome? thus unhappily did this pretended proteſtant King ſet out, with laying the foundation of Diſcontent among all ranks of people.

His arbitrary Government.

His Majeſty made frequent mention in his Speech, of his hereditary Right to the Crown, and of his lineal deſcent. That he was accountable to none but God; and, that the only difference between a rightful King and a Tyrant is, that the " one is ordained for preſerving the proſperity of " his people, the other thinks his Kingdom and People are " ordained to ſatisfy his unreaſonable Appetites." Further, his Majeſty altered the Writs for electing Members, and took upon him to deſcribe, what ſort of repreſentatives ſhould be elected, not by way of exhortation but of command, and as conditions without which they ſhould not be admitted into the Houſe, the determination of which was to be in Chancery. He threaten'd to fine and diſfranchiſe thoſe corporations that did not chooſe to his mind; and to fine and impriſon their Repreſentatives if they preſumed to ſit in the Houſe. When the Parliament met he interrupted their examinations of Elections, and commanded the return of Sir Francis Goodwin, whoſe Election they had ſet aſide, to be brought before him and his Judges. Moſt of thoſe who approached the King's perſon laboured to inſpire him with the deſign of making himſelf abſolute; or rather, to confirm

Rapin, p. 252. Coke, p. 52.

confirm him in that reſolution. The Biſhops were among this number; and from this time there has appeared among the Clergy a party of Men that have carried the obedience of the Subject, and the authority of the Sovereign, as high as in the moſt arbitrary Monarchies. King James I. 1604.

But though the Court and Biſhops were ſo well agreed, the Parliament paſs'd ſome Acts which gave them uneaſineſs; as the revival of the Statute of Edward the VI. which enacts, that all proceſſes, citations, judgments, &c. in any eccleſiaſtical Courts, ſhall be iſſued in the King's name, and under the King's Seal of Arms. The Biſhops were ſaid to be aſleep when they ſuffered this Clauſe to paſs; but the Laudæan Clergy broke through it afterwards, as they did through every thing elſe that ſtood in the way of their Sovereignty. It was farther enacted, that all leaſes or grants of Church Lands to the King, or his Heirs, &c. for more than twenty one years for the future ſhould be made void; which put an effectual ſtop to the alienation of the Churches Revenues. The marriages of the Clergy were alſo legitimated, by reviving the Statute of King Edward VI. for that purpoſe. Proceedings of Parliament. Heyl. Aer. Red. p. 375.

The Convocation that ſat with the Parliament was very active againſt the Puritans. The See of Canterbury being vacant, Bancroft Biſhop of London preſided, and produced the King's licenſe to make Canons. May the 2d, he delivered a Book of Canons of his own preparing to the Lower Houſe for their approbation. About the ſame time Mr. Egerton, Fleetwood, Wotton, Clark, and other Puritan Divines, preſented a Petition for Reformation of the Book of Common-Prayer; but inſtead of receiving it, they were admoniſhed to be obedient and conform, together with their adherents before Midſummer-day, or elſe they ſhould undergo the cenſures of the Church. In the mean time the Canons were reviſing. May 23d, there was a debate in the Upper Houſe upon the Croſs in Baptiſm, when Bancroft and ſome others ſpoke vehemently for it; but Dr. Rudd, Biſhop of St. David's ſtood up, and made the following Speech for charity and moderation. Proceedings of Convocation. Strype's Annals, Vol. IV. p. 396.

——"For my own part, I acknowledge the antiquity of "the uſe of the Croſs, as mentioned in Tertullian, and af- "ter him in St. Cyprian, St. Chryſoſtom, Auſtin and "others. I alſo confeſs the original of the ceremony to "have ſprung by occaſion of the Pagans, who reproached "the ancient Chriſtians for believing in Chriſt crucified; Bp. Rudd's Speech in Convocation about the Croſs in Baptiſm. Peirce, p. 158, 159.

King James I. 1604.

" and that in Popery it has been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed; " and I affirm, that it is in the Church of England now " admitted and entertained by us, and reſtored to its anci- " ent integrity, all ſuperſtition abandoned.

" Likewiſe I wiſh, that if the King's Highneſs ſhall per- " ſiſt in impoſing it, all would ſubmit to it (as we do) ra- " ther than forego the Miniſtry in that behalf. But I " greatly fear, by the report that I hear, that very many " learned Preachers, whoſe conſciences are not in our cuſ- " tody, nor to be diſpoſed of at our devotion, will not eaſi- " ly be drawn thereunto; of which number, if any ſhall " come in my walk, I deſire to be furniſhed before hand, " by thoſe that be preſent, with ſufficient reaſons to ſatiſ- " fy them (if it be poſſible) concerning ſome points which " have been now delivered.

Firſt, " Whereas ſundry paſſages of Scripture have been " alledged for the Croſs; as, " God forbid that I ſhould re- " joice ſave in the Croſs of Chriſt;" and divers others of " the like ſenſe; if any of the adverſe opinion fall into my " company, and ſay, that theſe ſcriptures are figurative, " implying the death and paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt; " and that to draw an argument from them to juſtify the " ſign of the Croſs in the Forehead, is an inſufficient kind " of reaſoning, and a fallacy; what anſwer ſhall I make " unto them?

Secondly, " Whereas I have obſerved upon preſent rela- " tion, that the impugners of this ceremony were heard at " large in the conference at Hampton Court, and having " objected the example of Hezekiah, who broke in pieces " the brazen Serpent, after it had been abuſed to idolatry, " and therefore the ſign of the Croſs (which was not " brought into the Church by God's expreſs command, " as the brazen Serpent was, but was from the beginning " a mere invention of Men) ought now to be taken away " by reaſon of the ſuperſtitious abuſe which is ſuſtained in " popery; they received anſwer, that King Hezekiah " might have preſerved it, abandoning the abuſe of it, " if it had pleaſed him, and conſequently it is in the King's " Majeſty's power to aboliſh this ceremony, having " been abuſed, or to retain it in manner aforeſaid. Here- " unto I ſay, that I was one of the conference, yet I " was not at that part of the conference, where thoſe " that ſtood for Reformation had acceſs to the King's " Majeſty's preſence, and liberty to ſpeak for them- " ſelves; for that I, and ſome other of my Brethren the

" Biſhops,

" Biſhops, were ſecluded from that Day's Aſſembly; but
" I ſuppoſe it to be true, as it has been formerly reported,
" and I for my own particular admit the conſequence put
" down above. Now, becauſe I wiſh all others abroad as
" well ſatisfied herein as ourſelves that be here preſent, if
" any of the contrary opinion ſhall come to me, and ſay,
" that the aforeſaid anſwer does not ſatisfy them, becauſe
" they think there is to be as great reaſon now, to move
" them to become petitioners to his Majeſty for aboliſhing
" the Croſs in Baptiſm, as there was to move the godly
" Zealous in Hezekiah's time to be petitioners for defacing
" the Brazen Serpent, becauſe the Church-going Papiſts
" now among us, do ſuperſtitiouſly abuſe the one, as the
" Iſraelites did the other; what ſound anſwer ſhall I make
" to them for their better ſatisfaction?

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Thirdly, " Whereas it has been this day alledged, that
" 'tis convenient and neceſſary to preſerve the memory
" of the Croſs of Chriſt by this means; if haply any of the
" other ſide ſhall come to me, and ſay, that the memory
" of the Croſs of Chriſt might be ſufficiently, and more
" ſafely preſerved by preaching the Doctrine of the Goſpel,
" the ſum whereof is Chriſt crucified; which was ſo lively
" preached to the Galatians, as if his bodily image had
" been crucified among them; and yet we know not of any
" material or ſignal Croſs that was in uſe in the Church
" at that time; I deſire to know what ſatisfaction or an-
" ſwer muſt be given to them?

" Moreover, I proteſt that all my ſpeeches now are ut-
" tered by way of Propoſition, not by way of Oppoſition,
" and that they all tend to work pacification in the Church;
" for I put great difference between what is lawful and
" what is expedient, and between them that are ſchiſ-
" matical, and them that are ſcrupulous only upon ſome
" Ceremonies, being otherwiſe learned, ſtudious, grave and
" honeſt men.

" Concerning theſe laſt, I ſuppoſe, if upon the urging them
" to abſolute ſubſcription, they ſhould be ſtiff, and chooſe
" rather to forego their livings and the exerciſe of their
" miniſtry, though I do not juſtify their doing herein, yet
" ſurely their ſervice will be miſſed at ſuch a time, as
" need ſhall require us and them to give the right hand of
" fellowſhip one to another, and to go arm in arm againſt
" the common adverſary.———

" Likewiſe conſider who muſt be the executioners of
" their deprivation? even we our ſelves the Biſhops, againſt

King James I. 1604.

" whom there will be a great clamour of them and their " dependents, and many others who are well affected to- " wards them, whereby our perſons will be in hazard to be " brought into extreme diſlike or hatred.

" Alſo remember, that when the Benjamites were all " deſtroyed, ſaving ſix hundred, and the men of Iſrael " ſware in their fury that none of them would give his " daughter to the Benjamites to wife, though they ſuffered " for their juſt deſerts, yet their brethren afterwards la- " mented and ſaid, There is one Tribe cut off from Iſrael " this day, and they uſed all their wits, to the uttermoſt of " their policy, to reſtore that Tribe again.

" In like ſort, if theſe our brethren aforeſaid ſhall be " deprived of their places for the matter premiſed, I think " we ſhould find cauſe to bend our wits to the utmoſt ex- " tent of our ſkill, to provide ſome cure of ſouls for them, " that they may exerciſe their Talents.

" Furthermore, if theſe men, being divers hundreds, " ſhould forſake their charges, who, I pray you, ſhould " ſucceed them? Verily, I know not where to find ſo ma- " ny able Preachers in this Realm unprovided for; but " ſuppoſe there were, yet they might more conveniently be " ſettled in the ſeats of unpreaching Miniſters. But if they " are put in the places of theſe men that are diſpoſſeſſed, " thereupon it will follow, 1. That the number of preach- " ing Miniſters will not be multiplied. 2. The Church can- " not be ſo well furniſhed on a ſudden; for though the " new ſupply may be of learned men from the Univerſi- " ties, yet will they not be ſuch ready preachers for a time, " nor ſo experienced in paſtoral government, nor ſo " well acquainted with the manners of the people, nor ſo " diſcreet in their carriage, as thoſe who have already ſpent " many years in their miniſterial charge.

" Beſides, foraſmuch as in the time of the late Arch- " biſhop of Canterbury theſe things were not ſo extremely " urged, but that many learned Preachers enjoyed their " liberty conditionally, that they did not by word or deed " openly diſturb the State eſtabliſhed, I would know a rea- " ſon why they ſhould now be ſo generally and exceeding " ſtraitly called upon, eſpecially ſince there is a greater " encreaſe of Papiſts lately than heretofore.

" To conclude, I wiſh, that if by petition to the King's " Majeſty there cannot be obtained a quite remove of the " premiſes, nor yet a toleration for them, that are of more

" ſtaid

" ſtaid and temperate carriage, yet at leaſt there might be " procured a mitigation of the penalty." King James I. 1604.

The Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Ely and Lincoln, anſwered the Biſhop of St. David's Speech; but when his Lordſhip would have replied, he was forbid by the Preſident and ſubmitted; affirming, that as nothing was more dear to him than the peace of the Church, he was determined to uſe the beſt means he could to draw others to Unity and Conformity with himſelf, and the reſt of the reverend company. And thus the debate ended.

The book of Canons found an eaſy paſſage through both Houſes of Convocation, and was afterwards ratified by the King's Letters Patents under his Great Seal; it contained one hundred forty one Articles, collected out of the Injunctions, and other epiſcopal and ſynodical Acts of the reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, and are the ſame that are now in force, except ſuch as are ſet aſide by the late Act of Indulgence to Proteſtant Diſſenters. By theſe we may ſee the ſpirit of the Church at this time, and how freely ſhe diſpenſed her Anathema's againſt thoſe that attempted a further Reformation. The Canons that relate to the Puritans deſerve a particular notice.

Abſtract of the book of Canons.

" Canon III. ſays, That whoſoever ſhall affirm, that " the Church of England by Law eſtabliſhed is not a " true and Apoſtolical Church, let him be excommu- " nicated ipſo facto, and not reſtored but only by the " Archbiſhop, after his repentance and publick revocation " of his wicked Error.

" Canon IV. Whoſoever ſhall affirm the form of " God's Worſhip in the Church of England eſtabliſhed " by Law, and contained in the book of Common-prayer, " and adminiſtration of Sacraments, is a corrupt, ſuper- " ſtitious, and unlawful worſhip, or contains any thing " repugnant to Scripture, let him be excommunicated " ipſo facto, and not be reſtored, &c.

" Canon V. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that any of the " Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, agreed upon in the " year 1562. " for avoiding diverſity of Opinions, and for " eſtabliſhing Conſent touching true Religion," are in any " ſort ſuperſtitious or erroneous, or ſuch as he may not " with a good conſcience ſubſcribe to, let him be excom- " municated ipſo facto, and not reſtored, &c.

" Canon

King James I. 1604.

" Canon VI. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the Rites " and Ceremonies of the Church of England by law eſta- " bliſhed, are wicked, anti-chriſtian, ſuperſtitious, or ſuch " as being commanded by lawful authority, good men may " not with a good conſcience approve, uſe, or, as occaſion " requires, ſubſcribe, let him be excommunicated ipſo " facto, and not reſtored, &c.

" Canon VII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, the government " of the Church of England by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, " Deans and Archdeacons, and the reſt that bear office in " the ſame, is antichriſtian, or repugnant to the Word of " God, let him be excommunicated Ipſo facto, and not " reſtored, &c.

" Canon VIII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that the form " and manner of making and conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, " or Deacons, contains any thing repugnant to the Word " of God; or that perſons ſo made and conſecrated are not " lawfully made, or need any other calling or ordination to " their divine offices, let him be excommunicated ipſo " facto, and not reſtored, &c.

" Canon IX. Whoſoever ſhall ſeparate from the Com- " munion of the Church of England, as it is approved by " the Apoſtles rules, and combine together in a new Bro- " therhood, accounting thoſe who conform to the Doc- " trines, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church unmeet for " their Communion, let them be excommunicated ipſo " facto, and not reſtored, &c.

" Canon X. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that ſuch Miniſters " as refuſe to ſubſcribe to the form and manner of God's " worſhip in the Church of England, and their adherents, " may truly take to themſelves the name of another Church " not eſtabliſhed by law, and ſhall publiſh, that their intended " Church has groaned under the burden of certain grie- " vances, impoſed on them by the Church of England, let " them be excommunicated ipſo facto, and not reſtored, &c.

" Canon XI. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that there are with- " in this Realm, other Meetings, Aſſemblies or Congrega- " tions of the King's born Subjects, than ſuch as are eſta- " bliſhed by law, which may rightly challenge to them- " ſelves the name of true and lawful Churches, let him be " excommunicated ipſo facto, and not reſtored, &c.

" Canon XII. Whoſoever ſhall affirm, that it is lawful " for any ſort of Miniſters or Lay-perſons to make Rules, " Orders and Conſtitutions, in Cauſes eccleſiaſtical, without " the King's Authority, and ſhall ſubmit to be ruled and

" governed

" governed by them, let him be excommunicated ipſo facto, " and not reſtored, &c. King James I. 1604.

" Canon XCVIII. We decree and appoint, that after " any Judge eccleſiaſtical, hath proceeded judicially againſt " obſtinate and factious perſons, for not obſerving the Rites " and Ceremonies of the Church, or for contempt of pub- " lick Prayer, no Judge ad quem ſhall admit or allow of " an Appeal, unleſs he having firſt ſeen the Original " Appeal, the party Appellant do firſt perſonally promiſe " and vow, that he will faithfully keep and obſerve all the " Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, as alſo " the preſcript form of Common-prayer; and do likewiſe " ſubſcribe the three Articles formerly by us ſpecified and " declared."

Remarks. They that are acquainted with the terrible conſequences of an Excommunication in the ſpiritual Courts, muſt be ſenſible of the new hardſhips put upon the Puritans by theſe Canons; Suſpenſions and Deprivations from their Livings, were not now thought ſufficient puniſhments for the ſin of Non-conformity; but the Puritans, both Clergy and Laity, muſt be turned out of the Congregation of the Faithful; they muſt be made uncapable of ſuing for their lawful debts; they muſt be impriſoned for life by a Capias, unleſs they make ſatisfaction to the Church; when they die they muſt not have Chriſtian Burial; but as much as lies in the power of the Court be excluded the Kingdom of Heaven. O uncharitableneſs! Papiſts excommunicate Proteſtants, becauſe by renouncing the Catholick Faith they apprehend them guilty of Hereſy; but for Proteſtants of the ſame Faith to excommunicate their fellow-chriſtians and ſubjects, and deprive them of their Liberties, Properties, and Eſtates, for a few indifferent Ceremonies; or, becauſe they have not the ſame veneration for the eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution with themſelves, is hardly to be parallel'd.

Remainder of the Canons. To take notice of a few more of the Canons; Canon XIV. forbids the Miniſter to add to, or leave out any part of the Prayers. Canon XVIII. enjoins bowing at the name of Jeſus. Canon XVII, XXIV, XXV, LVIII, LXXIV, enjoins the wearing the Habits in Colleges, Cathedrals, &c. as Copes, Surplices, Hoods. Canon XXVII. forbids giving the Sacrament to Schiſmaticks, or to any but ſuch as kneel, and allow of the Rites, Ceremonies and Orders of the Church. Canon XXVIII. ſays, that none ſhall be admitted to

King James I. 1604.

to the Sacrament but in their own Pariſh. Canon XXIX. That no Parent ſhall be urged to be preſent, nor be admitted to anſwer as a God-father for his own child in Baptiſm. Canon XXX. declares the ſign of the Croſs to be no part of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, but that the ordinance is perfect without it. Canon XXXIII. prohibits Ordination without a Preſentation, and ſays, that if any Biſhop ordain without a title, he ſhall maintain the perſon till he be provided with a living. Canon XXXVI, and XXXVII. ſay, that no perſon ſhall be ordained, or ſuffered to preach, or catechize in any place as a Lecturer, or otherwiſe, unleſs he firſt ſubſcribe the three Articles following; "1. That the King's Majeſty is the ſupreme "Head and Governor of this Realm, as well in all ſpiritual "and eccleſiaſtical, as temporal Cauſes. 2. That the "Book of Common-prayer, &c. contains nothing contra-"ry to the word of God, and that he will uſe it and none "other. 3. That he alloweth the Thirty nine Articles of "1562. to be all, and every one of them agreeable to the "word of God." To theſe he ſhall ſubſcribe in the following form of Words.

I N. N. do willingly, and Ex Animo, ſubſcribe to theſe three Articles abovementioned, and to all things that are contained in them.

Canon XXXVIII. ſays, that if any Miniſter, after ſubſcription, ſhall diſuſe the Ceremonies, he ſhall firſt be ſuſpended; then after a month excommunicated, and after another month depoſed from his Miniſtry. Canon LV. contains the form of bidding Prayer before Sermon; "Ye "ſhall pray for Chriſt's Holy Catholick Church, &c." the original of which I have accounted for. Canon LXXXII. appoints, "That convenient and decent Tables ſhall be "provided in all Churches for the celebration of the holy "Communion, and the ſame tables ſhall be covered in "time of divine Service with a carpet of Silk, or other "convenient ſtuff; and with a fair linen Cloth at the time of "the Adminiſtration, as becometh that Table, and ſo "ſtand, ſaving when the ſaid holy Communion is to be "adminiſtered; at which time the ſame ſhall be placed in "ſo good ſort within the Church or Chancel, as thereby "the Miniſter may be more conveniently heard of the "Communicants in his Prayer and Adminiſtration; and

"the

" the Communicants alſo more conveniently, and in more " numbers, may communicate with the ſaid Miniſter; " and a convenient Seat ſhall be made for the Miniſter to " read Service in." King James I. 1604.

The other Canons relate to the particular duties of Miniſters, Lecturers, Church-wardens, Pariſh Clerks; to the juriſdiction and buſineſs of Eccleſiaſtical Courts, with their proper Officers, as Judges Eccleſiaſtical, Surrogates, Proctors, Regiſters, Apparitors, &c. The Book concludes with denouncing the Sentence of Excommunication, 1. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, that this Synod thus aſſembled is not the true Church of England by repreſentation. 2. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, that perſons not particularly aſſembled in this Synod, either Clergy or Laity, are not ſubject to the decrees thereof, as not having given their Voices to them. 3. Againſt ſuch as ſhall affirm, this ſacred Synod was a company of ſuch perſons as did conſpire againſt godly and religious profeſſors of the Goſpel, and therefore that they and their proceedings ought to be deſpiſed and contemned, though ratified and confirmed by the Royal Supremacy and Authority.

The King in his Ratification of theſe Canons, commands them to be diligently obſerved and executed; and for the better obſervation of the ſame, that every pariſh Miniſter ſhall read them over once every year in his Church on a Sunday or Holiday, before divine Service; and all Archbiſhops, Biſhops and others, that have eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, are commanded to ſee all and every the ſame put in execution, and not ſpare to execute the penalties in them ſeverally mentioned on thoſe that wilfully break or neglect them. I ſhall leave the reader to make his own comment on the proceedings of this Synod, and only obſerve, that when they had finiſhed their Decrees, they were prorogued to January, 160⅞. when Dr. Overal being Prolocutor, they gave the King four Subſidies, but did no more Church buſineſs till the time of their diſſolution, in the year 1610. Ratification of the Canons.

Dr. Bancroft, Biſhop of London, being tranſlated to the See of Canterbury, [December 1604.] was ſucceeded by Vaughan Biſhop of Cheſter, a corpulent Man, and of little activity; upon his advancement the Dutch and French Miniſters within his Dioceſe, preſented him with an addreſs for his protection and favour, wherein they ſet forth, " That their Churches were granted them by Charter " from pious King Edward VI. in the year 1550; and that, " though Addreſs of the French and Dutch Churches to the Bp. of London. Strype's An. Vol. ult. p. 390.

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" though they were again diſperſed by the Marian Perſe-
" cution, they were reſtored to their Churches and Privi-
" leges by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1558, from which
" time they have been in the uninterrupted poſſeſſion of
" them. It appears from our Records (ſay they) how
" kind and friendly the pious Grindal was to us; and
" what pains the prudent Biſhop Sandys took in com-
" poſing our differences. We promiſe ourſelves the like
" favour from your Lordſhip, &c.----for whom we ſhall
" always pray, &c."----- Monſieur De la Fontain deli-
vered the Addreſs, with a ſhort Latin Speech, to whom
the Biſhop replied, " I thank you, moſt dear Brethren, for
" your kind Addreſs; I am ſenſible of the Merits of John
" Alaſco, Utenhovius, and Edmund Grindal Biſhop of
" London, Superintendents of your Churches; and of the
" reſt of my Predeceſſors in this biſhoprick, who had reaſon
" to take your Churches, which are of the ſame faith with
" our own, under their patronage, which I alſo am rea-
Strype's Ar, Vol. ult. p. 395. " dy to do. I have known your Churches twenty-five
" years to have been beneficial to the Kingdom, and ſer-
" viceable to the Church of England, in which the Devil,
" the author of Diſcord, has kindled the fire of Diſſen-
" tion, into which I pray you not to pour oil, but to
" endeavour, by your Counſels and Prayers, to extinguiſh."
Thus the foreign Churches enjoyed full peace, while his Majeſty's own Subjects, of the ſame Faith and Diſcipline with them, were harraſſed out of the Kingdom.

Bancroft was a Divine of a rough temper, a perfect creature of the Prerogative, and a declared enemy of the religious and civil liberties of his Country. He was for advancing the Prerogative above Law, and for enlarging the juriſdiction of the Spiritual Courts, by adviſing his Majeſty to take the whole Right of granting Prohibitions from the Courts of Weſtminſter-Hall to himſelf: for this purpoſe he framed twenty-five Grievances of the Clergy, which he called Articuli Cleri, and preſented them to the King for his approbation; but the Judges having declared them to be contrary to law, they were ſet aſide.

Perſecution of the Puritans revived.

His Grace revived the Perſecution of the Puritans, by enforcing the ſtrict obſervance of all the feſtivals of the Church; by reviving the uſe of Copes, Surplices, Caps, Hoods, &c. according to the firſt ſervice Book of King Edward; by obliging the Clergy to ſubſcribe over again to the three Articles of Whitgift, which by the late Canon

[No.

[No. XXXVI.] they were obliged to declare they did "willingly, and from the heart." By theſe methods of ſeverity above three hundred Puritan Miniſters were ſilenced or deprived; ſome of whom were excommunicated and caſt into priſon, others were forced to leave their native Country and livelihood, and go into baniſhment, to preſerve their Conſciences. "I ſay (ſays Mr. Collier) to "preſerve their Conſciences, for 'tis a hard thing to bring "every body's underſtanding to the common ſtandard, and "to make all honeſt Men of the ſame mind."

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Altare Damaſc.

Eccl. Hiſt. p. 687.

To countenance and ſupport the Archbiſhop's proceedings, the King ſummoned the twelve Judges into the Star Chamber, and demanded their Judgments upon three Queſtions; there were preſent the Biſhops of Canterbury and London, and about twelve Lords of the Privy Council.

Opinion of the Star-Chamber about deprivations, prohibitions and petitions.

The Lord Chancellor opened the Aſſembly with a ſharp Speech againſt the Puritans, as diſturbers of the Peace, declaring that the King intended to ſuppreſs them, by having the Laws put in execution; and then demanded, in his Majeſty's name, the opinion of the Judges in three things:

Crooke's reports, Term Mich 2d. Jacobi, Part 2d. p. 37. Parag. 13.

Q. 1. "Whether the deprivation of Puritan Miniſ-"ters by the High Commiſſioners, for refuſing to conform "to the Ceremonies appointed by the laſt Canons, was "lawful?

The Judges replied, "That they had conferred thereof "before, and held it to be lawful, becauſe the King had "the ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical Power, which he has delega-"ted to the Commiſſioners, whereby they have the pow-"er of deprivation, by the Canon Law of the Realm, "and the Statute firſt Eliz. which appoints Commiſſion-"ers to be made by the Queen, but does not confer any "New Power, but explain and declare the Ancient Pow-"er; and therefore they held it clear, "That the King "without Parliament might make Orders and Conſtituti-"ons for the Government of the Clergy, and might de-"prive them if they obeyed not; and ſo the Commiſſioners "might deprive them;" but that the Commiſſioners could "not make any new Conſtitutions without the King. And the "divulging ſuch Ordinances by Proclamation is a moſt gra-"cious admonition. And foraſmuch as they [the Puritans] "have refuſed to obey, they are lawfully deprived by the "Commiſſioners Ex Officio, without libel, Et ore tenus "convocati.

Q. 2.

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Q. 2. "Whether a Prohibition be grantable againſt "the Commiſſioners upon the Statute of 2 Henry V. "if they do not deliver the Copy of the Libel to the "Party?

The Judges replied, "That that Statute was intend-"ed where the Eccleſiaſtical Judge proceeds Ex Officio, "& ore tenus.

Q. 3. "Whether it be an offence puniſhable, and "what puniſhment they deſerved, who framed petitions, "and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to "the King in a publick cauſe, as the Puritans had done, "with an intimation to the King, that if he denied their ſuit "many thouſands of his Subjects would be diſcontented?

The Judges replied, "That it was an offence fineable "at diſcretion, and very near to treaſon and felony in "the puniſhment, for it tended to the raiſing ſedition, "rebellion and diſcontent among the People." To which unaccountable Reſolution all the Lords agreed.

Remarks.

By theſe determinations the whole Body of the Clergy are excluded the benefit of the Statute Law of the Land; for the King without Parliament may make what Conſtitutions he pleaſes: His Majeſty's High Commiſſioners may proceed upon theſe "Conſtitutions Ex Officio," without the forms of common Law; and the Subject may not open his complaints to the King, nor petition for relief, without being fineable at pleaſure, and coming within danger of treaſon or felony?

Before the breaking up of the Aſſembly ſome of the Lords declared, that the Puritans had raiſed a falſe rumour of the King, as intending to grant a toleration to Papiſts; which offence the Judges conceived to be heinouſly fineable by the rules of common Law, either in the King's Bench or by the King and his Council; or now, ſince the Statute of 3 Henry VII. in the Star Chamber. And the Lords ſeverally declared, that the King was diſcontented with the ſaid falſe rumour, and had made but the day before a proteſtation to them, "That he never intended it, and that he "would ſpend the laſt drop of blood in his Body before he "would do it; and prayed that before any of his Iſſue "ſhould maintain any other Religion than what he truly "profeſſed and maintained, that God would take them "out of the world." The reader will remember this ſolemn proteſtation hereafter.

King James's proteſtation.

After theſe determinations the Archbiſhop reſumed freſh courage, and purſued the Puritans without the leaſt compaſſion.

paſſion. A more grievous perſecution of the Orthodox Faith (ſays my Author) is not to be met with in any Prince's Reign. Dr. John Burges, Rector of Sutton Colefield, in one of his letters to King James, ſays, the number of Non-conformiſts in the Counties he mentions, were ſix or ſeven hundred, agreeable to the addreſs of the Lincolnſhire Miniſters hereafter mentioned, viz.

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Adridgment of Linc.

In	Oxfordſhire	9	In	Staffordſhire	14
	Dorſetſhire	17		Hertfordſhire	17
	Nottinghamſhire	20		Surrey	21
	Norfolk	28		Wiltſhire	31
	Buckinghamſhire	33		Suſſex	47
	Leiceſterſhire	57		Cheſhire	12
	Bedfordſhire	16		Somerſetſhire	17
	Derbyſhire	20		Lancaſhire	21
	Kent	23		London	30
	Lincolnſhire	33		Warwickſhire	44
	Devon and Cornwal	51		Northamptonſhire	57
	Suffolk	71		Eſſex	57

Addr. p. 52. Numbers of Non-ſubſcribers.

In the twenty four Counties abovementioned —— 754

From whence 'tis reaſonable to conclude, that in the fifty two Counties of England and Wales there were more than double the number.

The whole Clergy of London being ſummoned to Lambeth, in order to ſubſcribe over again, many abſconded, and ſuch numbers refuſed, that the Church was in danger of being diſfurniſhed, which awakened the Court, who had been told that the Non-conformiſts were but an inconſidable body of Men. Upon this ſurpriſing appearance the Biſhops were obliged to relax the rigor of the Canons for a time; and to accept of a Promiſe from ſome, to uſe the Croſs and Surplice only; from others to uſe the Surplice only; and from others a verbal promiſe, that they might be uſed, not obliging themſelves to the uſe of them at all; the deſign of which was to ſerve the Church by them at preſent, 'till the Univerſities could ſupply them with new Men; for they had a ſtrict eye upon thoſe Seminaries of learning, and would admit no young Scholar into Orders without an abſolute and full ſubſcription to all the Articles and Canons.

Bancroft's Letter about preſſing conformity. Pierce, p. 170.

Bancroft in a Letter to his Brethren the Biſhops, dated December 18th, 1604. gives the following directions, "As

"to

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" to ſuch Miniſters as are not already placed in the Church, " the 36th and 37th Canons are to be obſerved; and none " are to be admitted to execute any Eccleſiaſtical Functi- " on without ſubſcription. Such as are already placed in " the Church are of two ſorts: 1. Some promiſe confor- " mity, but are unwilling to ſubſcribe again. Of theſe, " foraſmuch as the nearer affinity between conformity and " ſubſcription gives apparent hopes, that being Men of " ſincerity, they will in a ſhort time frame themſelves to a " more conſtant courſe, and ſubſcribe to that again, which " by their practice they teſtify not to be repugnant to the " Word of God; your Lordſhip may (an Act remaining " upon record of ſuch their offer and promiſe) reſpite their " ſubſcription for ſome ſhort time. 2. Others in their ob- " ſtinacy will yield neither to ſubſcription, nor promiſe of " conformity; theſe are either ſtipendary Curates, or ſti- " pendary Lecturers, or Men beneficed; the two firſt are " to be ſilenced, and the third deprived." He adds, " That " the King's Proclamation of July 16, 1604. admoniſhes " them to conform to the Church, and obey the ſame, " or elſe to diſpoſe of themſelves and their families ſome " other way, as being Men unfit, for their obſtinacy and " contempt, to occupy ſuch places; and beſides, they are " within the compaſs of ſeveral Laws."

Mr. Lad, Mr. Maunſel, and Mr. Fuller's ſufferings.

The Puritans that ſeparated from the Church, or inclined that way, were treated with yet greater rigor. Mr. Manſel Miniſter of Yarmouth, and Mr. Lad a Merchant of that town, were impriſoned by the High Commiſſion, for a ſuppoſed Conventicle, becauſe that on the Lord's-day after Sermon, they joined with Mr. Jackler their late Miniſter, in repeating the heads of the Sermon preached that day in the Church. Mr. Lad was obliged to anſwer upon oath certain Articles, without being able to obtain a ſight of them before hand; and after he had anſwered before the Chancellor, was cited up to Lambeth to anſwer them again before the High Commiſſioners upon a new oath, which he refuſing, without a ſight of his former Anſwer, was thrown into priſon, where he continued a long time, without being admitted to Bail. Mr. Maunſel the Miniſter was charged further, with ſigning a complaint to the Lower Houſe of Parliament, and for refuſing the oath Ex Officio; for which he alſo was ſhut up in priſon without bail. At length being brought to the bar upon a Writ of Habeas Corpus; and having prevailed with Nic. Fuller, Eſq;

a Bencher

a Bencher of Grays Inn, and a learned Man in his profeſſion, to be their Counſel; he moved, that the priſoners ought to be diſcharged, becauſe the High Commiſſioners were not impowered by law to impriſon, or to adminiſter the oath Ex Officio, or to fine any of his Majeſty's Subjects. This was reckoned an unpardonable crime, and inſtead of ſerving his Clients, brought the indignation of the Commiſſioners upon himſelf. Bancroft told the King, that he was the champion of the Non-conformiſts, and ought therefore to be made an example, to terrify others from appearing for them; accordingly he was ſhut up in cloſe priſon, from whence neither the interceſſion of his friends, nor his own moſt humble petitions, could obtain his releaſe to the day of his death. King James I. 1604.

This high abuſe of Church Power obliged many learned Miniſters and their Followers to leave the Kingdom, and retire to Amſterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, and other places of the Low Countries, where Engliſh Churches were erected after the Preſbyterian model, and maintained by the States according to Treaty with Queen Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch Churches were in England. Beſides, the Engliſh being yet in poſſeſſion of the cautionary Towns, many went over as Chaplains to Regiments, which together with the Merchants that reſided in the trading Cities, made a conſiderable body. The Reverend and learned Dr. William Ames, one of the moſt acute controverſial Writers of his Age, ſettled with the Engliſh Church at the Hague; the learned Mr. Robert Parker a Wiltſhire Divine, and Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Policy, being diſturbed by the High Commiſſion, retired to Amſterdam, and afterwards became Chaplain to the Engliſh Regiment at Doeſburgh, where he died. The learned Mr. Forbes, a Scots Divine, ſettled with the Engliſh Church at Rotterdam; as Mr. Pots, Mr. Paget, and others, did at Amſterdam and other places. Puritans retire to Holland.

But the greateſt number of thoſe that left their native Country for Religion were Browniſts, or rigid Separatiſts, of whom Mr. Johnſon, Ainſworth, Smith and Robinſon, were the Leaders. Mr. Johnſon erected a Church at Amſterdam, after the model of the Browniſts, having the learned Mr. Ainſworth for Doctor or Teacher. Theſe two publiſhed to the World a Confeſſion of Faith of the People called Browniſts, in the year 1602, not much different in Doctrine from the harmony of Confeſſions; but being Men of warm Spirits, they fell to pieces about ſome points of Diſcipline; History of the Browniſts proſecuted. Of Mr. Johnſon and Ainſworth.

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cipline; Johnſon excommunicated his own Father and Brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the Preſbytery of Amſterdam. This divided the Congregation, inſomuch that Mr. Ainſworth and half the Congregation excommunicated Johnſon, who after ſome time returned the ſame compliment to Ainſworth. At length the conteſt grew ſo hot, that Amſterdam could not hold them; Johnſon and his Followers removing to Embden, where ſoon after he died, and his Congregation diſſolved. Nor did Mr. Ainſworth and his Followers live long in peace, for ſoon after he left them and retired to Ireland, where he continued ſome time, but when the ſpirits of his People were quieted he returned to Amſterdam, and continued with them to his death. This Mr. Ainſworth was Author of an excellent little Treatiſe, entitled, "an Arrow againſt Idolatry," and of a moſt learned Commentary on the five Books of Moſes, by which he appears to have been a moſt complete Maſter of the Oriental Languages and of Jewiſh Antiquities. His death was ſudden, and not without ſuſpicion of Violence; for it is reported, that having found a Diamond of very great value in the Streets of Amſterdam; he adverti ſed it in print, and when the Owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would deſire; but Ainſworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with ſome of his Rabbies upon the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament relating to the Meſſias, which the other promiſed; but not having intereſt enough to obtain it, 'tis thought he was poiſon'd. His Congregation remained without a Paſtor for ſome years after his death, and then choſe Mr. Canne, Author of the Marginal References to the Bible, and ſundry other Treatiſes.

Of Mr. Smith the Browniſt.

Mr. Smith was a learned Man, and of good Abilities, but of an unſettled Head, as appears by the Preface to one of his Books, in which he deſires that his laſt Writings may always be taken for his preſent Judgment. He was for refining upon the Browniſts Scheme, and at laſt declared for the Principles of the Baptiſts; upon this he left Amſterdam, and ſettled with his Diſciples at Ley; where, being at a loſs for a proper Adminiſtrator of the Ordinance of Baptiſm he plunged himſelf, and then performed the Ceremony upon others, which gained him the name of a Sebaptiſt. He afterwards embraced the Tenets of Arminius, and publiſhed certain concluſions upon thoſe points in the year 1611, which Mr. Robinſon anſwer'd; but Smith died ſoon after, and his Congregation diſſolved.

Mr.

King James I. 1604.

Of Mr. Robinſon, the firſt Independant. Bayle's Diſſuaſive, p. 17.

Mr. John Robinſon was a Norfolk Divine, beneficed about Yarmouth, but being often moleſted by the Biſhop's Officers, and his Friends almoſt ruined in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, he removed to Leyden, and erected a Congregation upon the model of the Browniſts. He ſet out upon the moſt rigid Principles, but by converſing with Dr. Ames, and other learned Men, he became more moderate; and though he always maintained the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of ſeparating from thoſe reformed Churches among whom he lived, he did not deny them to be true Churches, but admitted their Members to occaſional Communion, and his own to join with the Dutch Churches in Prayer and hearing the word, but not in the Sacraments and Diſcipline, which gained him the Character of a Semi-ſeparatiſt; his Words are theſe, "Profitemur coram Deo & hominibus adeo nobis conve- "nire cum Eccleſiis reformatis Belgicis in re Religionis ut "omnibus & ſingulis earundum Eccleſiarum fidei Articulis, "prout habentur in harmonia Confeſſionum fidei, parati "ſumus ſubſcribere.——Eccleſias reformatas pro veris "& genuinis habemus, cum iiſdem in ſacris Dei commu- "nionem profitemur, & quantum in nobis eſt, colimus. "Conciones publicas ab illarum Paſtoribus habitas, ex "noſtris qui norunt linguam Belgicam frequentant: Sacram "Cænam earum Membris, ſi qua forte noſtris cœtibus in- "terſint nobis cognita, participamus." i. e. "We pro- "feſs before God and Men, that we agree ſo entirely with "the reformed Dutch Churches in Matters of Religion; "that we are willing to ſubſcribe all and every one of their "Articles, as they are ſet down in the Harmony of Con- "feſſions.—— We acknowledge theſe reformed Churches "for true and genuine; we hold Communion with them "as far as we can; thoſe among us that underſtand the "Dutch Language frequent their Sermons; and we ad- "miniſter the Lord's Supper to ſuch of their Members as "are known to us, and deſire it occaſionally." This Mr. Robinſon was the Father of the Independants.

Rob. Apol. for the Browniſts, p. 7, 11, 35.

Of Mr. Henry Jacob. L. of Whit. p. 566.

Mr. Henry Jacob was born in Kent, and educated in St. Mary Hall, where he took the Degrees in Arts, enter'd into Holy Orders, and became Precentor of Chriſt Church College, and afterwards beneficed in his own Country at Cheriton. He was a perſon moſt excellently read in Theological Authors, but withal a moſt zealous Puritan. He writ two Treatiſes againſt Fr. Johnſon the Browniſt, in defence of the Church of England's being a true Church,

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printed at Middleburgh, 1599, and afterwards publiſhed "Reaſons taken out of God's Word, and the beſt human "Teſtimonies, proving a neceſſity of reforming our "Churches of England, &c. 1604," but going to Leyden, and converſing with Mr. Robinſon, he embraced his ſentiments of Diſcipline and Government, and tranſplanted it into England in the Year 1616, as will be ſeen in its proper place.

Ath. Ox. Vol. I. p. 464.

Lawfulneſs of Separation from the Ch. of Eng. argued.

This difference among the Puritans engaged them in a warm controverſy among themſelves about the "Lawful-"neſs and Neceſſity of ſeparating from the Church of "England," while the conforming Clergy ſtood by as Spectators of the Combat. Moſt of the Puritans were for keeping within the pale of the Church, apprehending it to be a true Church in its Doctrines and Sacraments, though defective in Diſcipline, and corrupt in Ceremonies, but being a true Church they thought it not lawful to ſeparate, though they could hardly continue in it with a good conſcience. They ſubmitted to Suſpenſions and Deprivations; and when they were turned out of one Dioceſe they took Sanctuary in another, but were afraid of incurring the danger of Schiſm by ſetting up ſeparate Communions. The Browniſts maintained, that the Church of England, in its preſent conſtitution, was no true Church of Chriſt, but a Limb of Antichriſt, or at beſt but a mere creature of the State; that their Miniſters were not rightly called and ordained, nor the Sacraments duly adminiſter'd; but ſuppoſing it to be a true Church, it was owned by their adverſaries [the conforming Puritans] to be a very corrupt one; and therefore it muſt be as lawful to ſeparate from the Church of England, as for the Church of England to ſeparate from Rome. The Puritans evaded this conſequence, by denying the Church of Rome to be a true Church; nay, they affirmed it to be the very Antichriſt; but the Argument remained in full Force againſt the Biſhops, and that part of the Clergy that acknowledged the Church of Rome to be a true Church.

Remarks.

'Tis certainly as lawful to ſeparate from the corruptions o one Church as of another; and 'tis neceſſary to do ſo' when thoſe corruptions are impoſed as terms of Communion. Let us hear Archbiſhop Laud, in his Conference with the Jeſuit Fiſher. "Another Church (ſays his Grace) may "ſeparate from Rome, if Rome will ſeparate from Chriſt, "and ſo far as it ſeparates from him, and the Faith, ſo far "may another Church ſeparate from it.——— I grant the "Church

Archbiſhop Laud's Sentiments of Separation p. 140.

" Church of Rome to be a true Church in Eſſence, though " corrupt in manners and doctrine.——And corruption of " manners attended with errors in the doctrines of Faith, " is a juſt cauſe for one particular Church to ſeparate from " another"—— His Grace then adds, with regard to the Church of Rome; " The cauſe of the ſeparation is yours, " for you thruſt us from you becauſe we called for truth " and redreſs of Abuſes; for a Schiſm muſt needs be " theirs whoſe the cauſe of it is; the woe runs full out of " the Mouth of Chriſt even againſt him that gives the " offence, not againſt him that takes it.———It was ill " done of thoſe, whoe'er they were, who firſt made the " ſeparation [from Rome]; I mean not actual but cauſal, " for as I ſaid before, the ſchiſm is theirs whoſe the cauſe " of it is: and he makes the ſeparation who gives the firſt " juſt cauſe of it, not he that makes an actual ſeparation " upon a juſt cauſe preceding." Let the Reader carefully conſider theſe conceſſions, and then judge how far they will juſtify the ſeparation of the Browniſts, or the Proteſtant Non-conformiſts at this day.

King James I. 1604.

p. 128.

p. 148.

p. 133.

p. 142, 143.

This year was famous for the diſcovery of the Gun-powder-plot, which was a contrivance of the Papiſts to blow up the King and the whole Royal Family, with the chief of the Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry, November 5th, the firſt day of their aſſembling in Parliament; for this purpoſe a Cellar was hired under the Houſe of Lords, and ſtored with thirty ſix barrels of Gun-power, covered over with Coals and Faggots. But the plot was diſcovered the Night before, by means of a Letter ſent to the Lord Monteagle, adviſing him to abſent from the Houſe, becauſe " they were to receive a terrible Blow, and not to know " who hurt them." Monteagle carrying the Letter to the Court, the King ordered the apartments about the Parliament-Houſe to be ſearched; the Powder was found under the Houſe of Lords, and Guy Vaux with a dark Lanthorn in the Cellar, waiting to ſet Fire to the Train when the King ſhould come to the Houſe next Morning. Vaux being apprehended confeſſed the Plot, and diſcovered ſeveral of his Accomplices, eight of whom were tried and executed, and among them Garnet, Provincial of the Engliſh Jeſuits, whom the Pope afterwards canonized.

1605. The Gun-powder-plot.

The Diſcovery of this murderous Conſpiracy was aſcribed to the King's Penetration; but Mr. Oſborne and others, with great probability ſay, that the firſt Notice of it came from Henry IV. King of France, who heard it from

Rapin, p. 297. Osborne, p. 438.

King James I. 1605.

the Jeſuits; and, that the Letter to Monteagle was an artifice of Cecil's, who was acquainted beforehand with the proceedings of the Conſpirators, and ſuffered them to go their full length. Even Heylin ſays, "That the King and "his Council mined with them, and undermined them, "and by ſo doing blew up their whole Invention." But 'tis agreed on all hands, that if the Plot had taken place it was to have been fathered upon the Puritans; and, as if the King was in the ſecret, his Majeſty in his Speech to the Parliament, November 9th, takes particular care to bring them into it; for after he had cleared the Roman Catholick Religion from encouraging ſuch murderous practices, he adds, "That the cruelty of the Puritans was worthy of "Fire, that would not allow ſalvation to any Papiſts." So that if theſe unhappy people had been blown up, his Majeſty thinks they would have had their deſerts. Strange! that a Puritan ſhould be ſo much worſe than a Papiſt, or deſerve to be burnt for uncharitableneſs, when his Majeſty could not but know, that the Papiſts were more criminal in this reſpect, becauſe they not only deny Salvation to the Puritans, but to all that are without the pale of their own Church. But what was all this to the Plot? except it was to turn away the indignation of the people from the Papiſts, whom the King both feared and loved, to the Puritans, who in a courſe of forty years ſufferings had never moved the leaſt ſedition againſt the State.

Hiſt. Presb. p. 378.

To be fathered on the Puritans.

Oath of Allegiance.

The diſcovery of this Plot occaſioned the drawing up the "Oath of Allegiance, or of Submiſſion and Obedience to "the King as a Temporal Sovereign, independent of any "power upon Earth;" which quickly paſs'd both Houſes, and was appointed to be taken by all the King's Subjects; this oath is diſtinct from the oath of Supremacy, which obliges the Subject to acknowledge his Majeſty "to be "ſupreme Head of the Church as well as the State," and might therefore be taken by all ſuch Roman Catholicks as did not believe "the Pope had power to depoſe Kings, and "give away their Dominions." Accordingly Blackwell their ſuperior, and moſt of the Engliſh Catholicks, took the oath, but the Pope abſolutely forbid it on pain of Damnation; which occaſioned a new Debate, concerning the extent of the Pope's power in Temporals, between the learned of both Religions. Cardinal Bellarmine, under the feigned name of Tortus, writ againſt the oath, which gave occaſion to King James's Apology to all Chriſtian Princes; in which, after clearing himſelf from the charge of perſecuting

K. James's Apol. p. 253.

ting the Papiſts, he reproaches his Holineſs with ingratitude, King James I. 1605. "conſidering the free liberty of Religion that he had granted "the Papiſts, the honours he had conferr'd on them, the "free acceſs they had to his perſon at all times; the general "Gaol delivery of all Jeſuits and Papiſts convict, and the "ſtrict orders he had given his Judges not to put the Laws "in execution againſt them for the future." All which was true, while the unhappy Puritans were impriſoned and fined, or forc'd to fly into Baniſhment. The Parliament, on occaſion of this Plot, appointed an annual Thankſgiving on the 5th of November, and paſſed another Law, "obliging all perſons to come to Church under the penalty of "twelve pence every Sunday they were abſent," unleſs they gave ſuch reaſons as ſhould be ſatisfactory to a Juſtice of Peace. This, like a two-edged Sword, cut down all Separatiſts, whether Proteſtants or Papiſts.

To return to the Puritans, the more moderate of whom being willing to ſteer a middle courſe, between a total ſeparation and abſolute conformity, were attacked by ſome of the Biſhops with this Argument. Puritans unwilling to ſeparate from the Church.

"All thoſe that wilfully refuſe to obey the King in "things indifferent, and to conform themſelves to the or-"ders of the Church authorized by him, not contrary to "the word of God, are Schiſmaticks, enemies to the "King's Supremacy, and the State, and not to be tolera-"ted in Church or Common-wealth.

"But you do ſo—

"Therefore you are not to be tolerated in Chnrch or "Commonwealth.

The Puritans denied the charge, and returned this argument upon their Accuſers.

"All thoſe that freely and willingly perform to the King "and State all obedience, not only in things neceſſary, but "indifferent, "commanded by Law," and that have "been always ready to conform themſelves to every order "of the Church authorized by him, "not contrary to the "word of God," are free from all Schiſm, friends to the "King's Supremacy, and to the State, and unworthy in "this manner to be moleſted in Church or Common-"wealth.

"But there is none of us that are deprived or ſuſpended "from our Miniſtry, but have been ever ready to do all "this; therefore we are free from Schiſm, friends to the "King's Supremacy, and moſt unworthy of ſuch moleſta-"tion as we ſuſtain."

King James I. 1605.

This being the point of Difference, the Puritans offered a publick Diſputation upon the "Lawfulneſs of impoſing "Ceremonies in general; and in particular upon the "Surplice, the Croſs in Baptiſm, and kneeling at the Com-"munion;" but were refuſed. Upon which the Lincoln-"ſhire Miniſters drew up an Apology for thoſe Miniſters "who are troubled for refuſing of Subſcription and Con-"formity," and preſented it to the King December 1ſt, 1604, the Abridgment of which is now before me, and be-gins with a Declaration of their Readineſs to ſubſcribe the firſt of the three Articles required by the 36th Canon, concerning the King's Supremacy; but to the other two (ſay they) we cannot ſubſcribe, becauſe we are perſuaded, that both the Book of Common Prayer, and the other Book [of Articles] to be ſubſcribed by this Canon (of which, yet in ſome reſpects, we reverently eſteem) contain in them ſundry things which are not "agreeable, but contra-"ry to the word of God."

Abridgment of the Linc. Min. Reaſons for not ſub-ſcribing

They object to the Book of Common-Prayer in general, "That it appoints that order for reading the holy Scrip-"tures, which in many reſpects is contrary to the Word of "God. As,

Their Ar-guments againſt ſub-ſcribing the Book of Common-Prayer.

1. "The greateſt part of the canonical Scripture is left "out in the publick Reading; whereas all Scripture is "given by inſpiration, and is profitable, &c. and ſundry "Chapters that are, in their opinion, more edifying than "ſome others that are read, are omitted.——

2. "It does too much honour to the Apocryphal Writ-"ings, commanding many of them to be read for firſt "Leſſons, and under the name of Holy Scripture, and in "as great a proportion; for of the canonical chapters of "the old Teſtament (being in all ſeven hundred ſeventy "nine) are read only five hundred ninety two, and of the "Apocryphal Books (being one hundred ſeventy two chap-"ters) are read one hundred and four. This they appre-"hend to be contrary to the word of God, foraſmuch as "the Apocryphal Books contain ſundry and manifeſt er-"rors, divers of which are here produced.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7. "The Book of Common-Prayer ap-"points ſuch a tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures to be "read in the Churches as in ſome places is abſurd, and "in others, takes from, perverts, obſcures and falſifies "the word of God; examples of which are produced, "with the Authorities of the moſt conſiderable Refor-"mers."

Their

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Their next general objection againſt ſubſcribing the Book of Common-Prayer is, "becauſe it enjoins the Uſe of "ſuch Ceremonies as they apprehend contrary to the Word "of God."

To make good this aſſertion they ſay, "It is contrary to "the Word of God to uſe (much leſs to command the Uſe "of) ſuch ceremonies in the worſhip of God, as man hath p. 17. "deviſed, if they be notoriouſly known to be abuſed to "idolatry and ſuperſtition by the Papiſts, and are of no ne-"ceſſary uſe in the Church. Here they cite ſuch paſſages "of Scripture as command the Jews to aboliſh all Inſtru-"ments of Idolatry; and even to caſt away ſuch things as "had a good original, when once they are known to have "been abuſed to idolatry; as Images, Groves, and the "Brazen Serpent, 2 Kings xviii. 11. They produce further "the teſtimonies of ſundry Fathers, as Euſebius, St. Auſtin, "&c. and of the moſt conſiderable moderns, as Calvin, "Bucer, Muſculus, Peter Marty, Beza, Zanchy; Biſhop "Jewel, Pilkington, Bilſon; Dr. Humphrys, Fulk, An-"drews, Sutcliffe, and others, againſt Conformity with "Idolaters."

With regard to the three ceremonies in queſtion they ſay, they have all been abuſed by the papiſts to ſuperſtition and idolatry.

Againſt the three Ceremonies.

1. "The Surplice has been thus abuſed, for it's one of "thoſe Veſtments without which nothing can be conſecra-"ted; all Prieſts that are preſent at Maſs muſt wear it, and "therefore the uſe of it in the Church has been condemn- p. 28. "ed, not only by foreign Divines, but by Biſhop Hooper, "Farrar, Jewel, Pilkington, Rogers, and others among "ourſelves.

2. "The Croſs has been alſo abuſed to ſuperſtition and "Idolatry, to drive away devils, to expel diſeaſes, to break "the force of witchcraft, &c. It is one of the images to "which the papiſts give religious adoration. The water in "Baptiſm has no ſpiritual virtue in it without the Croſs, "nor is any one rightly baptized (according to the Papiſts) "without it.

3. "Kneeling at the Sacrament has been no leſs abuſed; "it aroſe from the notion of the Tranſubſtantiation of the "Elements, and is ſtill uſed by the papiſts in the worſhip "of their Breaden God; who admit they ſhould be guilty "of idolatry in kneeling before the elements, if they did "not believe them to be the real Body and Blood of Chriſt. "This ceremony was not introduced into the Church till

"Antichriſt

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" Antichriſt was at his full height; and there is no one ac-
" tion in the whole ſervice that looks ſo much like idolatry
" as this."

P. 31. Their ſecond argument for the unlawfulneſs of the Ceremonies, is taken from their Myſtical Signification, which gives them the nature of a Sacrament. Now, no Sacrament ought to be of Man's deviſing; the Ceremonies therefore being affirmed in the Book of Common-Prayer to be ſignificant are unlawful.

P. 37. Their third argument is taken from the " Unlawfulneſs
" of impoſing them as parts of God's Worſhip," which they prove from hence, " That God is the only appointer
" of his own Worſhip, and condemns all human inventi-
" ons, ſo far forth as they are made parts of it. Now all
" Ceremonies in queſtion are thus impoſed; for Divine Ser-
" vice is ſuppoſed not to be rightly performed without the
" Surplice, nor Baptiſm rightly adminiſter'd without the
" Croſs, nor the Lord's Supper but to ſuch as kneel; and
" therefore they are unlawful.

Their fourth is taken from hence, " That no Rites or
" Eccleſiaſtical Orders ſhould be ordained or uſed, but ſuch
" as are needful and profitable, and for edification; and
" eſpecially, that none ſhould be ordained or uſed that
" cauſe offence, and hinder edification," Rom. xiv. 21.

P. 45. 1 Cor. x. 23, 32. " Now, the Ceremonies in queſtion
" are neither needful nor profitable, nor do they tend to edi-
" fication; but on the contrary, have given great offence,
" as appears from hence, that very many of the learned
" and beſt experienced Miniſters in the land have choſen
" rather to ſuffer any trouble than yield to the uſe of them;
" and we doubt not to affirm, That the greateſt number of
" reſident, able, and godly Miniſters in the land at this
" day, do in their conſciences diſlike them, and judge them
" needleſs and unfit; as appears by the liſt of the Non-ſub-
" ſcribers, already mentioned, [p. 47.] beſides many more,
" who, though unwilling in ſome other reſpects to join in
" petition, did profeſs their hearty deſire to have them re-
P. 52. " moved. And if the reſt of the ſhires be eſteemed ac-
" cording to this proportion, it will eaſily appear, that the
" greateſt number of the reſident, preaching, and fruitful
" Miniſters of the land do diſlike them. This may yet
" further appear, by their ſeldom uſing them for many
" years paſt, and their great unwillingneſs to yield to the
" uſe of them now. If they thought them needful or pro-
" fitable, why do they neglect them in their publick Mini-
" ſtry

" ſtry being commanded by lawful authority? Beſides, " thoſe very Biſhops that have been moſt hot in urging the " Ceremonies have declared, that the Church might well " be without them, and have wiſhed them taken away, as " Archbiſhop Whitgift, in his defence of the anſwer to " Cartwright's Admonition, p. 259. Dr. Chadderton, " Biſhop of Lincoln, in his ſpeech before all the Miniſters, " convened before him at Huntington, Nov. 30th 1604, " and others in Eccleſiaſtical Dignities have ſpoken vehe- " mently againſt them, as things that do not edify, nor have " any tendency to promote decency or order. King James I. 1605.

" With regard to the Surplice, they produce the teſti- " monies of the learned Bucer, Peter Martyr, Beza, Cran- " mer, Ridley, Hooper, and others, for the inexpediency " of it, even though they ſubmitted to wear it. Bucer " ſays he could be content to ſuffer ſome grievous loſs or " pain in his body, upon condition the Surplice might be a- " boliſhed. Againſt the Surplice.

" The like authorities are brought againſt the Croſs, and " againſt Kneeling at the Communion, the former being a " mere invention of man, neither taught by Chriſt nor his " Apoſtles, and the latter being apparently different from the " firſt inſtitution, they receiving it in a Table-poſture; and " 'tis groſs hypocriſy (ſay they) for us to pretend more holi- " neſs, reverence and devotion, in receiving the Sacrament " than the Apoſtles, who received it from the immediate " hand and perſon of Chriſt himſelf. They (to be ſure) " had the corporal preſence of Chriſt and yet did not kneel; " why then ſhould it be enjoined the Church, when the " corporal preſence of Chriſt is withdrawn? This has been " thought an argument of great force by our chief Divines, " as Calvin, Bullinger, Beza, Chemnitius, Biſhop Pilking- " ton, Willet, and others, who declare ſtrongly for the " poſture of ſitting, or at moſt ſtanding at the Commu- " nion. p. 54. Croſs in Baptiſm and kneeling at the Sacrament.

" Beſides, Kneeling at the Sacrament is of veay late an- " tiquity, and was not introduced into the Church 'till An- " tichriſt was in his full height; the primitive chriſtians " (according to Tertullian) thought it unlawful to kneel at " prayer on the Lord's Day; and the firſt Council of Nice, " Ann. Dom. 327, made a ſolemn decrree, that none " might pray kneeling, but only ſtanding on the Lord's " Day, becauſe on that day is celebrated the joyful remem- " brance of our Lord's Reſurrection. To kneel is a geſ-

" ture

King James I. 1605.

" ture of ſorrow and humiliation; whereas, he that prays " ſtanding ſhews himſelf thankful for the obtaining ſome " mercy or favour. So that either the primitive Church " uſed a geſture of greater reverence and humility at the " Sacrament, which is a feaſt, and a joyful remembrance " of the death of Chriſt, than they did at Prayer, or elſe " they received it in another poſture. Beſides (it is ſaid) " that the antient councils commanded, that "no man p. 59. " ſhould kneel down at the Communion, fearing it ſhould Acts and " be an occaſion of Idolatry." Mr. Fox ſpeaking of the Mon. p. 19. " uſe of the primitive Church ſays, They had the Com- " munion not at an Altar, but at a plain Table of Boards, " when the whole Congregation together did communi- " cate, with reverence and thankſgiving; not lifting over " the Prieſt's head, nor worſhiping, nor kneeling, nor " knocking their breaſts, but either ſitting at ſupper, or Hiſt. Eccl " ſtanding after ſupper. Euſebius ſpeaking of a man that Lib. VII. " had been admitted to the Communion, ſays he ſtood at cap. 8. " the Table, and put forth his hand to receive the holy " Food. And Biſhop Jewel ſays, that in St. Baſil's days " [Ann. 380.] the Communion Table was of Boards, and " ſo placed, that men might ſtand round it, and that every " man was bound by an apoſtolical Tradition to ſtand up- " right at the Communion.

" Beſides, the Geſture of Kneeling is contrary to the " very nature of the Lord's ſupper, which is ordained to " be a banquet and ſign of that ſweet familiarity that is be- " tween the faithful and him, and of that ſpiritual nou- " riſhment we are to receive by feeding on his Body and " Blood by faith; and in what nation is it thought decent " to kneel at Banquets? Where no men eat and drink up- " on their knees? Further, the proper diſpoſition of mind " at the Lord's Table is not ſo much Humility, as Aſſu- " rance of Faith, and cheerful Thankfulneſs for the Bene- " fit of Chriſt's Death. For theſe reaſons, and becauſe kneel- " ing at the Sacrament had an idolatrous original, and has " a tendency to lead men into that Sin, they think it un- " lawful, and to be laid aſide."

The abridgment concludes with a ſhort table of ſundry other exceptions againſt the three books whereunto they are required to ſubſcribe, which they purpoſe to juſtify and confirm in the ſame manner as thoſe they have done in this book; a ſummary whereof we ſhall meet with hereafter.

The

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The abridgment was anſwered by Biſhop Moreton and Dr. Burges, who after he had ſuffered himſelf to be deprived for Non-conformity, June 19, 1604, was perſuaded by King James to conform, and write in defence of his conduct againſt his former arguments. Biſhop Moreton endeavours to defend the innocency of the three ceremonies from Scripture, Antiquity, the teſtimony of Proteſtant Divines, and the practice of the Non-conformiſts themſelves in other caſes: and has ſaid as much as can be ſaid for them, though 'tis hard to defend the impoſing them upon thoſe who think them unlawful, or that apprehend things indifferent ought to be left in the ſtate that Chriſt left them. Dr. Downham, Sparkes, Covel, Hutton, Rogers, and Ball, writ for the ceremonies; and were anſwered by Mr. Bradſhaw, Mr. Paul Baynes, Dr. Ames and others.

Anſwers to the Abridgment.

Remarks.

From the writings of theſe Divines it appears, that the Puritans were removing to a greater diſtance from the Church; for whereas [ſays Dr. Burges] Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren writ ſharply againſt the ceremonies, as inconvenient; now they are oppoſed as abſolutely unlawful, neither to be impoſed nor uſed. The cruel ſeverities of Bancroft and the high commiſſioners were the occaſion of this, for being puſhed upon one of theſe extremes, either to a conſtant and full conformity to thoſe ceremonies with which their tender conſciences were burdened, or to lay down their Miniſtry in the Church; many of them, at one of their conferences, came to this concluſion, That "if "they could not enjoy their livings in the Church without "ſubſcribing over again the three articles abovementioned, "and declaring at the ſame time, they did it Willingly, "and from their Hearts, it was their duty to reſign." Theſe were called Brethren of the ſecond Separation, who were content to join with the Church in her Doctrines and Sacraments, but apprehended it unlawful to declare their hearty approbation of the Ceremonies; and if their conduct was grounded upon the duty of Chriſtians to bear their teſtimony againſt all unſcriptural impoſitions in the worſhip of God, it muſt deſerve the commendation of all impartial and diſintereſted Proteſtants. No men could go greater lengths for the ſake of peace than they were willing to do; for in their defence of the Miniſters reaſons for refuſal of ſubſcription to the book of Common Prayer againſt the cavils of F. Hutton, B. D. Dr. Covel and Dr. Sparkes, publiſhed 1607. They begin thus, "We proteſt before the "Almighty God, that we acknowledge the Churches of England

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" England as they be eſtabliſhed by publick authority, to " be true viſible Churches of Chriſt; that we deſire the " Continuance of our Miniſtry in them above all earthly " things, as that without which our whole life would be " weariſome and bitter to us; that we diſlike not a ſet form " of Prayer to be uſed in our Churches; nor do we write " with an evil mind to deprave the Book of Common-" Prayer, Ordination, or Book of Homilies; but to ſhew " our reaſons why we cannot ſubſcribe to all things con-" tained in them."

Theſe extreme proceeding of the Biſhops ſtrengthened the hands of the Browniſts in Holland, who with great advantage writ againſt the lawfulneſs of holding communion with the Church of England at that time, not only becauſe it was a corrupt Church, but a perſecuting one. On the other hand, the younger Divines in the Church that preached for preferment, painted out the Separatiſts in the moſt frightful Colours, as Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Fanaticks, Preciſians, Enemies to God and the King, and of unſtable minds. The very ſame language that the Papiſts uſed againſt the firſt Reformers!

Principles of the Puritans.

To remove theſe reproaches, and to inform the world of the real Principles of the Puritans of theſe times, the Reverend Mr. Bradſhaw publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, entitled, Engliſh Puritaniſm, " containing the main opinions of the " rigideſt ſort of thoſe that went by that Name in the " Realm of England," which the learned Dr. Ames tranſlated into Latin for the benefit of Foreigners. The Reader will learn by the following abſtract of it, the true ſtate of their caſe, as well as the near affinity between the Principles of the ancient and modern Non-conformiſts.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Religion in general.

Engliſh Puritaniſm printed, 1605.

" The Puritans hold and maintain the abſolute perfection " of the Holy Scriptures, both as to Faith and Worſhip; " and, that whatſoever is enjoined as a part of Divine Ser-" vice, that cannot be warranted by the ſaid Scriptures, is " unlawful.

2. " That all inventions of men, eſpecially ſuch as have " been abuſed to Idolatry, are to be excluded out of the " Exerciſes of Religion.

3. " That all outward means inſtituted to expreſs and " ſet forth the inward Worſhip of God, are Parts of Di-" vine

" vine Worſhip, and ought therefore evidently to be pre- King James I. 1605.
" ſcribed by the Word of God.

4. " To inſtitute and ordain any myſtical Rites or Ceremonies of Religion, and to mingle the ſame with the Divine Rites and Ceremonies of God's ordinance, is groſs Superſtition."

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Church.

1. " They hold and maintain, That every Congregation " or aſſembly of men, ordinarily joininig together in the " true Worſhip of God, is a true viſible Church of Chriſt.

2. " That all ſuch Churches are in all Eccleſiaſtical " Matters equal, and by the Word of God ought to have " the ſame Officers, Adminiſtrators, Order, and Forms " of Worſhip.

3. " That Chriſt has not ſubjected any Church or Congregation to any other ſuperior Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction " than to that which is within itſelf, ſo that if a whole " Church or Congregation ſhould err in any matters of " Faith or Worſhip, no other Churches or Spiritual Officers, have power to cenſure or puniſh them, but are only " to counſel and adviſe them.

4. " That every Church ought to have her own Spiritual Officers and Miniſters reſident with her; and thoſe " ſuch as are enjoined by Chriſt in the New Teſtament, " and no other.

5. " That every Church ought to have liberty to chooſe " their own Spiritual Officers.

6. " That if particular Churches err in this choice, none " but the Civil Magiſtrate has power to controul them, and " oblige them to make a better choice.

7. " That Eccleſiaſtical Officers or Miniſters in one " Church ought not to bear any Eccleſiaſtical Office in " another; and they are not to forſake their callings without juſt cauſe, and ſuch as may be approved by the Congregation; but if the Congregation will not hearken to " reaſon, they are then to appeal to the Civil Magiſtrate, " who is bound to procure them juſtice.

8. " That a Church having choſen its Spiritual Governors, ought to live in all canonical obedience to them, " agreeable to the Word of God; and if any of them be " ſuſpended, or unjuſtly deprived, by other Eccleſiaſtical " Officers, they are humbly to pray the Magiſtrate to reſtore them; and if they cannot obtain it, they are to own

" them

King James I. 1605.

" them to be their Spiritual Guides to the death, though " they are rigorouſly deprived of their Miniſtry and ſer- " vice.

9. " That the laws and orders of the Churches warran- " ted by the Word of God are not repugnant to Civil Go- " vernment, whether Monarchical, Ariſtocratical, or De- " mocratical; and we renounce all juriſdiction that is re- " pugnant or derogatory to any of theſe, eſpecially to the " Monarchy of this Kingdom."

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Miniſters of the Word.

1. " They hold, That the Paſtors of particular Con- " gregations are the higheſt Spiritual Officers in the Church, " over whom there is no ſuperior Paſtor by Divine Appoint- " ment but Jeſus Chriſt.

2. " That there are not by Divine Inſtitution in the " Word, any ordinary National, Provincial, or Dioceſan " Paſtors, to whom the Paſtors of particular Churches are " to be ſubject.

3. " That no Paſtor ought to exerciſe, or accept of any " Civil Juriſdiction or Authority, but ought to be wholly " employed in Spiritual Offices and Duties to that Con- " gregation over which he is ſet.

4. " That the ſupreme Office of the Paſtor is to preach " the Word publickly to the Congregation; and that the " people of God ought not to acknowledge any for their " Paſtors that are not able by preaching to interpret and " apply the Word of God to them; and conſequently all " ignorant, and mere reading Prieſts, are to be rejected.

5. " That in publick Worſhip the Paſtor only is to be " the mouth of the Congregation to God in prayer; and " that the people are only to teſtify their aſſent by the " word Amen.

6. " That the Church has no power to impoſe upon her " Paſtors or Officers, any other Ceremonies or Injunctions " than what Chriſt has appointed.

7. " That in every Church there ſhould be a Doctor to " inſtruct and catechize the ignorant in the main principles " of Religion."

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Elders.

1. " They hold, that by God's Ordinance the Con- " gregation ſhould chooſe other Officers as Aſſiſtants to the

" the Miniſters in the Government of the Church, who " are jointly with the Miniſters to be Overſeers of the " manners and converſation of all the congregation. King James I. 1605.

2. " That theſe are to be choſen out of the graveſt, and " moſt diſcreet Members, who are alſo of ſome note " in the World, and able (if poſſible) to maintain them- " ſelves."

CHAP. V.

Of Church Cenſures.

1. " They hold, that the ſpiritual Keys of the Church " are committed to the aforeſaid ſpiritual Officers and Go- " vernors, and to none others.

2. " That by virtue of theſe Keys they are not to exa- " mine and make inquiſition into the Hearts of Men, nor " moleſt them upon private ſuſpicions, or uncertain fame, " but to proceed only upon open and notorious crimes. " If the Offender be convinced, they ought not to ſcorn, " deride, taunt, and revile him with contumelious lan- " guage, nor procure Proctors to make perſonal invectives " againſt him; nor make him give attendance from Term " to Term, and from one Court Day to another, after the " manner of our Eccleſiaſtical Courts; but to uſe him " brotherly, and if poſſible to move him to repentance; " and if he repent they are not to proceed to cenſure, but " to accept his hearty ſorrow and contrition as a ſufficient " ſatisfaction to the Church, without impoſing any fines, " or taking fees, or enjoining any outward mark of ſhame, " as the white ſheet, &c.

" But if the offender be obſtinate, and ſhew no ſigns " of Repentance, and if his crime be fully prov'd upon " him, and is of ſuch a high nature as to deſerve a cen- " ſure according to the word of God, then the Eccleſi- " aſtical Officers, with the free conſent of the whole con- " gregation (and not otherwiſe) are firſt to ſuſpend him " from the Sacrament, praying for him at the ſame time, " that God would give him Repentance to the acknow- " ledgment of his Fault; and if this does not humble " him, they are then to denounce him to be as yet no " Member of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of that con- " gregation; and ſo are to leave him to God and the King. " And this is all the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction that any ſpi- " ritual Officers are to uſe againſt any Man for the greateſt " crime that can be committed.

King James I. 1605.

" If the party offending be a civil Superior, they are to " behave towards him with all that reverence and civil ſub- " jection that his honour or his high Office in the State may " require. They are not to preſume to convene him be- " fore them, but are themſelves to go to him in all civil " and humble manner, to ſtand bare-headed, to bow, to " give him all his civil Titles; and if it be a ſupreme Go- " vernor or King, to kneel, and in moſt humble manner " to acquaint him with his faults; and if ſuch, or any other " Offenders will voluntarily withdraw from the Communi- " on, they have no farther concern with them.

" They hold the Oath Ex Officio on the impoſers part " to be moſt damnable and tyrannous, againſt the very " Law of Nature, deviſed by Antichriſt, through the in- " ſpiration of the Devil, to tempt weak Chriſtians to per- " jure themſelves, or be drawn in to reveal to the enemies " of Chriſtianity thoſe ſecret religious Acts, which though " done for the advancement of the Goſpel, may bring on " themſelves and their deareſt friends heavy ſentences of " condemnation from the Court.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the civil Magiſtrate.

1. " They hold, that the civil Magiſtrate ought to have " ſupreme civil power over all the Churches within his " Dominions; but that as he is a Chriſtian he ought to be " a Member of ſome one of them; which is not in the " leaſt derogatory to his civil Supremacy.

2. " That all Eccleſiaſtical Officers are puniſhable by " the civil Magiſtrate, for the abuſe of their Eccleſiaſtical " Offices; and much more if they intrude upon the Rights " and Prerogatives of the civil Authority.

3. " They hold the Pope to be Antichriſt, becauſe he " uſurps the Supremacy over Kings and Princes; and " therefore all that defend the popiſh Faith, and that are " for tolerating that Religion, are ſecret enemies of the " King's Supremacy.

4. " That all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Officials, " &c. hold their Offices and Functions, at the King's Will " and Pleaſure, merely Jure Humano; and whoſoever " holdeth, that the King may not remove them, and diſ- " poſe of them at his Pleaſure, is an enemy to his Supre- " macy."

Let

King James I. 1605.

Let the Reader now judge, whether there was ſo much ground for all the calumny and reproach that was caſt upon the Puritans of theſe times: But their Adverſaries having often charged them with denying the Supremacy, and with claiming a ſort of Juriſdiction over the King himſelf, they publiſhed another Pamphlet this Summer, entitled, "A "Proteſtation of the King's Supremacy, made in the name "of the afflicted Miniſters, and oppoſed to the ſhameful "Calumniations of the Prelates." To which was annexed, an humble Petition for Liberty of Conſcience. In their Proteſtation they declare,

Miniſters Proteſtation concerning the King's Supremacy, printed 1605.

1. "We hold and maintain the King's Supremacy in all "Cauſes, and over all Perſons Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, as "it was granted to Queen Elizabeth, and explained in the "Book of Injunctions; nor have any of us been unwilling "to ſubſcribe and ſwear to it. We believe it to be the "King's natural Right without a Statute Law, and that "the Churches within his Dominions would ſin damnably "if they did not yield it to him. Nay, we believe, that "the King cannot alienate it from his Crown, or transfer "it to any ſpiritual Potentates or Rulers; and that it is "not tied to his Faith or Chriſtianity, but to his very "Crown; ſo that if he was an Infidel the Supremacy is "his due.

2. "We hold, that no Church Officers have power to "deprive the King of any Branch of his Royal Prerogative, much leſs of his Supremacy, which is inſeparable "from him.

3. "That no Eccleſiaſtical Officers have power over the "Bodies, Lives, Goods, or Liberties, of any Perſons "within the King's Dominions.

4. "That the King may make Laws for the good ordering of the Churches within his Dominions; and that the "Churches ought not to be diſobedient, unleſs they apprehend them contrary to the Word of God; and even "in ſuch caſe they are not to reſiſt, but peaceably to forbear Obedience, and ſubmit to the puniſhment, if Mercy cannot be obtained.

5. "That the King only hath power within his Dominions, to convene Synods or general Aſſemblies of Miniſters, and by his Authority Royal to ratify and give Life "to their Canons and Conſtitutions, without whoſe Ratifi-

King James I. 1605.

" cation no Man can force any Subject to yield obedience " to the ſame.

6. " That the King ought not to be ſubject to the cen- " ſures of any Churches, Church-Officers, or Synods " whatſoever; but only to that Church, and thoſe Offi- " cers of his own Court and Houſhold, with whom he " ſhall voluntarily join in Communion, where there can " be no fear of unjuſt uſage.

7. " If a King, after he hath held Communion with a " Chriſtian Church ſhould turn Apoſtate, or live in a courſe " of open defiance to the Laws of God and Religion, the " Church Governors are to give over their ſpiritual charge " and tuition of him, which by calling from God and " the King, they did undertake; and more than this " they may not do, for the King ſtill retains his ſupreme " Authority over the Churches as entirely, and in as ample " a manner as if he were the moſt Chriſtian Prince in the " World.

8. " We refuſe no obedience to the King, nor to any " of the Canons required by the Prelates, but ſuch as we " are willing to take upon our Conſciences, and to ſwear " (if requir'd) that we believe contrary to the Word of " God. We deny no Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the " King but that which Chriſt has appropriated to him- " ſelf, who is the ſole Doctor and Legiſlator of his " Church.

9. " We are ſo far from claiming any Supremacy to " ourſelves, that we exclude from ourſelves all ſecular " pomp and power, holding it a ſin to puniſh Men in " their Bodies, Goods, Liberties or Lives, for any merely " ſpiritual Offence.

10. " We confine all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction with- " in one Congregation, and that Juriſdiction is not a- " lone in the Miniſters, but alſo in the Elders of the " Church; and their Juriſdiction is merely Spiritual.

Their humble Petition.

" THerefore all that we crave of his Majeſty and the " State is, that with his and their Permiſſion, it may " be lawful for us to worſhip God according to his reveal- " ed Will; and that we may not be forced to the obſer- " vance of any human Rites and Ceremonies. We are " ready to make an open Confeſſion of our Faith, and " Form of Worſhip, and deſire that we may not be " obliged to worſhip God in corners, but that our Religi- " ous and civil Behaviour may be open to the Obſerva-

" tion

" tion and cenſure of the civil Government, to whom we
" profeſs all due ſubjection. So long as it ſhall pleaſe
" the King and Parliament to maintain the Hierarchy or
" Prelacy in this Kingdom, we are content that they en-
" joy their State and Dignity; and we will live as brethren
" among thoſe Miniſters that acknowledge ſpiritual Ho-
" mage to their ſpiritual Lordſhips, paying to them all tem-
" poral duties of Tithes, &c. and joining with them in the
" Service and Worſhip of God, ſo far as we may, without
" our own particular communicating in thoſe human Tra-
" ditions which we judge unlawful. Only we pray, that
" the Prelates and their eccleſiaſtical Officers may not be
" our Judges, but that we may both of us ſtand at the Bar of
" the civil Magiſtrate, and that if we ſhall be openly vilified
" and ſlandered, it may be lawful for us, without fear of
" puniſhment, to juſtify ourſelves to the world; and then
" we ſhall think our lives, and all that we have, too little
" to ſpend in the ſervice of our King and Country."

King. James I. 1606.

Though the principles of Submiſſion are here carried to a great length, and though the practice of the Puritans was agreeable to it, yet their enemies did not fail to charge them with Diſloyalty, with Sedition, and with diſturbing the peace of the State. Upon which the Miniſters of Devon and Cornwal publiſhed another ſmall Treatiſe, entitled, " A
" Removal of certain Imputations laid upon the Miniſters,
" &c." in which they ſay (p. 21.) " Let them [the Bi-
" ſhops] ſift well our Courſes ſince his Majeſty's happy
" entrance in among us, and let them name wherein we
" have done ought that may juſtly be ſaid ill to become the
" Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt. Have we drawn any Sword?
" Have we raiſed any Tumult? Have we uſed any Threats?
" Hath the State been put into any Fear or Hazard through
" us? Manifold diſgraces have been caſt upon us, and we
" have endured them; the liberty of our Miniſtry hath been
" taken from us, and (though with bleeding hearts) we have
" ſuſtained it. We have been caſt out of our houſes, and
" deprived of our ordinary maintenance, yet have we blown
" no trumpet of Sedition. Theſe things have gone very
" near us, and yet did we never ſo much as entertain a
" thought of Violence. The truth is, we have petitioned
" the King and State; and who hath reaſon to deny us
" that Liberty? We have craved of the Prelates to deal
" with us according to Law; and is not this the common
" benefit of every Subject? We have beſought them to

Proteſtation of the Miniſters of Devon and Cornwal, concerning their Loyalty.

Presb. p. 150.

King James I. 1606.

" convince our Conſciences by Scripture.---Alas! what would
" they have us to do? Will they have us content ourſelves
" with this only, that they are Biſhops, and therefore for their
" Greatneſs ought to be yielded to? The weight of epiſco-
" pal Power may oppreſs us but cannot convince us."

Remarks

It appears from hence, that the Puritans were the King's faithful Subjects; that they complied to the utmoſt length of their Conſciences, and that when they could not obey they were content to ſuffer. Here are no Principles inconſiſtent with the ſafety of Church or State; no marks of Hereſy, Impiety or Sedition; nor charges of Ignorance, or neglect of Duty; how unreaſonable then muſt it be, to ſilence and deprive ſuch Men? To ſhut them up in priſon, or ſend them with their poor families a begging, while their Pulpit Doors were ſhut up, and there was a Famine in many parts of the Country, not of Bread but of the Word of the Lord? But theſe honeſt People were not only perſecuted at home, but forbid to retire into his Majeſty's Dominions abroad; for when the Eccleſiaſtical Courts had driven them from their habitations and livelihoods, and were ſtill hunting them by their Informers from one place to another, ſeveral families croſſed the Ocean to Virginia, and invited their friends to come over and ſettle with them; but Bancroft being informed, that great numbers were preparing to imbark, obtained a Proclamation, prohibiting any of his Majeſty's Subjects to tranſport themſelves to Virginia, without a ſpecial Licence from the King; a ſeverity hardly to be parallel'd! Nor was it ever imitated in this Nation but by Archbiſhop Laud.

Rapin, p. 312, 354.

Iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey reduced to Conformity.

The Iſles of Guernſey and Jerſey having enjoyed the Diſcipline of the French Churches, without diſturbance, all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, upon the acceſſion of the preſent King, addreſſed his Majeſty for a Confirmation of it; which he was pleaſed to grant by letter under the Privy Seal, in theſe Words:

" WHereas we have been given to underſtand, that our
" dear Siſter Queen Elizabeth did permit and allow
" to the Iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, parcels of the
" Dutchy of Normandy, the uſe of the Government of the
" reformed Churches of the ſaid Dutchy, whereof they
" have ſtood poſſeſſed till our coming to the Crown; for
" this Cauſe, as well as for the edification of the Church,
" we do will and ordain, that our ſaid Iſles ſhall quietly
" enjoy

" enjoy their ſaid Liberty in the uſe of eccleſiaſtical Diſ- King James I. 1606.
" cipline there now eſtabliſhed; forbidding any one to
" give them any trouble or impeachment ſo long as they
" contain themſelves in our Obedience."----

Given at Hampton-Court, Aug. 8th. in the firſt year of our Reign. 1603.

But Bancroft and ſome of his brethren the Biſhops, having poſſeſſed the King with the neceſſity of a general Uniformity throughout all his Dominion, theſe Iſlands were to be included; accordingly Sir John Peyton, a zealous churchman, was appointed Governor, with ſecret Inſtructions to root out the Geneva Diſcipline, and ſettle the Engliſh Liturgy and Ceremonies. This Gentleman taking advantage of the Synod's appointing a Miniſter to a vacant Living according to cuſtom, proteſted againſt it, as injurious to the King's Prerogative, and complained to Court that the Jerſey Miniſters had uſurped the patronage of the benefices of the Iſland; that they admitted men to Livings without the form of Preſentation, which was a loſs to the Crown in its Firſt Fruits; that by the connivance or allowance of former Governors they exerciſed a kind of arbitrary juriſdiction; and therefore prayed that his Majeſty would ſettle the Engliſh Diſcipline among them, The Jerſey Miniſters alleged in their own defence, that the Preſentation to Livings was a branch of their Diſcipline; and that the payment of Firſt Fruits and Tenths had never been demanded ſince they were diſengaged from the See of Conſtance. They pleaded his Majeſty's royal confirmation of their Diſcipline, which was read publickly in a Synod of both iſlands in the year 1605. But this pious King had very little regard to Promiſes, Oaths, or Charters, when they ſtood in the way of his arbitrary deſigns. He ordered therefore his eccleſiaſtical Officers to purſue his Inſtructions in the moſt effectual manner; accordingly they took the Preſentations to vacant Livings into their own hands, without conſulting the Preſbytery; they annulled the Oath, whereby all eccleſiaſtical and civil Officers were obliged to ſwear to the maintenance of their Diſcipline; and whereas all that received the holy Sacrament were required to ſubſcribe to the allowance of the general form of Church Government in that Iſland, the King's Attorney and his Friends now refuſed it. Their Elders likewiſe were cited into the tem-

King James I. 1607.

poral Courts and ſtripped of their privileges; nor had they much better quarter in the Conſiſtory, for the Governor and Jurats made the Decrees of that Court ineffectual, by reverſing them in the Town-Hall.

Collyer, p. 706. Heylin.

Complaint being made to the Court of theſe impoſitions, the King ſent them word, that to avoid all diſputes for the future, he was determined to revive the office and authority of a Dean, and to eſtabliſh the Engliſh Common-prayer-book among them, which he did accordingly; and ordered the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in whoſe Dioceſe they were, to draw up ſome Canons for the Dean's direction in the exerciſe of his government; which being done, and confirmed by the King, put an end to their former privileges. Upon which many left the Iſlands, and retired into France and Holland; but others made a ſhift to ſupport their Diſcipline after a manner, in the Iſland of Guernſey, where the epiſcopal Regulations could not take place.

Mr. Parker's Sufferings.

Mr. Robert Parker, a Puritan Miniſter already mentioned, publiſhed this year a very learned Treatiſe "of "the Croſs in Baptiſm. But the Biſhops, inſtead of anſwering it, perſuaded the King to put forth a Proclamation, with an offer of a reward for taking him, which obliged him to abſcond. A treacherous ſervant of the family having informed the Officers where he was, they came and ſearched the houſe, but by the ſpecial providence of God he was wonderfully preſerved, the only room they neglected to ſearch being that in which he was, from whence he heard them quarrelling and ſwearing at one another; one ſaying, they had not ſearched that room, and another confidently aſſerting the contrary, and refuſing to ſuffer it to be ſearched over again. Had he been taken he had been caſt into priſon, where without doubt (ſays my author) he muſt have died. When he got into Holland he would have been choſen Miniſter of the Engliſh Church at Amſterdam, but the Magiſtrates were afraid of diſobliging King James, ſo that he went to Doeſburgh, and became Miniſter of that Garriſon, where he died 1630.

Peirce, p. 171.

Dr. Raynolds's death and character.

This year died the famous Dr. John Raynolds, King's Profeſſor in Oxford, at firſt a zealous Papiſt, while his brother William was a Proteſtant, but by conference and diſputation the brothers converted each other, William dying an inveterate Papiſt, and John an eminent Proteſtant. He was born in Devonſhire 1549. and educated in Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford, of which he was afterwards Preſident. He was

a Pro-

a prodigy for reading, and his Memory was a living library. Dr. Hall uſed to ſay, That his memory and reading were near a miracle. He had turned over all writers prophane and eccleſiaſtical, as Councils, Fathers, Hiſtories, &c. He was a critick in the languages; of a ſharp wit and indefatigable induſtry; his piety and ſanctity of life was ſo eminent and conſpicuous, that the learned Cracanthorp uſed to ſay, That to name Raynolds was to commend virtue itſelf. He was alſo of great modeſty and humility. In ſhort, ſays the Oxford hiſtorian, Nothing can be ſpoken "againſt him, but that he was the pillar of Puritaniſm, and "the grand favourer of Non-conformity." An unpardonable crime in his opinion! At length, after a ſevere and mortified life, he died in his College May 21, 1607. ætatis 68. and was buried with great funeral ſolemnity in St. Mary's Church. King James I. 1607. Wood's Ath. p. 349.

Soon after died the famous Mr. Thomas Brightman, Author of a Commentary upon the Song of Solomon, and the Revelations: He was born at Nottingham, and bred in Queen's College Cambridge, where he became a champion for Non-conformity to the Ceremonies. He was afterwards preſented by Sir John Oſburne to the rectory of Haunes in Bedfordſhire, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in hard ſtudy, and conſtant application to his charge, as far as his Conſcience would admit. His life, ſays Mr. Fuller, was Angelical; his learning uncommon; he was a cloſe Student, of little ſtature, and ſuch a Maſter of himſelf, that he was never known to be moved with anger. His daily diſcourſe was againſt epiſcopal government, which he propheſied would ſhortly be thrown down, and the Government of the foreign Proteſtaut Churches be erected in its place. He died ſuddenly upon the road, as he was riding with Sir John Oſburne in his coach, by a ſudden obſtruction of the liver or gall, Aug. 24. 1607. ætatis 51. Death of Mr. Brightman. B. X. p. 50.

The King having given the reins of the Church into the hands of the Prelates and their dependants, theſe in return preached and printed for the prerogative. Two Books were publiſhed this year, that maintained the moſt extravagant maxims of arbitrary power; one was writ by Cowel, Doctor of the civil Law, and Vicar General to the Archbiſhop, wherein he affirms, 1. That the King is not bound by the laws, or by his Coronation oath. 2. That he is not obliged to call Parliaments to make laws, but may do it without them. 3. That 'tis a great favour to admit the conſent of the Subject 1609. Advances of the prerogative.

King James I. 1609.

Subject in giving ſubſidies. The other was compoſed by Dr. Blackwood, a Clergyman, who maintained, that the Engliſh "were all ſlaves from the Norman conqueſt." The Parliament would have brought the Authors to juſtice, but the King protected them by proroguing the Houſes in diſpleaſure; and to ſupply his wants, his Majeſty began to raiſe money by Monoplies of divers manufactures, to the unſpeakable prejudice of the trade of the kingdom.

Death and character of Arminius.

This year died the famous Jacobus Arminius, Divinity Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Leyden, who gave birth to the famous Sect ſtill called by his name. He was born at Oudewater, 1560. his parents dying in his infancy, he was educated at the publick expence by the Magiſtrates of Amſterdam, and was afterwards choſen one of the Miniſters of that City in the year 1588. Being deſired by one of the Profeſſors of Franequer to confute a treatiſe of Beza's upon the Supralapſarian ſcheme of Predeſtination, he fell himſelf into the contrary extreme. In the year 1600. he was called to ſucced Junius in the Divinity Chair of Leyden, and was the firſt that was ſolemnly created Doctor of Divinity in that Univerſity. Here his notions concerning Predeſtination and Grace, and the "Extent of Chriſt's Re-"demption," met with a powerful oppoſition from Gomarus and others. But though his Diſciples encreaſed prodigiouſly in a few years, yet the troubles he met with from his adverſaries, and the attacks made upon his character and reputation, broke his Spirits, ſo that he ſunk into a melancholy diſorder, attended with a Complication of diſtempers, which put an end to his life, after he had been Profeſſor but ſix years, and lived forty nine. He is repreſented as a Divine of conſiderable learning, piety and modeſty, far from going the lengths of his ſucceſſors, Vorſtius, Epiſcopius, and Curcellœus; but his Doctrines occaſioned ſuch confuſion in that Country, as could not be terminated but by a national Synod, and produced no leſs diſtractions in the Church of England, as will be ſeen hereafter.

1610. Proceedings of Parliament.

In the Parliament that met this Summer the Spirit of Engliſh liberty began to revive; one of the Members made the following bold Speech in the Houſe of Commons, which gives a particular account of the grievances of the nation, and of the attempts made for the redreſs of them. "It begins with a complaint againſt the Bi-"ſhops in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts, for depriving, diſ-"gracing, ſilencing, and impriſoning ſuch of God's meſ-

Speech againſt Biſhops and their Courts.

Record of Proceedings of Parliament, 1611.

ſengers

" ſengers (being learned and godly preachers) as he has " furniſhed with moſt heavenly Graces to call us to repen- " tance, for no other cauſe, but for not conforming them- " ſelves further, and otherwiſe than by the ſubſcription li- " mited in the Statute of the 13th Eliz. they are bound " to do, thereby making the laws of the Church and Com- " monwealth to jar, which to reform, (ſays he) we made " a law for Subſcription, agreeing to the intent of the " aforeſaid Statute, which would have eſtabliſhed the peace " both of Church and State; and if it had received the " Royal Aſſent, would have been an occaſion that many " Subjects might be well taught the means of their ſalvation, " who now want ſufficient knowledge of the Word of God " to ground their Faith upon——— King James I. 1610.

" And whereas by the laws of God and the land, eccle- " ſiaſtical perſons ſhould uſe only the Spiritual Sword, " by Exhortation, Admonition, and Excommunication, " which are the keys of the Church, to exclude impeni- " tent ſinners, and leave the temporal Sword to the civil " Magiſtrate, which was always ſo uſed in England, " till the ſecond year of the reign of King Henry IV. " at which time the popiſh Prelates got the temporal " Sword into their hands; which Statute was ſince by " ſeveral Acts of Parliament made void; yet by virtue " of that temporal Authority once by a ſhort ſpace by " them uſed, ſome eccleſiaſtical perſons do uſe both " Swords, and with thoſe two Swords the oath Ex Offi- " cio, which began firſt in England by the Statute of the " ſecond of King Henry IV. being contrary to the laws of " England, and, as I verily think, contrary to the laws of " God.

" Wherefore to reform theſe abuſes we made two good " laws; one to abridge the force of the Eccleſiaſtical " Commiſſion in many points; the other to abrogate and " take away the power of eccleſiaſtical perſons to admi- " niſter the oath Ex Officio, being a very hateful thing and " unlawful.

" And foraſmuch as among the Canons lately made by " the Clergy of England in Convocation, it was thought " that ſome of their Canons did extend to charge the bodies, " lands, and goods of the Subjects of this Realm, farther than " was lawful and meet, we therefore made a good law to make " void ſuch Canons, unleſs the ſame Canons were confirmed " by Parliament.

" And

King James I. 1610.

Againſt grievances in the State.

"And as we had care of the Church, ſo likewiſe of the "Commonwealth; and therefore after ſearching the Re- "cords of the Tower, and after hearing the opinion of "Lawyers, we found it clear, that impoſitions laid upon "merchandize, or other goods of the ſubject, by the "King, without conſent of Parliament, was not lawful; "and therefore we paſt a bill, declaring, That no impo- "ſition laid upon goods is lawful without conſent of Par- "liament———

"But God has not permitted theſe, and ſundry other "good laws to take effect, or paſs into Statutes, though "we earneſtly deſired them; if they had, both the King "and his Subjects would have been more happy than "ever: what would we not then have given to ſupply the "King's wants? But as things now ſtand, and without "Reformation of the aforementioned grievances, we "cannot give much, becauſe we have no certainty of "that which ſhall remain to us after our gift."

King's Speech to them. Rapin, p. 322.

To put a ſtop to ſuch dangerous Spceches as theſe the King ſummoned both Houſes to Whitehall, and told them, "That he did not intend to govern by the abſo- "lute power of a King, though he knew the power of "Kings was like the Divine Power; for (ſays his Majeſty) as "God can create and deſtroy, make and unmake at his plea- "ſure, ſo "Kings can give life and death, judge all and be "judged by none; they can exalt and abaſe, and like "Men at Cheſs, make a pawn, take a Biſhop or a Knight—" After this he tells the Houſes, "That as it was Blaſphe- "my to diſpute what God might do, ſo it was ſedition in "Subjects "To diſpute what a King might do in the height "of his power." He commanded them therefore not to "meddle with the main points of Government, which "would be to leſſen his Craft, who had been thirty years "at his trade in Scotland, and ſerved an apprenticeſhip of "ſeven years in England."

Sundry petitions about grievances.

But the Parliament not terrified with this high language, went on ſteadily in aſſerting their rights; May 24th. Twenty of the lower Houſe preſented a Remonſtrance, in which they declare, "That whereas they had firſt received "a meſſage, and ſince by his Majeſty's Speech had been "commanded to refrain from debating upon things relat- "ing to the chief points of Government; "They do hold it "their undoubted right to examine into the grievances of "the Subject, and to enquire into their own rights and pro-

Record of proceedings of Parliament. 1610.

"perties,

" perties. as well as his Majeſty's Prerogative ;" and they " moſt humbly and inſtantly beſeech his gracious Majeſty, " that without offence to the ſame, they may, according " to the undoubted right and liberty of Parliament proceed " in their intended courſe againſt the late new impoſi- " tions——" King James I. 1610.

In another petition they beſeech his Majeſty to put the laws in execution againſt Papiſts ; and with regard to the Puritans they ſay, " Whereas divers learned and painful " Paſtors that have long travelled in the work of the Mi- " niſtry with good fruit and bleſſing of their labours, who " were ever ready to perform the legal Subſcription ap- " pointed by the 13th of Elizabeth, which only concern- " eth the profeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine " of the Sacraments, yet for not conforming in ſome points " of ceremonies, and for refuſing the ſubſcription directed " by the late Canons, have been removed from their Eccle- " ſiaſtical Livings, being their Freehold, and debarr'd from " all means of maintenance, to the great grief of your Maje- " ſty's ſubjects, ſeeing the whole people that want inſtruction " lie open to the ſeducement of popiſh and ill affected per- " ſons ; we therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, " that ſuch deprived and ſilenced Miniſters may by licenſe, " or permiſſion of the Reverend Fathers in their ſeveral " Dioceſes, inſtruct and preach unto their people in ſuch " pariſhes and places where they may be employed, ſo as " they apply themſelves in their Miniſtry to wholeſome " Doctrine and Exhortation, and live quietly and peaceably " in their callings ; and ſhall not by writing or preaching " impugn things eſtabliſhed by publick authotity. They " alſo pray, That diſpenſations for pluralities of benefices " with cure of ſouls, may be prohibited ; and, that tolera- " tion of non-reſidency may be reſtrained. And foraſmuch " as excommunication is exerciſed upon an incredible num- " ber of the common people, by the ſubordinate officer " of the juriſdiction eccleſiaſtical, for ſmall cauſes, by the " ſole information of a baſe Apparitor, ſo that the Poor " are driven to exceſſive expences for matters of ſmall mo- " ment, while the Rich eſcape that cenſure by Commuta- " tion of Penance ; they therefore moſt humbly pray for a " reformation in the premiſes." In favour of the Puritans.

In another petition they repreſent to his Majeſty the great grievance of the Commiſſion Eccleſiaſtical, and in all humility beſeech his Majeſty to ratify the law they had pre-

pared

King James I. 1610.

pared for reducing it within reaſonable and convenient limits; they ſay, "That the Statute 1 Eliz. cap. 1. by "which the Commiſſion is authorized, has been found "dangerous and inconvenient on many accounts:

Reaſons for amending the Act of Supremacy.

Firſt, "Becauſe it enables the making ſuch Commiſſion "to one Subject born as well as more.

Secondly, "Becauſe under Colour of ſome Words in "the Statute, whereby the Commiſſioners are authorized "to act according to the tenor and effect of your Highneſs's "Letters Patents, and by Letters Patents grounded there-"on, they do fine and impriſon, and exerciſe other autho-"rities not belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, re-"ſtored to the Crown by this Statute; for by the ſame "rule your Highneſs may by your Letters Patents autho-"rize them to fine without ſtint, and impriſon without li-"mitation of time; as alſo, according to Will and Diſ-"cretion, without regard to any laws Spiritual and Tem-"poral; they may impoſe utter confiſcation of Goods, "forfeiture of Lands, yea, and the taking away of Limb "and Life itſelf, and this for any matter appertaining to "Spiritual Juriſdiction, which could never be the intent of "the Law.

Thirdly, "Becauſe the King by the ſame Statute, may "ſet up an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion in every Dioceſe, "County, and Pariſh of England, and thereby all Juriſ-"diction may be taken from Biſhops and transferred to "Lay-Men.

Fourthly, "Becauſe every petty offence appertaining to "Spiritual Juriſdiction is by colour of the ſaid Words and "Letters Patents made ſubject to Excommunication, "whereby the ſmalleſt offenders may be obliged to travel "from the moſt remote parts of the Kingdom to London, "to their utter ruin.

Fifthly, "Becauſe 'tis very hard, if not impoſſible, to "know what matters or offences are included within their "Commiſſion, as appertaining to Spiritual and Eccleſiaſti-"cal Juriſdiction, it being unknown what ancient Canons "or Laws Spiritual are in force.

And for reforming the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.

"As for the Commiſſion Eccleſiaſtical itſelf, grounded "on the Statute abovementioned, it is a very great grie-"vance, becauſe,

1. "The ſame Men have both Spiritual and Tempo-"ral Juriſdiction, and may force the party by oath to accuſe "himſelf, and alſo enquire thereof by a Jury; and, laſtly, "may inflict for the ſame offence, and at the ſame time,

by

" by one and the ſame ſentence, both a ſpiritual and tem- " poral puniſhment. King James I. 1610.

2. " Whereas upon ſentences of deprivation, or other " ſpiritual Cenſures, given by force of ordinary Juriſdicti- " on, an Appeal lies for the Party grieved; this is here " excluded by expreſs Words of the Commiſſion. Alſo, " here is to be a Trial by Jury, but no Remedy by Tra- " verſe or Attaint. Nor can a Man have any Writ of Er- " ror, though Judgment be given againſt him amounting " to the taking away all his goods and impriſoning him for " Life, yea, to the adjudging him in the caſe of Præmunire, " whereby his Lands are forfeited, and he put out of the " Protection of the Law.

3. " Whereas penal Laws, and Offences againſt them, " cannot be determined in other Courts, or by other Per- " ſons, than thoſe entruſted by Parliament, yet the execu- " tion of many ſuch Statutes made ſince the firſt Eliz. are " committed to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, who " may inflict the Puniſhments contained in the Statutes, " being Præmunire, and of other high Nature, and ſo in- " force a Man upon his Oath to accuſe himſelf, or elſe in- " flict other temporal Puniſhments at Pleaſure; and after " this, the Party ſhall be ſubject in the Courts mentioned " in the Acts, to Puniſhments by the ſame Acts appointed " and inflicted.

4. " The Commiſſion gives Authority to oblige Men, " not only to give Recognizance for their appearance from " time to time, but alſo for performance of whatſoever " ſhall be by the Commiſſioners ordered, and to pay ſuch " Fees as the Commiſſioners ſhall think fit.

" The execution of the Commiſſion is no leſs grievous " to the ſubject; for, (1.) Lay-Men are puniſhed for " ſpeaking of the Simony, and other miſdemeanors of " ſpiritual Men, though the thing ſpoken be true, and " tends to the inducing ſome condign Puniſhment. " (2.) Theſe Commiſſioners uſually allot to Women, diſ- " contented, and unwilling to live with their Huſbands, " ſuch Portions and Maintenance as they think fit, to the " great Encouragement of Wives to be diſobedient to their " Huſbands. And, (3.) Purſuivants, and other Miniſters " employed in apprehending ſuſpected Offenders, or in " ſearching for ſuppoſed ſcandalous Books, break open " Mens Houſes, Cloſets and Deſks, rifling all Corners and " private Places, as in Caſes of High Treaſon. Grievances in the Execution of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.

A fur-

King James I. 1610.

A further grievance is the "Stay of Writs of Pro-"hibition, Habeas Corpus & de Homine replegiando," which are a conſiderable relief to the oppreſſed Subjects of the Kingdom. His Majeſty, in order to ſupport the inferior Courts againſt the principal Courts of Common Law, had ordered things ſo, that Writs had been more ſparingly granted, and with greater caution. They therefore pray his Majeſty, to require his Judges in Weſtminſter-hall, to grant ſuch Writs in caſes wherein they lie.

But one of the greateſt, and moſt threatning Grievances, was the King's granting Letters Patents for Monopolies, and Licenſes for Wine, Ale-houſes, ſelling Sea-coal, &c. which they pray his Majeſty to forbear for the future, that the diſeaſe may be cured, and others of like nature prevented. But the King, inſtead of complying with his Parliament, was ſo diſguſted with their Remonſtrance, that he diſſolved them [December 31ſt] without paſſing any one Act this Seſſion, after they had continued above ſix years; and was ſo out of humour with the Spirit of Engliſh Liberty that was growing in the Houſes, that he reſolved (if poſſible) to govern without Parliaments for the future. This was done by the advice of Bancroft, and other ſervile Court Flatterers, and was the beginning of that miſchief (ſays Wilſon) which, when it came to a full Ripeneſs, made ſuch a bloody Tincture in both Kingdoms as never will be got out of the Biſhops Lawn Sleeves.

Fuller, B. X. p. 56.

Hiſtory of King James p. 46.

Affairs of Scotland.

From the time that King James came to the Engliſh Throne, and long before, if we may believe Dr. Heylin, his Majeſty had projected the reſtoring Epiſcopacy in the Kirk of Scotland, and reducing the two Kingdoms to one uniform Government and Diſcipline; for this purpoſe Archbiſhop Bancroft maintained a ſecret correſpondence with him, and corrupted one Norton, an Engliſh Bookſeller at Edinburgh [in the year 1589.] to betray the Scots affairs to him, as he confeſſed with Tears at his Examination. The many curious Articles he employed him to ſearch into are ſet down in Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 246. In the Month of January, 1591, his letters to Mr. Patrick Adamſon were intercepted, wherein he adviſes him, "To give the "Queen of England more honourable Titles, and to praiſe "the Church of England above all others. He marvelled "why he came not to England, and aſſured him he would "be well accepted by my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, "and well rewarded if he came." This Adamſon was afterwards excommunicated, but repenting of what he had done

Peirce, p. 166.

done againſt the Kirk deſired Abſolution; part of his confeſſion runs thus, "I grant I was more buſy with ſome "Biſhops in England, in prejudice of the Diſcipline of our "Kirk, partly when I was there, and partly by intelli- "gence ſince, than became a good Chriſtian, much leſs "a faithful Paſtor; neither is there any thing that more "aſhameth me, than my often deceiving and abuſing the "Kirk heretofore by Confeſſions, Subſcriptions, and Pro- "teſtations." King James I. 1610.

Upon his Majeſty's arrival in England he took all occaſions to diſcover his averſion to the Scots Preſbyterians, taxing them with ſaucineſs, ill-manners, and an implacable enmity to kingly power; he nominated Biſhops to the thirteen Scots Biſhopricks which himſelf had formerly aboliſhed; but their Revenues being annexed to the Crown, their dignities were little more than Titular. In the Parliament held at Perth in the year 1606, his Majeſty obtained an Act to reſtore the Biſhops to their Temporalities, and to repeal the Act of Annexation; by which they were reſtored to their Votes in Parliament, and had the title of "Lords of Parliament," contrary to the ſenſe both of Clergy and Laity, as appears by the following Proteſt of the General Aſſembly.

"IN the name of Chriſt, and in the name of the Kirk in "general, whereof the Realm hath reaped comfort "this forty ſix years; alſo in the name of our Preſbyte- "ries, from which we received our Commiſſion; and in "our own Names as Paſtors and Office-Bearers within "the ſame, for the diſcharging of our neceſſary duty, and "for the diſburthening of our Conſciences, we except "and proteſt againſt the Erection, Confirmation or "Ratification of the ſaid Biſhopricks and Biſhops by this "preſent Parliament; and humbly pray, that this our "Proteſtation may be admitted and regiſter'd among the "Records." Courſe of Scots Conformity, p. 19.

In the Convention at Linlithgow, December 12th, conſiſting of Noblemen, Stateſmen, and ſome Court Miniſters, it was agreed, that the Biſhops ſhould be perpetual Moderators of the Kirk Aſſemblies, under certain cautions, and with a Declaration, that they had no purpoſe to ſubvert the Diſcipline of the Kirk, or to exerciſe any tyrannous or unlawful juriſdiction over their Brethren; but the Body of the Miniſters being uneaſy at this, another Convention was held at Linlithgow, 1608, and a Committee appointed to com- Ib. p. 49.

King James I. 1610.

compromiſe the Difference; the Committee conſiſted of two Earls, and two Lords, as his Majeſty's Commiſſioners; five new Biſhops; two Univerſity Men, three Miniſters on one part, and ten for the other; they met at Falkland, May 4. 1609, and debated, (1.) Whether the Moderators of Kirk Aſſemblies ſhould be conſtant or circular; and, (2.) Whether the Caveats ſhould be obſerved. But coming to no agreement they adjourned to Striveling, where the Biſhops with great difficulty obtained their Point. And to encreaſe their power, his Majeſty was pleaſed next year [in the Month of Feb. 1610.] contrary to Law, to put the High Commiſſion into their hands.

Epiſcopacy reſtored in Scotland. Ibid. p. 53.

But ſtill they wanted the "Sanction of a general Aſſem-"bly, and a Spiritual Character;" to obtain the former an Aſſembly was held at Glaſgow, June 8th, 1610. Means having been uſed by the Courtiers to model it to their mind. In that coſtly aſſembly (ſays my Author) the Biſhops were declared Moderators in every Dioceſan Aſſembly, and they or their Deputies Moderators in their weekly Exerciſes; Ordination and Deprivation of Miniſters, Viſitation of Kirks, excommunication and abſolution, with preſentations to Benefices, were pinned to the Lawn Sleeves; and it was farther voted, (1.) That every Miniſter at his entry ſhall ſwear obedience to his Ordinary. (2.) That no Miniſter ſhall preach or ſpeak againſt the Acts of this Aſſembly. (3.) That the queſtion of the parity or imparity of Paſtors ſhall not be mentioned in the Pulpit under pain of Deprivation. This was a vaſt advance upon the conſtitution of the Kirk.

Ordination of their Biſhops.

To obtain a Spiritual Character ſuperior to the order of Preſbyters, it was neceſſary that the Biſhops elect ſhould be conſecrated by ſome of the ſame Order; for this purpoſe the King ſent for three of them into England (viz. Mr. Spotſwood Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Mr. Lamb Biſhop of Brechen, and Mr. Hamilton Biſhop of Galloway) and iſſued a Commiſſion under the great Seal to the Biſhops of London, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Rocheſter, requiring them to proceed to the Conſecration of the abovementioned Biſhops according to the Engliſh Ordinal: but Andrews Biſhop of Ely was of opinion, that before their conſecration they ought to be made Prieſts, becauſe they had not been ordained by a Biſhop. This the Scots Divines were unwilling to admit, for fear of the conſequences among their own Countrymen; for what muſt they conclude concerning the Miniſters of Scotland, if their Ordination as Preſbyters

was

was not valid? Bancroft therefore yielded, that where Biſhops could not be had, Ordination by Preſbyters muſt be valid, otherwiſe the character of moſt of the reformed Churches might be queſtioned. Abbot Biſhop of London and others were of Opinion, that there was no neceſſity of paſſing through the inferior Orders of Deacon and Prieſt, but that the Epiſcopal Character might be conveyed at once, as appears from the example of St. Ambroſe, Nectarius, Eucherius, and others, who from mere Lay-Men were advanced at once into the Epiſcopal Chair. But whether this ſuppoſition does not rather weaken the Arguments for Biſhops being a diſtinct order from Preſbyters, I leave with the Reader. However, the Scotch Divines were conſecrated in the Chapel at London Houſe [October 21, 1610.] and upon their return into Scotland they conveyed their new Character in the ſame manner to their Brethren. Thus the King, by an uſurped Supremacy over the Kirk of Scotland, and other violent and indirect means, ſubverted their Conſtitution; and contrary to the genius of the People, and the proteſtation of the general Aſſembly, the Biſhops were made Lords of Council, Lords of Parliament, and the King's High Commiſſioners in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; but with all their high Titles they ſat uneaſy in their Chairs, being generally hated both by the Miniſters and People.

King James I. 1610.

Collyer, p. 702.

Calderwood, p. 644.

About ten days after this Conſecration Dr. Richard Bancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury, departed this Life; he was born at Farnworth in Lancaſhire, 1544. and educated in Jeſus College, Cambridge. He was firſt Chaplain to Cox Biſhop of Ely, who gave him the Rectory of Teverſham near Cambridge. In the year 1585. he proceeded D. D. and being ambitious of preferment got into the Service of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, by whoſe Recommendation he was made Prebendary of Weſtminſter. Here he ſignalized himſelf by preaching againſt the Puritans; a ſure way to preferment in thoſe times. He alſo writ againſt the Diſcipline; and was the firſt in the Church of England that openly maintained the Divine Right of the Order of Biſhops. While he ſat in the High Commiſſion he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an uncommon zeal againſt the Nonconformiſts, for which he was preferr'd, firſt to the Biſhoprick of London, and upon Whitgift's Death to the See of Canterbury; how he behaved in that High Station has been ſufficiently related. This Prelate left behind him no extraordinary Character for Piety, Learning, Hoſpitality, or

Archbiſhop Bancroft's Death and Character.

King James I. 1610.

any other Epiſcopal Quality. He was of a rough, uncourtly Temper; a Tool of the Prerogative, and an enemy to the Laws and Conſtitutions of his Country. Some have repreſented him as inclined to Popery, becauſe he maintained ſeveral ſecular Prieſts in his Houſe; but this was done (ſay his Advocates) to keep up the Controverſy between them and the Jeſuits. Lord Clarendon ſays, "That "he underſtood the Church excellently well, that he had "almoſt reſcued it out of the Hands of the Calvinian Par- "ty, and very much ſubdued the unruly Spirit of the Non- "conformiſts; and that he countenanced Men of Lear- "ning." His Lordſhip might have added, that he was covetous, paſſionate, ill-natur'd, and a cruel Perſecutor of good Men. That he laid aſide that Hoſpitality that becomes a Biſhop, and lived without State or Equipage, which gave occaſion to the following Satire upon his Death, which happened Nov. 2. 1610. Ætatis 66.

Vol. I. p. 88.

Here lies his Grace in cold Clay clad,
Who died for Want of what he had.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Archbiſhop Bancroft to the Death of King James I.

1611. Abbot made Archbiſhop. B. I. p. 88.

BANCROFT was ſucceeded by Dr. George Abbot, Biſhop of London, a Divine of a quite different Spirit from his Predeceſſor; he was a ſound Proteſtant, a thorough Calviniſt, an avowed Enemy to Popery, and even ſuſpected of Puritaniſm, becauſe he relaxed the penal Laws, whereby, ſays Lord Clarendon, "He unravell'd all "that his Predeceſſor had been doing for many years, who, "if he had lived a little longer, would have ſubdued the "unruly Spirit of the Non-conformiſts, and extinguiſhed "that Fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva; "but Abbot (ſays his Lordſhip) conſidered the Chriſtian "Religion no otherwiſe than as it abhorred and reviled Po- "pery, and valued thoſe Men moſt who did that moſt fu- "rioufly. He enquired but little after the ſtrict Obſer- "vation of the Diſcipline of the Church, or Conformity "to the Articles or Canons eſtabliſhed, and did not think "ſo ill of the [Preſbyterian] Diſcipline as he ought to "have done, but if Men prudently forbore a publick re-

"viling

" viling at the Hierarchy and Eccleſiaſtical Government, " they were ſecure from any inquiſition from him, and " were equally preferred. His houſe was a ſanctuary to " the moſt eminent of the factious party, and he licenſed " their pernicious Writings." Such was the language of the noble Hiſtorian againſt one of the moſt religious and grave Prelates of his age, and a ſteady friend of the Conſtitution in Church and State. If Abbot's moderate meaſures had been purſued, the Liberties of England had been ſecured, Popery diſcountenanced, and the Church prevented from running into thoſe exceſſes which afterwards proved its ruin. King James I. 1611.

The tranſlation of the Bible, now in uſe, was finiſhed this year; it was undertaken at the requeſt of the Puritan Divines in the Hampton-Court Conference; and being the laſt, it may not be unacceptable to ſet before the reader in one view, the various tranſlations of the Bible into the Engliſh language. Account of all the Tranſlations of the Bible into Engliſh. Wickliffe's N. T. 1380.

The New Teſtament was firſt tranſlated by Dr. Wickliffe out of the vulgar Latin about the year 1380, and is intitled, " The New Teſtament, with the Leſſons taken out " of the old Law, read in Churches according to the uſe " of Sarum. Lewis's Prolegom. to Wickliffe's New Teſt. Durel. Calmet.

The next tranſlation was by William Tyndal, printed at Antwerp, 1526, in Octavo, without a name, and without either Calendar, references in the margin, or table at the end; it was corrected by the author, and printed in the years 1534, and 1536, having paſs'd through five editions in Holland. Tindal's New Teſt. 1526.

In the mean time Tyndal was tranſlating ſeveral books of the Old Teſtament, as the Pentateuch, and the book of Jonas, printed 1531; the books of Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, the two books of Chronicles and Nehemiah. About the ſame time George Joy, ſometime Fellow of Peter College, Cambridge, tranſlated the Pſalter, the prophecy of Jeremiah, and the Song of Moſes, and printed them beyond Sea.

In the year 1535, the whole Bible was printed the firſt time in folio, adorned with wooden cuts, and Scripture references; it was done by ſeveral hands, and dedicated to King Henry VIII. by Miles Coverdale. In the laſt page 'tis ſaid to be printed in the year of our Lord 1535, and finiſhed the fourth Day of October. This Bible was reprinted in quarto, 1550, and again with a new title, 1553. First Edition of the Bible, 1535.

Two years after the Bible was reprinted in Engliſh, with Matthew's Bible, 1537.

King James I. 1611.

this title, "The Holy Byble, which is all the Holy Scrip-"ture, in which are contayned the Olde and Newe Testa-"ment, trueley and purelye translated into Englisth by "[a fictitious Name] Thomas Mathew, 1537." It has a Calender with an Almanack; and an exhortation to the ſtudy of the Scripture, ſigned J. R. John Rogers; a table of contents and marriages; marginal notes, a prologue; and in the Apocalypſe ſome wooden cuts. At the beginning of the prophets are printed at the top of the page R. G. Richard Grafton, and at the Bottom E. W. Edward Whitchurch, who were the Printers. This Tranſlation, to the End of the Book of Chronicles, and the Book of Jonah, with all the New Teſtament, was Tyndal's; the reſt was Miles Coverdale's and John Rogers's.

Cranmer's Bible, 1539.

In the year 1539, the abovementioned tranſlation having been reviſed and corrected by Archbiſhop Cranmer, was reprinted by Grafton and Whitchurch, "Cum Privilegio ad "imprimendum ſolum." It has this title, "The Bible "in Englyſhe, that is to ſay, the Content of the Holy "Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Teſtament, truly "tranſlated after the Veritie of the Hebrue and Greke "Texts, by the diligent ſtudy of divers excellent learned "men, expert in the foreſayde Tongues." In this edition Tyndal's prologue and marginal notes are omitted. It was reprinted the following year in a large folio, proper for Churches, begun at Paris, and finiſhed at London. In the year 1541, it was printed again by Grafton, with a preface by Cranmer, having been reviſed by Tonſtal and Heath, Biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter. But after this time the Popiſh Party prevailing at Court, there were no more editions of the Bible in this Reign.

1548. 1549.

In the beginning of King Edward's Reign the Bible of 1541, was reprinted, with Cranmer's prologue; and the Liturgy of the Church of England, being firſt compoſed and eſtabliſhed in this Reign, the tranſlation of the Pſalter, commonly called the Old Tranſlation, in uſe at this day, was taken from this edition. Next year Coverdale's Teſtament of 1535, was reprinted with Eraſmus's Paraphraſe; but there was no new tranſlation.

Geneva Bible, 1559.

In the Reign of Queen Mary [1555.] the exiles at Geneva undertook a new tranſlation, commonly called the Geneva Bible; the names of the tranſlators were Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Sampſon, Cole, Knox, Bodleigh and Pullain, who publiſhed the New Teſtament firſt in a ſmall twelves, 1557, by Conrad Badius. This was the firſt that was printed

printed with numerical verſes. The whole Bible was publiſhed afterwards with marginal notes, 1559. dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The Tranſlators ſay, "They had been employed in this work night and day, with fear and trembling——and they proteſted from their Conſciences, that "in every point and word they had faithfully rendered the "Text to the beſt of their knowledge." But the marginal notes having given offence it was not ſuffered to be publiſhed in England till the death of Archbiſhop Parker, when it was printed [1576.] by Chriſtopher Barker, in Quarto, "Cum Privilegio," and met with ſuch acceptance, that it paſt thro' twenty or thirty Editions in this Reign. King James I. 1611.

Cranmer's Edition of the Bible was reprinted in the years 1562, and 1566. for the uſe of Churches. But complaint being made of the incorrectneſs of it, Archbiſhop Parker projected a new Tranſlation, and aſſigned the ſeveral Books of the Old and New Teſtament to about fourteen dignitaries of the Church, moſt of whom being Biſhops, it was from them called "The Biſhops Bible," and was printed in an elegant and pompous Folio, in the year 1568. with Maps and Cuts. In the year 1572. it was reprinted with ſome alterations and additions, and ſeveral times afterwards, but without any amendments. Biſhops Bible. 1568.

In the year 1582. the Roman Catholick Exiles tranſlated the New Teſtament for the uſe of their People, and publiſhed it in Quarto, with this Title, "The New Teſtament "of Jeſus Chriſt, tranſlated faithfully into Engliſh out of the "authentick Latin, according to the beſt corrected Co-"pies of the ſame, diligently conferred with the Greek and "other Editions in divers Languages; with Arguments of "Books and Chapters, Annotations, and other neceſſary "helps for the better underſtanding of the Text, and eſpe-"cially for the diſcovery of the corruptions of divers late "Tranſlations, and for clearing the controverſies in Reli-"gion of theſe days. In the Engliſh College of Rhemes. "Printed by John Fogny." The Old Teſtament of this Tranſlation was firſt publiſhed at Doway in two Tomes Quarto, the firſt in the year 1609. the other 1610. by Lawrence Kellam, at the ſign of the Holy Lamb, with a Preface and Tables; the Authors are ſaid to be Cardinal Allen, ſometime Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, Richard Briſtow, Fellow of Exeter College, and Gregory Martin of St. John's College. The Annotations were made by Tho. Worthington, B. A. of Oxford; all of them Exiles for their Religion, and ſettled in popiſh Seminaries beyond ſea. Rhemiſt Teſtament, 1582. And Bible. 1609. 1610.

King James I. 1611

The miſtakes of this Tranſlation, and the falſe gloſſes put upon the Text, were expoſed by the learned Dr. Fulke and Mr. Cartwright.

Laſt Tranſlation by order of K. James I. 1611.

At the requeſt of the Puritans in the Hampton-Court Conference, King James appointed a new Tranſlation to be undertaken by the moſt learned men of both Univerſities, under the following regulations, (1.) That they keep as cloſe as poſſible to the Biſhops Bible. (2.) That the Names of the Holy Writers be retained according to vulgar uſe. (3.) That the old eccleſiaſtical Words be kept, as Church not to be tranſlated Congregation, &c. (4.) That when a word has divers Significations, that be kept which has been moſt commonly uſed by the Fathers. (5.) That the diviſion of Chapters be not altered. (6.) No marginal Notes but for the explication of a Hebrew or Greek word. (7.) Marginal References may be ſet down. The other regulations relate to the Tranſlators comparing notes, and agreeing among themſelves; they were to conſult the modern tranſlations of the French, Dutch, German, &c. but to vary as little as poſſible from the Biſhops Bible.

The King's Commiſſion bears date 1604. but the work was not begun till 1606. and finiſhed 1611. Fifty four of the chief Divines of both Univerſities were nominated; but ſome of them dying ſoon after, the work was undertook by Forty ſeven, who were divided into ſix Companies; the firſt company tranſlated from Geneſis to the firſt book of Chronicles; the ſecond to the prophecy of Iſaiah; the third tranſlated the four greater Prophets, with the Lamentations and twelve ſmaller Prophets; the fourth had the Apocrypha; the fifth had the four Goſpels, the Acts and the Revelations; and the ſixth the Canonical Epiſtles. The work being finiſhed, and reviſed by learned men from both Univerſities, the publiſhing it was committed to the Care of Biſhop Bilſon and Dr. Miles Smith, which laſt writ the Preface that now ſtands before it. It was firſt printed in the year 1611. with a Dedication to King James, and is the ſame that is now read in all the Churches.

K. James's zeal againſt Vorſtius.

Upon the death of Arminius the Curator of the Univerſity of Leyden choſe Conradus Vorſtius his ſucceſſor. This Divine had publiſhed a very exceptionable treatiſe concerning the Nature and Properties of God, in which he maintained, that God had a Body; and denied his proper Immenſity and Omniſcience, as they are commonly underſtood. He maintained the Divine Being to be limited and reſtrained, and aſcribed Quantity and Magnitude to him.

The

The Clergy of Amſterdam remonſtrated to the States againſt his ſettlement at Leyden, the country being already too much divided about the Arminian Tenets. To ſtrengthen their hands they applied to the Engliſh Ambaſſador to repreſent the caſe to King James; and prevailed with the Curators to defer his Induction into the Profeſſorſhip till his Majeſty had read over his Book; which having done, he declared Vorſtius to be an Arch-Heretick, a Peſt, a Monſter of Blaſphemies; and to ſhew his Deteſtation of his book, ordered it to be burnt publickly in St. Paul's Church-yard, and at both the Univerſities; in the concluſion of his Letter to the States on this occaſion he ſays, "As God has honoured us with the title of Defender of the Faith, ſo (if "you incline to retain Vorſtius any longer) we ſhall be "obliged not only to ſeparate and cut ourſelves off from "ſuch falſe and heretical Churches, but likewiſe to call "upon all the reſt of the reformed Churches to enter upon "the ſame common conſultation, how we may beſt extin-"guiſh and ſend back to hell theſe curſed [Arminian] here-"ſies that have newly broken forth. And for ourſelves, we "ſhall be neceſſitated to forbid all the youth of our Sub-"jects to frequent an Univerſity that is ſo infected as that "of Leyden." His Majeſty alſo ſent over ſundry other Memorials, in which he ſtiles Vorſtius "a wicked Atheiſt;" Arminius "an Enemy to God." And Bertius having writ concerning the Apoſtaſy of the Saints, he ſaid the Author was worthy of the Fire.

King James I. 1611.

Brandt's Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 97.

At length the King publiſhed his Royal Declaration in ſeveral Languages, containing an account of all he had done in the affair of Vorſtius, with his Reaſons; which were, "His zeal for the glory of God, his love for his friends and "allies [the States] and fear of the ſame contagion in his "own Kingdom;" but theirHigh Mightineſſes did not like the King of England's meddling ſo much in their Affairs. However, Vorſtius was diſmiſſed to Gouda, where he lived privately till the Synod of Dort, when he was baniſhed the ſeven Provinces; he then retired to Tonninghen, in the Dukedom of Holſtein, where he died a profeſſed Socinian, Sept. 19. 1622.

1612.

Bayle's Dict. Crit.

His Majeſty had a further opportunity of diſcovering his zeal againſt Hereſy this year, upon two of his own ſubjects; one was Bartholomew Legate an Arian; he was a comely perſon, of a black complexion, and about forty years of age, of a fluent tongue, excellently well verſed in the Scriptures, and of an unblameable converſation. King James himſelf,

Hereticks burnt.

Barth. Legate.

Fuller, B. X. p. 63.

King James I. 1612.

himſelf, and ſome of his Biſhops, conferred with him, but could not convince him of his errors. Having lain a conſiderable time in Newgate he was at length convened before biſhop King in his Conſiſtory at St. Paul's, who with ſome other Divines and Lawyers there aſſembled, declared him a contumacious and obdurate Heretick, and certified the ſame into Chancery by a Significavit, delivering him up to the ſecular power; whereupon the King ſigned a Writ "De Hæretico comburendo" to the Sheriffs of London, who brought him to Smithfield March 18th. and in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of people burnt him to death. A Pardon was offered him at the Stake if he would recant, but he refuſed it.

And Edward Wightman. Fuller, B. X. p. 64.

Next month Edward Wightman of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of Hereſy by Dr. Neile Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, and was burnt at Litchfield April 11th. He was charged in the Warrant with the Hereſies of Arius, Cerinthus, Manichæus, and the Anabaptiſts—There was another condemned to the fire for the ſame Hereſies; but the Conſtancy of the abovemention'd Sufferers moving compaſſion in the Spectators, it was thought better to ſuffer him to linger out a miſerable Life in Newgate, which was done accordingly.

State of the Court.

Nothing was minded at Court but Luxury and Diverſions. Affairs of the Church were left to the Biſhops, and State Affairs to the Civil Officers, while the King himſelf ſunk into a moſt indolent and inactive life, being govern'd by a Favourite, in chooſing whom he had no regard to virtue or merit, but to youth, beauty, gracefulneſs of perſon, and fine clothes, &c. This expoſed him to the contempt of foreign Courts, who from this time paid him very little regard. At the ſame time he was laviſh and profuſe in his expences and donations to his hungry Courtiers, which exhauſted his Exchequer, and obliged him to have recourſe to arbitrary and illegal methods of raiſing money by the Prerogative; this loſt him the hearts of his People, which with all his Kingcraft he could never recover, and laid the foundation of all thoſe Calamities, which in the next Reign overturned both Church and State.

King marries his Daughter to the Elector Palatine.

But while the King and his Miniſters were ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion and the Liberties of England, it pleaſed Almighty God to lay the Foundation of their recovery by the marriage of the King's Daughter Elizabeth to Frederick V. Elector Palatine of the Rhine, from whom the preſent Royal Family is deſcended. The Match was promoted by

by Archbiſhop Abbot, and univerſally approved by all the Puritans in England, as the grand Security of the Proteſtant Succeſſion to the Crown in caſe of failure of Heirs from the King's Son. Mr. Echard ſays, they foretold by a diſtant Foreſight, the ſucceſſion of this Family to the Crown; and it muſt be owned, that they were always the delight of the Puritans, who prayed heartily for them, and upon all occaſions exerted themſelves for the ſupport of the Family in their loweſt circumſtances. King James I. 1613.

The ſolemnity of theſe Nuptials was retarded ſome months, by the untimely death of Henry Prince of Wales, the King's eldeſt Son, who died Nov. 6th. 1612. and was buried the 7th of December following, being eighteen years and eight months old. Some have ſuſpected that the King his Father cauſed him to be poiſoned, though there is no certain proof of it; the body being opened, his Liver appeared white, and his Spleen and Diaphragma black, his Gall without choler, and his Lungs ſpotted with much corruption, and his Head full of blood in ſome places, and in others full of water. 'Tis certain the King was jealous of his Son's popularity, and aſked one day, "If he would bury him alive;" and upon his death commanded, that "No "perſon ſhould appear at Court in mourning for him." This Prince was one of the moſt accompliſhed perſons of his age, ſober, chaſt, temperate, religious, full of honour and probity, and never heard to ſwear an oath: Neither the example of the King his Father, nor of the whole Court, was capable of corrupting him in that reſpect. He had a great Soul, noble and generous Thoughts, and was as much diſpleaſed with trifles as his Father was fond of them. He had frequently ſaid, that "If ever he mounted the Throne, "his firſt care ſhould be to try to reconcile the Puritans to "the Church of England." As this could not be done without each parties making ſome Conceſſions; and as ſuch a proceeding was directly contrary to the temper of the Court and Clergy, he was ſuſpected to countenance Puritaniſm. Prince Henry was mild and affable, and yet of a warlike genius; and to ſay all in a word, he was the darling of the Puritans, and of all good men; for though he lived above eighteen Years, no Hiſtorian has taxed him with any Vice. Death and Character of Henry Prince of Wales. Rapin, p. 328, 340.

To furniſh the Exchequer with money ſeveral new Projects were ſet on foot, as, (1.) His Majeſty created a new Order of Knights Baronets; the number not to exceed two hundred, and the expence of the Patent one thouſand New Methods of raiſing Money.

ninety

King James I. 1613.

ninety five pounds. (2.) His Majeſty ſold Letters Patents for Monopolies. (3.) He obliged ſuch as were worth forty Pounds a Year to compound for not being Knights. (4.) He ſet to ſale the higheſt Honours and Dignities of the Nation: The price for a Baron was ten thouſand Pounds; for a Viſcount fifteen thouſand; and twenty thouſand for an Earl. (5.) Thoſe who had defective Titles were obliged to compound to ſet them right. And, (6.) The Star-chamber raiſed their Fines to an exceſſive degree. But theſe projects not anſwering the King's neceſſities, he was obliged at laſt to call a Parliament. When the Houſes met they fell immediately upon grievances, upon which the King diſſolved them, before one Statute was enacted, and committed ſome of the principal Members of the Houſe of Commons to priſon, without admitting them to bail, reſolving again to raiſe money without Parliament.

1615. Abſtract of the Reformation in Ireland.

This Year the Articles of the Church of Ireland were ratified and confirmed; the Reformation of that Kingdom had made but a ſlow progreſs in the late Reign, by reaſon of the wars between the Engliſh and Natives, and the ſmall proportion of the former to the latter. The Natives had a ſtrong prejudice againſt the Engliſh, as coming into the country by Conqueſt; and being bigotted Papiſts, their prejudices were encreaſed by King Henry VIIIth's throwing off the Pope's Supremacy, which threaten'd the loſs of their Religion, as well as their civil Liberties. In the Reign of Philip and Mary they were more quiet, when a Law was paſſed againſt bringing in the Scots and marrying with them, which continued in force during the whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was a great hindrance to the Progreſs of the Proteſtant Religion in that Country; however, an Univerſity was erected at Dublin in the Year 1593, and furniſhed with learned Profeſſors from Cambridge of the Calviniſtical Perſuaſion. James Uſher, afterwards the famous Archbiſhop of Armagh, was the firſt Student that was entered into the College. The Diſcipline of the Iriſh Church was according to the Model of the Engliſh; Biſhops were nominated to the Popiſh Dioceſes, but their Revenues being alienated, or in the hands of Papiſts, or very much diminiſhed by the Wars, they were obliged to throw the Revenues of ſeveral Biſhopricks together, to make a tolerable ſubſiſtence for one. The caſe was the ſame with the inferior Clergy, forty Shillings a year being a common allowance for a Vicar in the Province of Connaught, and ſometimes but ſixteen. Thus (ſays

(ſays Mr. Collyer) the authority of the Biſhops went off, and the People followed their own fancies in the choice of Religion. King James I. 1615.

At the Hampton-Court Conference the King propoſed ſending Preachers into Ireland, complaining that he was but half Monarch of thatKingdom, the bodies of the People being only ſubject to his authority, while their Conſciences were at the command of the Pope; but it does not appear that any attempts were made to convert them till after the year 1607. when the Act of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary being repealed, the Citizens of London undertook for the Province of Ulſter. Theſe Adventurers built Londonderry, fortified Colrain, and purchaſed a great tract of Land in the adjacent parts. They ſent over conſiderable numbers of Planters, but were at a loſs for Miniſters: for the beneficed Clergy of the Church of England being at eaſe in the enjoyment of their Preferments, would not engage in ſuch a hazardous undertaking, it fell therefore to the Lot of the Scots and Engliſh Puritans; the Scots, by reaſon of their vicinity to the northern parts of Ireland, tranſported numerous Colonies; they improved the Country, and brought preaching into the Churches where they ſettled: but being of the Preſbyterian Perſuaſion, they formed their Churches after their own Model. The London Adventurers prevailed with ſeveral of the Engliſh Puritans to remove, who being perſecuted at home, were willing to go any where within the King's Dominions for the liberty of their Conſciences; and more would have gone, could they have been ſecure of a Toleration after they were ſettled; but their chief reſort was to the Scots; the firſt Miniſter of that Perſuaſion that went over was Mr. Edward Bryce, who ſettled in Broad Iſland in the County of Antrim, 1611. after him Mr. Robert Cunningham in Hollywood, in the County of Down. At the ſame time came over three Engliſh Miniſters, all Puritans, trained up under Mr. Cartwright (viz) Mr Ridges of Antrim, Mr. Henry Calvert, and Mr. Hubbard at Carrickfergus. After theſe Mr. Robert Blair came from Scotland to Bangor, Mr. Hamilton to Ballywater, and Mr. Levingſton to Killinſhy in the County of Down, with Mr. Welch, Dunbar, and others. Mr. Blair was a zealous Preſbyterian, and ſcrupled Epiſcopal Ordination, but the Biſhop of the Dioceſe compromiſed the difference, by agreeing that the other Scots Preſbyters of Mr. Blair's Perſuaſion ſhould join with him, and that ſuch

Riſe of the Scots Settlements in Ireland.

And of their Diſcipline.

Loyalty Presb. p. 102, 103.

King James I. 1615.

ſuch paſſages in the eſtabliſhed form of Ordination, as Mr. Blair and his Brethren ſcrupled ſhould be omitted, or exchanged for others of their own approbation. Thus was Mr. Blair ordained publickly in the Church of Bangor; the Biſhop of Raphoe did the ſame for Mr. Levingſton; and all the Scots that were ordained in Ireland from this time to the year 1642. were ordained after the ſame manner; all of them enjoyed the Churches and Tithes though they remained Preſbyterian, and uſed not the Liturgy; nay, the Biſhops conſulted them about affairs of common concernment to the Church, and ſome of them were Members of the Convocation in 1634. They had their monthly Meetings at Antrim, for the promoting of Piety and the extirpation of Popery. They had alſo their quarterly Communions, by which means great numbers of the Inhabitants were civilized, and many became ſerious Chriſtians. Mr. Blair preached before the Judges of Aſſize on the Lord's Day, at the deſire of the Biſhop of Down, and his Curate adminiſtered the Sacrament to them the ſame day; ſo that there was a ſort of comprehenſion between the two Parties, by the allowance and approbation of the great Archbiſhop Uſher, who encouraged the Miniſters in their work. Thus things continued till the adminiſtration of Archbiſhop Laud, who by dividing the Proteſtants weaken'd their hands, and made way for that prodigious growth of Popery, that ended in the Maſſacre of almoſt all the Proteſtants in the Kingdom.

Articles of the Church of Ireland.

It appears from hence, that the Reformation of Ireland was built upon a Puritan Foundation, though Epiſcopacy was the legal eſtabliſhment; but it was impoſſible to make any conſiderable progreſs in the converſion of the Natives, becauſe of their bigotry and prejudice againſt the Engliſh Nation, whoſe Language they could not be perſuaded to learn. But the Proteſtant Religion being now pretty well eſtabliſhed, it was thought adviſeable to frame ſome Articles of their Common Faith, according to the cuſtom of other Churches: Some moved in Convocation to adopt the Articles of the Engliſh Church, but this was overruled, as not ſo honourable to themſelves, who were as much a National Church as England; nor ſo conſiſtent with their Independency; it was therefore voted to draw up a new Confeſſion of their own; the draught was referred to the conduct of Dr. James Uſher, Provoſt of Dublin College, and afterwards Lord Primate; it afterwards paſt both Houſes of Convocation and Parliament with great unanimity,

nimity, and being ſent over to the Engliſh Court was approved in Council, and ratified by the Lord Deputy Chicheſter this year, in the King's Name. King James I. 1616.

Theſe Articles being rarely to be met with, I have given them a place in the Appendix, being in a manner the ſame that the Puritans requeſted, at the Hampton Court Conference; for, Firſt, The Nine Articles of Lambeth are incorporated into this confeſſion. Secondly, The morality of the Lord's-day is ſtrongly aſſerted, and the ſpending it wholly in religious Exerciſes is required [Art. 56.] Thirdly, The obſervation of Lent is declared not to be a religious Faſt, but grounded merely on political conſiderations, for proviſion of things tending to the better preſervation of the Commonwealth [Art. 50.] Fourthly, All Clergymen are ſaid to be lawfully called and ſent, who are choſen and called to this work, by Men who have publick authority given them in the Church to call and ſend Miniſters into the Lord's Vineyard [Art. 71.] which is an acknowledgment of the validity of the Ordinations of thoſe Churches that have no Biſhops. Fifthly, The power of the keys is ſaid to be only declarative [Art. 74.] Sixthly, The Pope is declared to be Antichriſt, or that Man of Sin, whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the Spirit of his Mouth, and aboliſh with the brightneſs of his coming [Art. 80.] Seventhly, The Conſecration of Archbiſhops, &c. is not ſo much as mentioned, as if done on purpoſe (ſays Mr. Collyer) to avoid maintaining the diſtinction between that Order and that of Prieſts. Laſtly, no power is aſcribed to the Church in making Canons, or cenſuring thoſe who either careleſly or wilfully infringe the ſame. Upon the whole, theſe Articles ſeem to be contrived to compromiſe the difference between the Church and the Puritans; and they had that effect till the year 1634. when by the influence of Arbhbiſhop Laud, and of the Earl of Strafford theſe Articles were ſet aſide, and thoſe of the Church of England received in their room. Remarks. Append. No. I.

To return to England. Among the Puritans that fled from the perſecution of Biſhop Bancroft was Mr. Henry Jacob, mentioned in the year 1604. this Divine having conferred with Mr. Robinſon, Paſtor of an Engliſh Church at Leyden, embraced his peculiar ſentiments of Church diſcipline, ſince known by the name of Independency. In the year 1610. Mr. Jacob publiſhed at Leyden a ſmall treatiſe in Octavo, entitled, "The Divine Beginning and Inſtituti-" on of Chriſt's true viſible and material Church:" And followed Riſe of the Independants in England.

King James I. 1616.

lowed it next year with another from Middleburgh, which he called "An Explication and Confirmation of his former "Treatiſe." Some time after he returned to England, and having imparted his deſign, of ſetting up a ſeparate Congregation, like thoſe in Holland, to the moſt learned Puritans of thoſe times, as Mr. Throgmorton, Wring, Manſel, Dod, &c. it was not condemned as unlawful, conſidering there was no proſpect of a national Reformation. Mr. Jacob therefore having ſummoned ſeveral of his friends together, as Mr. Staiſmore, Mr. Browne, Mr. Prior, Almey, Throughton, Allen, Gibbet, Farre, Goodal, and others; and having obtained their conſent to unite in Church-fellowſhip, for the enjoying the Ordinances of Chriſt in the pureſt manner, they laid the foundation of the firſt Independant, or Congregational Church in England, after the following manner; having appointed a day of ſolemn Faſting and Prayer for a bleſſing upon their undertaking. Towards the cloſe of the ſolemnity each of them made open confeſſion of their Faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and then ſtanding together they joined hands, and "ſolemnly covenanted with "each other in the preſence of Almighty God, to walk to-"gether in all God's Ways and Ordinances, according as "he had already revealed, or ſhould further make them "known to them." Mr. Jacob was then choſen their Paſtor by the ſuffrage of the Brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of Deacons with Faſting and Prayer, and impoſition of hands. The ſame year [1616.] Mr. Jacob publiſhed, "A Proteſtation or Confeſſion in the name "of certain Chriſtians, ſhewing how far they agreed with "the reaſons of their Diſſent drawn from Scripture;" to which was added, a petition to the King for the Toleration of ſuch Chriſtians. And ſome time after he publiſhed, "A "Collection of ſound Reaſons, ſhewing, how neceſſary it "is for all Chriſtians to walk in all the Ways and Ordinan-"ces of God in purity, and in a right Church way." Mr. Jacob continued with his flock about eight years, but in the year 1624. being deſirous to enlarge his uſefulneſs, he went with the conſent of his Church to Virginia, where ſoon after he died. Thus, according to the teſtimony of the Oxford Hiſtorian, and ſome others, Mr. Henry Jacob was the firſt Independant Miniſter in England, and this the firſt Congregational Church. Upon the departure of Mr. Jacob, his Congregation choſe Mr. Lathorp their Paſtor, whoſe hiſtory, together with that of his little Church, will be continued in its proper place.

Their manner of erecting a Church. MS penes me.

The

King James I. 1616.

The King was ſo full of his Prerogative, that he apprehended he could convince his Subjects of its abſolute extent; for this purpoſe he turned preacher in the Star-Chamber, and took his text, Pſalm lxxii. 1. "Give the King thy "Judgments, O God, and thy Righteouſneſs to the King's "Son." After dividing and ſubdividing, and giving the literal and myſtical ſenſe of his text, he applied it to the Judges and Courts of Judicature, telling them, "That "the King ſitting in the Throne of God, all Judgments "center in him, and therefore for inferior Courts to determine difficult queſtions without conſulting him, was to "incroach upon his Prerogative, and to limit his power, "which was not lawful for the tongue of a Lawyer, nor any "ſubject to diſpute. As it is Atheiſm and Blaſphemy to "diſpute what God can do, (ſays he) ſo it is preſumption, "and a high contempt to diſpute what Kings can do or "ſay; it is to take away that myſtical Reverence that be"longs to them who ſit in the Throne of God." Then addreſſing to the Auditory he adviſes them, "Not to med"dle with the King's Prerogative or Honour. Plead not "(ſays he) upon puritanical principles, which makes all "things popular, but keep within the ancient limits."

King's diſcourſe in the Star-Chamber.

Rapin, p. 593.

In ſpeaking of Recuſants he ſays, there are three ſorts, "(1.) Some that come now and then to Church; theſe "[the Puritans] are formal to the laws, but falſe to God. "(2.) Others that have their Conſcience miſled, ſome of "theſe [the Papiſts that ſwear allegiance] live as peaceable Subjects. (3.) Others practiſing Recuſants, who "oblige their ſervants and tenants to be of their opinion. "Theſe are Men of Pride and Preſumption. I am loth to "hang a Prieſt only for his Religion, and ſaying Maſs; "but if they refuſe the Oath of Allegiance I leave "them to the law." He concludes with exhorting the "Judges to countenance the Clergy againſt Papiſts and Puritans; adding, "God and the King will reward your "zeal."

'Tis eaſy to obſerve from hence, His Majeſty's implacable averſion to the Puritans, by whom we are to underſtand not only thoſe that refuſe the Ceremonies, but all ſuch as were enemies to Monarchy; for all arguments againſt the extent of the Prerogative are ſaid to be founded on Puritan principles. A King with theſe maxims ſhould have been frugal of his Revenues, that he might not have ſtood in need of Parliaments; but our Monarch was extravagantly profuſe, and to ſupply his wants he delivered back this

King James I. 1617.

year to the Dutch their cautionary Towns, which were the keys of their Country, for leſs than a quarter part of the money that was borrowed upon them.

Mr. Baynes's Death and Character.

This year died the learned and judicious Mr Paul Baynes, born in London, and educated in Chriſt College, Cambridge, of which he was Fellow. He ſucceeded Mr. Perkins in the Lecture at St. Andrews Church, where he behaved with that gravity aud exemplary piety, as rendered him univerſally acceptable to all that had any taſte of ſerious Religion, till Archbiſhop Bancroft ſending Dr. Harſnet to viſit the Univerſity, called upon Mr. Baynes to ſubſcribe according to the Canons, which he refuſing, the Doctor ſilenced him, and put down his Lecture. Mr. Baynes appealed to the Archbiſhop, but his Grace ſtood by his Chaplains, and threatened to lay the good old Man by the heels, for appearing before him with a little black edging upon his cuffs. After this Mr. Baynes preached only occaſionally, as he could get opportunity, and was reduced to ſuch poverty and want, that he ſaid, "He had not where to lay "his head;" but at length death put an end to all his ſufferings in the year 1617. He publiſhed, "A Commentary "upon the Epheſians; the Dioceſans trial againſt Dr. "Downham; and ſome other practical treatiſes." Dr. Sibbes ſays, He was a Divine of uncommon learning, clear Judgment, ready wit, and of much Communion with God and his own heart. What pity was it, that ſuch a Divine ſhould be laid aſide, and in a manner ſtarved!

Progreſs of the Arminian controverſy in Holland.

The diſputes in Holland between the Calviniſts and Arminians upon the five points, relating to Election, Redemption, Original Sin, Effectual Grace, and Perſeverance, roſe to ſuch an height, as obliged the States General to have recourſe to a national Synod, which was appointed to meet at Dort, Nov. 13th, 1618. Each party had loaded the other with reproaches, and in the warmth of diſpute charged their opinions with moſt invidious conſequences, inſomuch that all good Neighbourhood was loſt, the Pulpits were filled with unprofitable diſputes, and where one party prevailed, the other were turned out of the Churches. The Magiſtrates were no leſs divided, one City and Town being ready to take up arms againſt another. At length it grew into a State Faction, which endangered the diſſolution of the Government. Maurice, Prince of Orange, though a Remonſtrant, put himſelf at the head of the Calviniſts [or Contra-remonſtrants] becauſe they were for a Stadtholder, and the Magiſtrates who were againſt

againſt a Stadtholder ſided with the [Remonſtrants, or] Arminans, among whom the Advocate of Holland, Oldenbarnevelt, and the Penſionaries of Leyden and Rotterdam, Hogerberts and Grotius, were the chief. Several attempts were made for an accommodation, or toleration of the two parties; but this not ſucceeding, the three heads of the Remonſtrants [Arminians] were taken into cuſtody, and the Magiſtrates of ſeveral Towns and Cities changed by the Authority of the Prince, which made way for the chooſing ſuch a Synod as his Highneſs deſired. The claſſes of the ſeveral Towns met firſt in a Provincial Synod, and theſe ſent deputies to the national one, with proper inſtructions. The Remonſtrants were averſe to the calling a Synod, becauſe their numbers were not yet equal to the Calviniſts, and their Leaders being in cuſtody, it was eaſy to foreſee their approaching fate. They complained of injuſtice in their ſummons to the Provincial Aſſemblies; but Trigland ſays, That where the Remonſtrants [Arminians] were weakeſt, they were equally regarded with the other party; but in truth, their deputies were angry and diſſatisfied, and in many places abſented from their claſſes, and ſo yielded up their power into the hands of their adverſaries, who condemned their principles, and depoſed ſeveral of their Miniſters. King James I. 1618.

The national Synod of Dort conſiſted of thirty eight Dutch and Walloon Divines, five Profeſſors of the Univerſities, and twenty one Lay-elders, making together ſixty one perſons, of which not above three or four were Remonſtrants. Beſides theſe, there were twenty eight foreign Divines, from Great Britain, from the Palatinate, from Heſſia, Switzerland, Geneva, Bremen, Emden, Naſſau, and Wetteravia; the French King not admitting his Proteſtant Divines to appear. Next to the States Deputies ſat the Engliſh Divines; the ſecond place was kept void for the French Divines; the reſt ſat in the order recited. Upon the right and left hand of the chair, next to the Lay-deputies, ſat the Netherland Profeſſors of Divinity, then the Miniſters and Elders according to the rank of their Provinces; the Walloon Churches ſetting laſt. After the Divines, as well domeſtick as foreign, had produced their Credentials, the Reverend Mr. John Bogerman of Leewarden was choſen Preſident, the Reverend Mr. Jacob Roland and Herman Faulkelius, of Amſterdam and Middleburgh, Aſſeſſors; Heinſius was Scribe, and the Reverend Mr. Damman and Feſtius Hommius Secretaries; a general Synod of Dort.

King James I. 1618.

Faſt was then appointed, after which they entered upon Buſineſs.

Names and inſtructions of the Engliſh Divines. Fuller's Worthies, p. 159.

The names of the Engliſh Divines were Dr. Carlton Biſhop of Landaff, Dr. Hall Dean of Worceſter, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich, Dr. Davenant afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, and Dr. Samuel Ward Maſter of Sidney College, Cambridge; but Dr. Hall not being able to bear the climate, Dr. Goad Prebendary of Canterbury, was appointed in his room. Mr. Balcanqual a Scots Man, but no friend to the Kirk, was alſo commiſſioned by King James to repreſent that Church. He was taken into conſultation, and joined in ſuffrage with the Engliſh Divines, ſo as to make one College; for the Divines of each Nation gave but one vote in the Synod, as their united ſenſe: and though Balcanqual did not wear the habits of the Engliſh Divines, nor ſet with them in the Synod, having a place by himſelf as Repreſentative of the Scots Kirk, yet (ſays the Biſhop of Landaff) his apparel was decent, and in all reſpects he gave much ſatisfaction. His Majeſty's inſtructions to them were (1.) To agree among themſelves about the ſtate of any queſtion, and how far it may be maintained agreeably to Scriptures and the Doctrine of the Church of England. (2.) To adviſe the Dutch Miniſters not to inſiſt in their Sermons upon ſcholaſtick points, but to abide by their former Confeſſion of Faith, and thoſe of their neighbour reformed Churches. (3.) That they ſhould conſult the King's Honour, the peace of the diſtracted Churches, and behave in all things with gravity and moderation.

When all the members of the Synod were got together they took the following oath, in the twenty third Seſſion, each perſon ſtanding up in his place, and laying his hand on his heart.

Their Oath. Brandt, Vol. III. p. 62.

"I Promiſe before God, whom I believe and worſhip, "as here preſent, and as the Searcher of the Reins "and Hearts, that during the whole courſe of the "tranſactions of this Synod, in which there will be made "an enquiry into, and judgment and deciſion of, not "only the well known Five Points, and all the difficul-"ties reſulting from thence, but likewiſe of all other ſorts "of Doctrines; I will not make uſe of any kind of hu-"man writings, but only of the Word of God, as a ſure "and infallible rule of Faith. Neither will I have any "other thing in view throughout this whole diſcuſſion, "but

" but the honour of God, the peace hf the Church, and " above all, the preſervation of the purity of Doctrine. " So help me, my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom I ardently " beſeech to aſſiſt me in this my deſign, by his holy " Spirit." King James I. 1618.

This was all the oath that was taken (ſays Biſhop Hall) as I hope to be ſaved. It was therefore a vile inſinuation of Mr. John Goodwin, who in his Redemption redeemed, p. 395. charged them with taking a previous oath to condemn the oppoſite party on what terms ſoever. " It grieves my " ſoul, ſays the Biſhop, to ſee any learned Divine raiſing " ſuch imaginary Conjectures; but ſince I have ſeen it, I " bleſs God that I yet live to vindicate them [1651.] by " this my knowing, and clear atteſtation, which I am ready " to ſecond with the ſolemneſt oath, if requir'd."

The Synod continued to the 29th of May, in which time there were one hundred and eighty Seſſions. In the hundred and forty fifth Seſſion, and 30th of April, the Belgick Confeſſion of Faith was debated, and put to the queſtion, which the Engliſh Divines agreed to, except the Articles relating to the " Parity of Miniſters and Eccle- " ſiaſtical Diſcipline." They ſaid, they had carefully examined the ſaid Confeſſion, and did not find any thing therein, with " reſpect to Faith and Doctrine," but what was in the main conformable to the word of God. They added, that they had likewiſe conſidered the Remonſtrants [Arminians] exceptions againſt the ſaid confeſſion, and declared, that they were of ſuch a nature as to be capable of being made againſt all the confeſſions of other reformed Churches. They did not pretend to paſs any judgment upon the Articles relating to their Church Government, but only maintained, that their own Church Government was founded upon Apoſtolical Inſtitution. Brandt. Vol. III. p. 288.

Mr. John Hales of Eaton, Chaplain to the Engliſh Ambaſſador Carlton, ſat among the hearers for ſome weeks, and having taken notes of all that paſt, tranſmitted them twice or thrice a week to his Excellency at the Hague. After his departure Dr. Balcanqual, the Scots Commiſſioner, and Dr. Ames carried on the correſpondence. Mr. Hales obſerves, that the Remonſtrants behaved on ſeveral occaſions very imprudently, not only in the manner of their Debates, but in declining the Authority of the Synod, though ſummoned by the Civil Magiſtrate in the moſt unexception- Behaviour of the Remonſtrants. Hale's Remains, p. 507, 512, 526, 586, 587.

King James I. 1618.

able manner. The Five points of difference between the Calviniſts and Arminians, after a long hearing, were decided in favour of the former. After which the Remonſtrant Miniſters were diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and baniſhed the Country within a limited time, except they ſubmitted to the new confeſſion; on which occaſion there paſt ſome very hard Speeches on both Sides, and Appeals to the final judgment of God.

And of the Engliſh Divines. Brandt, p. 256.

When the opinion of the Britiſh Divines was read, upon the extent of Chriſt's death, it was obſerved, that they omitted the received diſtinction between the Sufficiency and Efficacy of it; nor did they touch upon the received limitation of thoſe Paſſages, which ſpeaking of Chriſt's dying for the whole World, are uſually interpreted of the "World "of the Elect," Dr. Davenant and ſome of his brethren inclining to the Doctrine of "Univerſal Redemption." In all other points there was a perfect harmony; and even in this Bancanqual ſays, King James and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury deſired them to comply, though Heylin ſays, their inſtructions were not to oppoſe the Doctrine of Univerſal Redemption. But Dr. Davenant and Ward were for a middle way between the two extremes: they maintained the "Certainty of the Salvation of a certain number of "the Elect," and that offers of pardon were ſent not only to all that ſhould believe and repent, but to all that heard the Goſpel; and that Grace ſufficient to convince and perſuade the Impenitent (ſo as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themſelves) went along with theſe offers; that the Redemption of Chriſt and his Merits were applicable to theſe, and conſequently there was a poſſibility of their Salvation. However, they complied with the Synod, and declared their confeſſion in the main, agreeable to the word of God; but this gave riſe to a report ſome years after, that they had deſerted the Doctrine of the Church of England; upon which Biſhop Hall expreſs'd his concern to Dr. Davenant in theſe words, "I ſhall live and die in the "ſuffrage of that Synod of Dort; and I do confidently "avow, that thoſe other opinions [of Arminius] cannot "ſtand with the Doctrine of the Church of England." To which Biſhop Davenant replied in theſe words, "I "know that no Man can embrace Arminianiſm in the "Doctrines of Predeſtination and Grace, but he muſt de-"ſert the Articles agreed upon by the Church of England; "nor in the point of Perſeverance, but he muſt vary from "the received opinions of our beſt approved Doctors in the

" the Engliſh Church." Yet Heylin has the aſſurance to ſay, " That though the Arminian Controverſy brought " ſome trouble for the preſent to the Churches of Holland, " it was of greater advantage to the Church of England, " whoſe Doctrine in thoſe points had been ſo over-born by " the Calviniſts, that it was almoſt reckon'd for an hereſy " to be ſound and orthodox [i. e. an Arminian] according " to the Book of Articles, eſtabliſhed by Law in the Church " of England." He adds, " That King James did not " appear for Calviniſm out of judgment, but for reaſons of " State, and from a perſonal friendſhip to Prince Maurice, " who had put himſelf at their head. He therefore ſent " ſuch Divines as had zeal enough to condemn the Re- " monſtrants, though it was well known that he had diſ- " approved the Articles of Lambeth, and the Doctrine of " Predeſtination; nor was it a ſecret what advice he had " given Prince Maurice before he put himſelf at the head " of the Calviniſts."

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Hiſt. Preſb. p. 381. Quinquart. Hiſt.

When the Synod was broke up people ſpake of it in a very different manner; the States of Holland were highly ſatisfied; they gave handſome rewards to the chief Divines, and ordered the original Records of their Proceedings to be kept amongſt their Archives. The Engliſh Divines expreſs'd full ſatisfaction in the proceedings of the Synod. Mr. Baxter ſays, the Chriſtian World ſince the days of the Apoſtles never had an Aſſembly of more excellent Divines till this time. The learned Jacobus Capellus, Profeſſor of Leyden, ſaid, that the equity of the Fathers of this Synod was ſuch, that no Inſtance can be given ſince the Apoſtolick age, of any other Synod, in which the Hereticks were heard with more Patience, or which proceeded with a better temper, or more ſanctity. P. Du Moulin, Paulus Servita, and the Author of the Life of Walæus ſpeak the ſame language. But others poured contempt upon the Synod, and burleſqu'd their proceedings in the following lines.

Cenſures of the Synod. Brandt, p. 307.

" Dordrechti Synodus, Nodus; Chorus integer, æger;
" Conventus, ventus, Seſſio, Stramen, Amen.

Lewis du Moulin, with all the favourers of the Arminian Doctrines, as Heylin, Womack, Brandt, &c. charge the Synod with partiality and unjuſtifiable ſeverity. But upon the whole, they proceeded as well as moſt aſſemblies antient or modern, who pretend to eſtabliſh Articles of Faith

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for other people with penal Sanctions. I ſhall take leave of this venerable Synod with this further remark, that King James's ſending over Divines to ſet in this aſſembly, was an open acknowledgment of the validity of ordination by mere Preſbyters; for here was a Biſhop of the Church of England ſetting as a private Member in a Synod of Divines, of which a mere Preſbyter was the Preſident.

Proceedings in Scotland.

In the ſummer of the year 1617, King James made a progreſs into Scotland, to advance the epiſcopal cauſe in that Country; the Chapel of Edinburgh was adorned after the manner of Whitehall; pictnres being carried from hence with the Statues of the twelve Apoſtles, which were ſet up in the Church. His Majeſty treated his Scots Subjects with a haughty diſtance; telling them, both in the Parliament and General Aſſembly, "That it was a power "innate; a princely ſpecial prerogative which Chriſtian "Kings have, to order and diſpoſe external things in the "outward polity of the Church, as we with our Biſhops "ſhall think fit; and ſirs for your approving or diſapproving; deceive not yourſelves, I will not have my reaſon oppoſed." Two Acts relating to the Church were paſs'd this Seſſion; one concerning the choice of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and another for the reſtitution of chapters; but the Miniſters proteſted againſt both, for which ſeveral of them were ſuſpended and deprived, and ſome of them baniſhed, as the Melvins, Mr. Forbes, &c. and as the famous Mr. Calderwood, Author of the "Altare Damaſcenum," had been before; which Book when one of the Engliſh Prelates promiſed to anſwer, the King replied, "What will you anſwer, Man? there is nothing here than "Scripture, Reaſon, and Fathers."

Calderw. Ch. Hiſt. in Pref.

Next year a Convention or Aſſembly was ſummoned to meet at Perth, Auguſt, 25. 1618. It conſiſted of ſome Noblemen, Stateſmen, Barons and Burgeſſes, choſen on purpoſe to bear down the Miniſters; and with what violence things were carried, God, and all indifferent Spectators, (ſays my Author) are witneſſes. In this Aſſembly, the Court and Biſhops made a ſhift to carry the following five Articles.

Five Articles of Perth.

1. That the Holy Sacrament ſhall be received kneeling.

2. That Miniſters ſhall be obliged to adminiſter the Sacrament in private houſes to the ſick, if they deſire it.

3. That

3. That Miniſters may baptize Children privately at home in caſes of neceſſity, only certifying it to the congregation the next Lord's Day. King James I. 1618.

4. That Miniſters ſhall bring ſuch Children of their pariſh as can ſay their Catechiſm, and repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, to the Biſhops, to confirm and give them their Bleſſing. Courſe nform. p. 60.

5. That the Feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Whitſontide, and the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, ſhall for the future be commemorated in the Kirk of Scotland.

The King ordered theſe articles to be publiſhed at the Market Croſſes of the ſeveral Burroughs, and the Miniſters to read them in their pulpits; but the greateſt number of of the latter refuſed, there being no penalty, except the King's diſpleaſure: But the vote of the Aſſembly at Perth not being ſufficient to eſtabliſh theſe articles into a law, it was reſolved to uſe all the intereſt of the Court to carry them thro' the Parliament. This was not attempted till the year 1621, when the Parliament met on the firſt of June, the miniſters had prepared a ſupplication againſt the Five Articles, giving reaſons why they ſhould not be received or confirmed, and came to Edinburgh in great numbers to ſupport it. Upon this, the King's Commiſſioner, by advice of the Biſhops and Council, iſſued out a proclamation, commanding all miniſters to depart out of Edinburgh within twenty hours, except the ſettled Miniſters of the city, and ſuch as ſhall have a licenſe from the Biſhop. The Miniſters obey'd, but left behind them a proteſtation againſt the articles, and an admonition to the members of parliament not to ratify them, as they would anſwer it in the Day of Judgment. They alledged, that the aſſembly of Perth was illegal, and that the articles were againſt the privileges of the Kirk, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom: But the Court intereſt prevailed, and with much difficulty the articles were ratified, contrary to the ſenſe of the Kirk and Nation. This bred a great deal of ill blood, and raiſed a new perſecution throughout the kingdom, many of the Preſbyterian Miniſters being fined, impriſoned, and baniſhed by the High Commiſſion, at a time when, by their intereſt with the people, it was in their power to have turned their taſk-maſters out of the kingdom. Ratified in Parliament.

Thus far King James proceeded towards the reſtitution of Epiſcopacy in Scotland; but one thing was ſtill wanting to compleat the work, which was a publick Liturgy, or Book of

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of Common Prayer. Several conſultations were held upon this head; but the King being aſſured it would occaſion an inſurrection over the whole kingdom wiſely drop'd it, and left that unhappy work to be finiſhed by his ſon, whoſe impoſing it upon the Kirk, without conſent of Parliament or General Aſſembly, ſet fire to the diſcontents of the people, which had been gathering for ſo many years.

Selden's Recantation.

To return to England. This year the learned Mr. Selden was ſummoned before the High Commiſſion, for publiſhing his Hiſtory of Tithes, in which he proves them not to be of divine, but human appointment; and, after many threatnings, was obliged to ſign the following recantation.

My good Lords,

"I Moſt humbly acknowledge my error in publiſhing the "Hiſtory of Tithes, and eſpecially in that I have at all "(by ſhewing any interpretation of Holy Scriptures, by "meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by "what elſe ſoever occurs in it) offered any occaſion of ar-"gument againſt any right of maintenance, Jure Divino, "of the Miniſters of the Goſpel; beſeeching your Lord-"ſhips to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledg-"ment, together with the unfeigned proteſtation of my "grief, for that I have ſo incur'd his Majeſty's and your "Lordſhips diſpleaſure, conceived againſt me in behalf of "the Church of England."

Jan. 28, 1618. John Selden.

Fuller, Book X. p. 70. Collyer, p. 717.

But notwithſtanding this ſubmiſſion, Mr. Fuller ſays, 'tis certain that a fiercer ſtorm never fell upon all Parſonage Barns ſince the Reformation, than what was raiſed up by this Treatiſe; nor did Mr. Selden quickly forget their ſtopping his mouth after this manner.

Mr. Bradſhaw's death and character.

This year died the Reverend Mr. William Bradſhaw, born at Boſworth in Leiceſterſhire, 1571, and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was afterwards removed, and admitted Fellow of Sidney College; where he got an eaſy admiſſion into the Miniſtry, being diſpenſed with in ſome things that he ſcrupled. He preached firſt as a Lecturer at Abington, and then at Steeple-Morton. At length, by the recommendation of Dr. Chadderton, he was ſettled at

at Chatham in Kent, in the year 1601; but before he had been there a twelve-month, he was ſent for by the Archbiſhop to Shorne, a town ſituate between Rocheſter and Graveſend, and commanded to ſubſcribe, which he refuſing, was immediately ſuſpended. The inhabitants of Chatham, in their petition for his reſtoration, ſay, that his doctrine was moſt wholeſome, true, and learned, void of faction and contention; and his life ſo garniſhed with unblemiſhed virtues and graces, as malice itſelf could not reprove him. But all interceſſions were to no purpoſe: He therefore removed into another Dioceſe, where he obtained a Licenſe, and at length was choſen Lecturer of Chriſt Church in London. Here he publiſh'd a treatiſe againſt the Ceremonies, for which he was obliged to leave the city, and retire to his friend Mr. Redriche's at Newhall in Leiceſter-ſhire. The Biſhop's Chancellor followed him thither, with an inhibition to preach, but by the mediation of a couple of good angels (ſays my author) the reſtraint was taken off. In this ſilent and melancholy retirement he ſpent the vigour and ſtrength of his days. At length, as he was attending Mrs. Redriche on a viſit to Chelſea, he was ſeized with a violent fever, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the forty eighth year of his age. He was full of heavenly expreſſions in his laſt ſickneſs, and died with great ſatisfaction in his Non-conformity. Dr. Hall, Biſhop of Norwich, gives him this character: "That he was of a ſtrong brain, and of a free ſpirit, "not ſuffering himſelf for ſmall differences of judgment, "to be alienated from his friends, to whom, notwithſtanding his ſeeming auſterity, he was very pleaſing in "converſation, being full of witty and harmleſs urbanity: He was very ſtrong and eager in arguing, hearty "in friendſhip, regardleſs of the world, a deſpiſer of compliments, a lover of reality, full of digeſted and excellent notions, a painful labourer in God's vineyard, and "now, no doubt, gloriouſly rewarded." Such was this Light, which, by the ſeverity of the times, was put under a buſhel!

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Gatak. Life of Bradſh. p. 49.

In order to put a ſtop to the growth of Puritaniſm, and ſilence the objections of papiſts againſt the ſtrictneſs of the reformed Religion; his Majeſty this year publiſhed, "A "declaration to encourage recreations and ſports on the "Lord's Day," contrary to his proclamation in the firſt year of his reign; and to the Articles of the Church of Ireland, ratified under the Great Seal, 1615. in which the morality of

Book of Sports publiſhed.

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Heyl. Hiſt. Presb. p. 389.

of the Lord's Day is affirmed. "But (ſays Heylin) the "Puritans, by raiſing the Sabbath, took occaſion to depreſs "the Feſtivals, and introduced, by little and little, a ge-"neral neglect of the weekly Faſts, the holy Time of "Lent, and the Embring Days, reducing all Acts of Hu-"miliation to ſolemn and occaſional Faſts." Sad indeed! "But this was not all the miſchief that enſued (ſays the "Doctor) for ſeveral Preachers and Juſtices of the Peace "took occaſion from hence to forbid all lawful ſports on "the Lord's Day, by means whereof the Prieſts and Je-"ſuits perſuaded the people in the northern Counties, that "the reformed Religion was incompatible with that chri-"ſtian Liberty which God and nature had indulged to the "ſons of men: So that to preſerve the people from Popery, "his Majeſty was brought under a neceſſity to publiſh "the Book of Sports."

It was drawn up by Biſhop Moreton, and dated from Greenwich, May 24, 1618. and is to this effect: "That "for his good People's Recreation, his Majeſty's pleaſure "was, that after the end of divine Service, they ſhould "not be diſturbed, letted, or diſcouraged from any lawful "Recreations; ſuch as Dancing, either of men or women, "Archery for men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any ſuch harm-"leſs recreations; nor having of May-games, Whitſon-"ales, or Morrice-dances, or ſetting up of May-poles, or "other ſports therewith uſed, ſo as the ſame may be had "in due and convenient time, without impediment, or let "of divine Service; and that women ſhould have leave "to carry Ruſhes to the Church for the decoring of it, "according to their old Cuſtoms; withal prohibiting all "unlawful Games to be uſed on Sundays only; as Bear-"baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, and at all times (in "the meaner ſort of people prohibited) Bowling." Two or three reſtraints were were annexed to the Declaration, which deſerve the reader's notice: (1.) No Recuſant, [i. e. Papiſt] was to have the benefit of this Declaration. (2.) Nor ſuch as were not preſent at the whole of divine Service. Nor (3.) ſuch as did not keep to their own Pariſh Churches, that is, Puritans.

This Declaration was ordered to be read in all the Pa-riſh Churches of Lancaſhire, which abounded with Papiſts; and Wilſon adds, that it was to be read in all the Churches of England; but that Archbiſhop Abbot being at Croydon, flatly forbid its being read there. It was certainly an im-prudent project, as well as a grief to all ſober Proteſtants; and

and had the King inſiſted upon its being read throughout all the Churches at this time, I am apt to think it would have produced the ſame Convulſions, as it did about fifteen years afterwards. King James I. 1618.

'Tis hard to account for the diſtinction between lawful and unlawful Sports on the Lord's Day: If any Sports are lawful, why not all? What reaſon can be given why Morrice-dances, Revels, May-games, Whitſon-ales, Wakes, &c. ſhould be more lawful than Interludes, Bull-baiting, or Bowls. It cannot ariſe from their moral nature; for the former have as great a tendency to promote Vice, as the latter. But the Exceptions to the benefit of this Declaration are more extraordinary: Could his Majeſty think that the Puritans, who were preſent at part of divine Service, though not at the whole; or that thoſe who went to other Pariſh Churches for their better edification, would lay hold of the liberty of his Declaration, when he knew they believed the morality of the Fourth Commandment, and that no Ordinance of Man could make void the Law of God? Further, his Majeſty debars Recuſants, [i. e. Papiſts] from this liberty, which their Religion had always indulged them; but theſe are now to be reſtrained: The Papiſt is to turn Puritan, with regard to the Sabbath, being forbid the uſe of lawful Recreations on the Lord's Day; and Proteſtants are to dance and revel, and go to their May-games on that ſacred Day, to preſerve them from Popery: But this Subject will return again in the next reign. Remarks.

This Year and the next proved fatal to the Proteſtant Intereſt in Germany, by the loſs of the Palatinate into the hands of the Papiſts, and the ruin of the Elector Frederick V. King of Bohemia, who had married the King's only Daughter. This being a remarkable Period, relating to the Anceſtors of his preſent Majeſty King George II. it will be no unuſeful Digreſſion to ſet it in a proper light. The Kingdom of Bohemia was elective, and becauſe their King did not always reſide with them, a certain number of perſons were choſen by the States, called Defenders, to ſee the laws put in Execution. There were two Religions eſtabliſhed by law; one was called Sub-una, the other Sub-utraque; the former were Roman Catholicks, and communicated under one Kind; the latter Huſſites and ſince the Reformation, Proteſtants, who communicated under both Kinds. The Emperor Sigiſmund, in order to ſecure his Election to this Kingdom, granted the Huſſites an Edict in the year 1435. whereby it was decreed State of the Proteſtant Religion in the Kingdom of Bohemia. Rapin.

that

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there ſhould be no Magiſtrate or Freeman of the City of Prague, but what was of their Religion. This was religiouſly obſerved till the year 1570. when, by order of Maximilian, a Catholick was made a Citizen of Prague; after which time, the Edict was frequently broken, till at length the Jeſuits erected a ſtately College, and put the Papiſts on a level with the Proteſtants. Matthias the preſent Emperor, having adopted his Couſin Ferdinand of Auſtria, had a mind to get him the Crown of Bohemia; for which purpoſe, he ſummoned an Aſſembly of the States, without ſending, as uſual, to the Proteſtants of Sileſia, Moravia, and the Upper and Lower Alſatia: Theſe therefore not attending (according to the Emperor's wiſh) made the Catholicks a majority, who declared Ferdinand preſumptive ſucceſſor to Matthias; after which, he was crowned at Prague, and reſided at Gratz. The Defenders taking notice of this breach of their Conſtitution, and perceiving the deſign of the Imperial Court to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, ſummoned an aſſembly of all the States, and among others, thoſe of Sileſia, Moravia, and Alſatia, who drew up a petition to the Emperor, to demand the execution of the laws, and a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the injuries they had received; after which they adjourned themſelves to the Monday after Rogation week, 1618. The Emperor, inſtead of granting their requeſts, ordered his Lieutenant to hinder the re-aſſembling of the States, as being called without his licence; but the States aſſembled according to their adjournment, and being informed of the force that was deſigned againſt them, went in a body to the Chancery, and having ſeized the Emperor's Chief Juſtice, the Secretary, and another of his Council, they threw them out of the Caſtle Window, and then drove the Jeſuits out of the City. In order to juſtify their Proceedings they publiſhed to the world an Apology, and having ſigned a confederacy, to ſtand by one another againſt all oppoſers, they choſe twenty four Protectors, empowering them to raiſe forces, and levy ſuch taxes as they ſhould find neceſſary.

Elector Palatine choſen K. of Bohemia.

In this ſituation of affairs the Emperor, who was alſo King of Bohemia, died, and on the 18th of Aug. 1619. Ferdinand was choſen his ſucceſſor in the Empire, but the Bohemians not only diſowned him for their King, but declared the Throne vacant, and on Sept. 5. elected Frederick, Elector Palatine, King James's Son in law, for their Sovereign. Deputies were immediately ſent to acquaint him with the choice, and pray him to repair immediately

to

to Prague. Frederick diſpatched an expreſs to England, to deſire the advice of his Father in law; but the affair not admitting of ſo long delay, he accepted of the Kingdom, and was crown'd at Prague Nov. 4. King James I. 1619.

All the Proteſtant Electors rejoiced at this providence, and gave him the title of King of Bohemia; as did moſt of the Proteſtant Powers of Europe, except the King of England. It was acceptable news to the Engliſh Puritans, to hear of a Proteſtant King in Bohemia; and they earneſtly deſired his Majeſty to ſupport him, as appears by Archbiſhop Abbot's letter, who was known to ſpeak the ſenſe of that whole party. This Prelate being aſked his opinion as a Privy Counſellor, while he was confined to his bed with the Gout, writ the following letter to the Secretary of State. Acceptable to the Puritans.

" That it was his opinion, that the Elector ſhould accept " the Crown; that England ſhould ſupport him openly; " and, that as ſoon as news of his Coronation ſhould ar- " rive, the bells ſhould be rung, guns fired, and bonfires " made, to let all Europe ſee, that the King was deter- " mined to countenance him." The Archbiſhop adds, " 'Tis a great honour to our King, to have ſuch a Son " made a King; methinks, I foreſee in this the work of " God, that by degrees the Kings of the earth ſhall leave " the Whore to Deſolation. Our ſtriking in, will comfort " the Bohemians, and bring in the Dutch and the Dane, " and Hungary will run the ſame Fortune. As for money " and means let us truſt God and the Parliament, as the " old and honourable way of raiſing money. This from " my bed, (ſays the brave old Prelate) Sept. 12th 1619. " and when I can ſtand I will do better ſervice." Cabbala. B. I. p. 12.

But the King diſliked the Archbiſhop's letter, as built upon Puritan Principles; he had an ill opinion of Elective Kingdoms, and of the peoples power to diſpoſe of Crowns; beſides, he was afraid of diſobliging the Roman Catholick Princes, and in particular the King of Spain, a near relation of the new Emperor's, with whom he was in treaty for a Wife for his Son; ſo that the Elector's Envoy, after long waiting, was ſent back, with an admonition to his Son in law to refuſe the Crown; but this being too late, he took it into his head to perſuade him to quit it, and ſtood ſtill, offering his mediation, and ſending Ambaſſadors, while the Emperor raiſed a powerful army, not only to reduce the Kingdom of Bohemia, but to diſpoſſeſs the Elector of his hereditary Dominions. Several Princes of Europe gave the King notice of the deſign, and exhorted him to ſupport the But diſliked by the Engliſh Court.

Pro-

King James I. 1619.

Proteſtant Religion in the Empire; but his Majeſty was deaf to all advice, and for the ſake of a Spaniſh Wife for his Son, ſuffered his own Daughter, with her numerous family of Children, to be ſent a begging, and the balance of Proteſtant Power to be loſt in the Empire; for the next ſummer the Emperor and his Allies having conquered the Palatinate entered Bohemia, and about the middle of November fought the deciſive battle of Prague, wherein Frederick's army was entirely routed; his hereditary Dominions, which had been the ſanctuary of the Proteſtants in Queen Mary's Reign, were given to the Duke of Bavaria a Papiſt; the noble Library of Heidelburg was carried off to the Vatican at Rome, and the Elector himſelf, with his Wife and Children, forced to fly into Holland in a ſtarving condition.

Remarks.

Had the King of England had any remains of honour, courage, or regard for the Proteſtant Religion, he might have preſerved it in the Palatinate, and eſtabliſhed it in Bohemia, by which the balance of Power would have been on that ſide; but this cowardly Prince would never draw his Sword for the beſt Cauſe in the world; however, this noble Family was the care of divine Providence, during a long exile of twenty eight Years; after which they were reſtored to their Dominions by the treaty of Munſter, 1648. and declared preſumptive heirs of the Crown of Great Britain, in the laſt year of King William III. of which they took poſſeſſion upon the death of Q. Anne, 1714. to the inexpreſſible joy of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and of all that loved the reformed Religion and the Liberties of their Country.

1620. Puritans ſettle in New England.

Among the Browniſts in Holland we have mention'd the Reverend Mr. John Robinſon of Leyden, the Father of the Independants, whoſe numerous Congregation being on the decline, by their aged members dying off, and their children marrying into Dutch families, they conſulted how to preſerve their Church and Religion; and at length, after ſeveral ſolemn addreſſes to Heaven for direction, the younger part of the Congregation reſolved to remove into ſome part of America, under the Protection of the King of England, where they might enjoy the liberty of their conſciences, and be capable of encouraging their Friends and Countrymen to follow them. Accordingly they ſent over Agents into England, who, after they had obtained a Patent from the Crown, agreed with ſeveral Merchants to become Adventurers in this Undertaking. Several

veral of Mr. Robinſon's Congregation ſold their Eſtates, and made a common Bank, with which they purchaſed a ſmall Ship of ſixty Tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The Agents ſailed into Holland with their own Ship, to take in as many of the Congregation as were willing to embark, while the other veſſel was freighting with all neceſſaries for the new Plantation. All things being ready, Mr. Robinſon kept a day of Faſting and Prayer with his Congregation, and took his leave of the Adventurers with the following exhortation. King James I. 1620.

Brethren,

Mr. Robinſon's parting Speech to his Congregation.

"WE are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to ſee your Faces on Earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you before God and his bleſſed Angels, that you follow me no farther than you have ſeen me follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

"If God reveal any thing to you, by any other inſtrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you was to receive any truth by my Miniſtry; for I am verily perſuaded, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot ſufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed Churches, who are come to a period in Religion, and will go at preſent no farther than the inſtruments of their Reformation. The Lutherans can't be drawn to go beyond what Luther ſaw; whatever part of his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calviniſts, you ſee, ſtick faſt where they were left by that great Man of God, who yet ſaw not all things.

"This is a miſery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and ſhining Lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole Counſel of God; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further Light as that which they firſt received. I beſeech you, remember, 'tis an Article of your Church Covenant, that "You be ready to receive whatever truth ſhall be made known to you from the written word of God." Remember that, and every other Article of your ſacred Covenant. But I muſt herewithal exhort you, to take heed what you receive as truth, examine it, conſider it, and compare it with other Scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not poſſible the Chriſtian

King James I. 1620.

" World ſhould come ſo lately out of ſuch thick Antichri-
" ſtian darkneſs, and that perfection of knowledge ſhould
" break fotth at once.

" I muſt alſo adviſe you to abandon, avoid, and ſhake
" off the name of Browniſts, 'tis a mere Nick-name, and
" a brand for the making Religion, and the Profeſſors of
" it, odious to the Chriſtian World."

Colony of New Plimouth.

On the 1ſt of July the Adventurers went from Leyden to Delfthaven, whither Mr. Robinſon and the Ancients of his Congregation accompanied them; they continued together all night, and next morning, after mutual embraces, Mr. Robinſon kneeled down on the Sea-ſhore, and with a fervent prayer committed them to the protection and bleſſing of Heaven. The adventurers were about one hundred and twenty, who, having joined their other Ship, ſail'd for New England, Auguſt 5. but one of their veſſels proving leaky they left it, and imbarked in one veſſel, which arrived at Cape Cod, November the 9th, 1620. Sad was the condition of theſe poor Men, who had the Winter before them, and no accommodations at land for their entertainment; moſt of them were in a weak and ſickly condition with the voyage, but there was no remedy; they therefore mann'd their Long-boat, and having coaſted the ſhore, at length found a tolerable harbour, where they landed their effects, and on the 25th of December began to build a Store-houſe, and ſome ſmall cottages to preſerve them from the weather. Their company was divided into nineteen families, each family having an allotment of land for lodging and gardens, in proportion to the number of perſons of which it conſiſted; and to prevent diſputes, the ſituation of each family was decided by lot. They agreed likewiſe upon ſome laws for their Civil and Military Government, and having choſen a Governor, they called the place of their Settlement by the name of New Plimouth.

Inexpreſſible were the hardſhips theſe new Planters underwent the firſt Winter; a ſad mortality raged among them, occaſioned by the fatigues of their late voyage, by the ſeverity of the weather, and their want of neceſſaries. The Country was full of woods and thickets; their poor cottages could not keep them warm; they had no Phyſician, nor wholeſome food, ſo that within two or three months half the company was dead, and of them that remained, which were about fifty, not above ſix or ſeven at a time were capable

of

of helping the reſt; but as the ſpring came on they recovered, and having received ſome freſh ſupplies from their friends in England, they maintained their ſtation, and laid the foundation of one of the nobleſt ſettlements in America, which from that time has proved an Aſylum for the Non-conformiſts under all their oppreſſions. King James I. 1621

To return to England; though the King had ſo lately expreſſed a zeal for the Doctrines of Calvin at the Synod of Dort, it now appeared that he had ſhaken them off, by his advancing the moſt zealous Arminians, as Buckeridge, Neile, Harſnet and Laud, to ſome of the beſt Biſhopricks in the Kingdom. Theſe Divines, apprehending their principles hardly conſiſtent with the thirty nine Articles, fell in with the prerogative, and covered themſelves under the wing of his Majeſty's pretenſions to unlimited power, which gave riſe to a new diſtinction at Court between Church and State Puritans. All were Puritans with King James, who ſtood by the Laws of the Land in oppoſition to his arbitrary Government, though otherwiſe never ſo good Churchmen; theſe were "Puritans in the State," as thoſe who ſcrupled the ceremonies, and ſtood by the Doctrines of Calvin, were in the Church. The Church Puritans were comparatively few, but being joined by thoſe who ſtood by the conſtitution, they became the majority of the Nation. To balance theſe the King protected and countenanced the Arminians and Papiſts, who joined heartily with the prerogative and became a State Faction againſt the old Engliſh conſtitution. The parties being thus formed grew up into hatred of each other. All that oppoſed the King's arbitrary meaſures were called at Court by the name of Puritans; and thoſe that ſtood by the Crown in oppoſition to the Parliament, went by the names of Papiſts and Arminians. Theſe were the ſeeds of thoſe factions which occaſioned all the diſturbances of the following Reign. Riſe of the Arminians at Court.

The Palatinate being loſt, and the King's Son-in-law and Daughter forced to take ſanctuary in Holland, all the World murmured at his Majeſty's indolence, both as a Father and a Proteſtant; theſe murmurs obliged him at length to have recourſe to a Parliament, from whom he hoped to ſqueeze a little money to ſpend upon his pleaſures; at the opening of the Parliament, Jan. 20. 1620-1. his Majeſty told them, "That they were no other than his Council, to give him "advice as to what he ſhould aſk. "'Tis the King (ſays "he) that makes laws," and ye are to adviſe him to make "ſuch as will be beſt for the Common-wealth;—" With 1621. Proceedings of Parliament.

King James I. 1621.

regard to his tolerating Popery, on the account of his Son's Match, he profeſſes, "He will do nothing but what "ſhall be for the good of Religion."—— With regard to the Palatinate he ſays, "If he can't get it reſtor'd by fair "means, his Crown, his Blood, and his Son's Blood, ſhall "be ſpent for its recovery." He therefore commands them not to hunt after grievances, but to be quick and ſpeedy in giving him money. Though the Parliament did not believe the King's Speech, yet the occaſion was ſo reaſonable, that the Commons immediately voted him two entire Subſidies, and the Clergy three; but finding his Majeſty awed by the Spaniard, and making no preparation for war, they began to enquire into grievances, upon which the King adjourned the Houſes; (a power not claimed by any of his predeceſſors.) But upon the day of adjournment the Commons drew up a Declaration, wherein they ſay, "That being touched with a true ſenſe, and fellow-"feeling of the Sufferings of the King's Children, and of "the true profeſſors of the ſame Chriſtian Religion pro-"feſſed by the Church of England in foreign parts, as "Members of the ſame Body, they unanimouſly declare, "that they will be ready, to the utmoſt of their power, "both with their Lives and Fortunes, to aſſiſt his Majeſty "ſo, as that he may be able to do that with the Sword "which by a peaceable courſe ſhall not be effected."

Their Remonſtrance againſt Papiſts.

Upon their re-aſſembling in the month of November, finding the King ſtill amuſed by the Spaniſh Match, while the Proteſtant Intereſt in the Palatinate was expiring, the Commons drew up a large Remonſtrance, in which they repreſent the danger of the Proteſtant Religion from the Growth of Popery, from the open reſort of Papiſts to the Ambaſſadors Chapels; from the frequent and numerous Conventicles both in City and Country; from the interpoſing of foreign Ambaſſadors in their favour; from the compounding of their forfeitures for ſuch ſmall ſums of money as amounts to little leſs than a toleration; from the education of Gentlemen's Children in Popiſh Seminaries, and the licentious printing and publiſhing Popiſh Books; wherefore they pray his Majeſty to take his Sword in hand for the Recovery of the Palatinate, to put the laws in execution againſt Papiſts, to break off the Spaniſh Match, and to marry his Son to a Proteſtant Princeſs. The King hearing of this Remonſtrance ſent the Speaker a Letter from New-Market to acquaint the

The King's arbitrary behaviour. Rapin, p. 466, &c.

Houſe,

House, "That he absolutely forbid their meddling with "any thing concerning his Government, or with his Son's "Match;" and to keep them in awe, his Majesty declared, "That he thinks himself at liberty to punish any "Man's misdemeanor's in Parliament, as well during their "sitting, as after, which he means not to spare hereafter "upon occasion of any Man's insolent behaviour in the "House." In answer to this letter the Commons drew up a petition to present with their Remonstrance, in which they insist upon the laws of their Country, and the freedom of debates in Parliament. The King writ them a long Answer, which concludes with denying them, what they call "Their ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance." The Commons in debate upon his Majesty's Answer, drew up a Protestation in maintenance of their claim, and caused it to be entered in their Journal Book. Upon this the King being come to London, declared in Council the protestation to be null, and with great indignation tore it out of the Book with his own hand. A few days after he dissolved the Parliament, and issued out a Proclamation, forbidding his Subjects to talk of State Affairs. He also committed the leading Members to prison, as Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, and Mr. Mallery; others were sent into Ireland, and the Earls of Oxford and Southampton were sent to the Tower.

King James I. 1622.

Wilson, p. 150. Rapin, p. 493.

The King having parted with his Parliament was at liberty to gratify the Spaniard, by indulging the Papists; for this purpose the Lord Keeper Williams, by his Majesty's Command, writ to all the Judges, "That in their "several circuits they discharge all prisoners for Church "recusancy; or for refusing the Oath of Supremacy; "or for dispersing Popish Books; or hearing or saying "Mass; or for any other point of Recusancy that con-"cerned Religion." Accordingly all the Jesuits and Popish Recusants of all sorts were enlarged, to the uumber (says Mr. Prynne) of four thousand; all prosecutions were stayed, and the penal laws suspended. Upon this, great numbers of Jesuits, and orher Missionaries, flocked into England; Mass was celebrated openly in the Countries; and in London their private Assemblies were so crouded, that at a meeting in Black Fryars [Nov. 5. 1622. N. S.] the floor sunk under them and killed the Preacher and ninety three of the hearers.

1622. Laws against Papists relaxed.

Fuller, B. X. p. 101.

King James I. 1622.

While the Papiſts were countenanced, the Court and the new Biſhops bore hard upon the Puritans, filling the Pulpits with Men of arbitrary principles, and puniſhing thoſe who dared to preach for the Rights of the Subject. The Reverend Mr. Knight of Broadſgate Hall, in a Sermon before the Univerſity of Oxford on 2 Kings xix. 9. advanced this propoſition, "That ſubordinate Magiſtrates might "lawfully make uſe of force, and defend themſelves, the "Commonwealth, and the true Religion in the field, a-"gainſt the chief Magiſtrate, within the caſes and condi-"tions following, 1. When the chief Magiſtrate turns "Tyrant. 2. When he forces his Subjects upon Blaſphe-"my or Idolatry. 3. When any intolerable burthens or "preſſures are laid upon them. And, 4. When reſiſt-"ance is the only expedient to ſecure their Lives, their "Fortunes, and the Liberty of their Conſciences." The Court being informed of this Sermon ſent for the Preacher, and aſked him, What authority he had for his aſſertion? He anſwered, Paræus on Romans xiiith, but, that his principal authority was King James himſelf, who was ſending aſſiſtance to the Rochellers againſt their natural Prince. Upon this bold Anſwer Mr. Knight was confined in the Gate-Houſe; Paræus's Commentaries were burnt at Oxford and London; his aſſertions were condemned as falſe and ſeditious; and the Univerſity of Oxford in full Convocation paſſed a Decree, "That it was not lawful "for Subjects to appear offenſively in arms againſt their "King on the ſcore of Religion, or on any other account, "according to the Scripture" How this was reconcileable with the King's aſſiſting the French Hugonots, I muſt leave with the Reader. But to bind the Nation down for ever in principles of ſlavery, all Graduates of the Univerſity of Oxford were enjoined to ſubſcribe the abovementioned Decree, and to ſwear, "That they would al-"ways continue of the ſame opinion." Was there ever ſuch an unreaſonable oath? For a Man to ſwear he will always be of the ſame mind! But ſuch was the ſeverity of the times!

Mr. Knight's Sermon againſt the Prerogative.

Oxford Decree.

But to diſtreſs the Puritants more effectually, the King ſent the following directions to the Archbiſhop, to be communicated to all the Clergy of his Province. Dated from Windſor, Aug. 10, 1622.

King's Injunctions to reſtrain preaching the Doctrines of Calvin.

1. "That no Preacher under a Biſhop or Dean, ſhall "make a ſet diſcourſe, or fall into any common-place of "Divinity

Divinity in his Sermons, not comprehended in the thirty-nine Articles. King James I. 1622.

2. "That no Parſon, Vicar, Curate or Lecturer, ſhall "preach any Sermon hereafter, on Sundays or Holidays in "the afternoon, but expound the Catechiſm, Creed, or "Ten Commandments; and that thoſe be moſt encouraged "who catechiſe Children only.

3. "That no Preacher under a Biſhop orDean, pre-"ſume to preach in any popular Auditory on the deep "points of Predeſtination, Election, Reprobation; or of "the Univerſality, Efficacy, Reſiſtibility or Irreſiſtibility of "God's Grace.

4. "That no Preacher of any degree ſoever, ſhall "henceforth preſume iu any Auditory to declare, limit, "or ſet bounds to the Prerogative, Power, or Juriſdic-"tion of Sovereign Princes, or meddle with matters of "State.

5. "That no Preacher ſhall uſe railing ſpeeches againſt "Papiſts or Puritans, but endeavour to free the doctrine "and diſcipline of the Church in a grave manner from the "aſperſions of both adverſaries.

6. "That the Archbiſhop and Biſhops be more wary "for the future, iu licenſing Preachers; and that all Lec-"turers throughout the Kingdom be licenſed in the Court "of Faculties, by recommendation from the Biſhop of the "Dioceſe, with a Fiat from the Archbiſhop, and a con-"firmation under the Great Seal of England.

"Thoſe that offended againſt any of theſe Injunc-"tions were to be ſuſpended, "Ab Officio & Bene-"ficio," for a year and a day, till his Majeſty ſhould pre-"ſcribe ſome further puniſhment with advice of Convo-"cation."

Here is nothing that could affect Papiſts or Arminians, but almoſt every Article points at the Puritans. The King had aſſiſted in maintaining theſe Doctrines in Holland, but will not have them propagated in England. The Thirty-nine Articles were eſtabliſhed by law, and yet none under a Biſhop or Dean may preach on the Seventeenth, concerning Predeſtination. The Miniſters of God's Word may not limit the Prerogative, but they may preach concerning its unlimited Extent; and though the ſecond Injunction admits of their expounding the Catechiſm, Fuller ſays, "The Biſhops Officials were ſo active, that in many "places they tied up Preachers in the afternoon to the Remarks. Book X. p. 111.

King James I. 1622.

"very letter of the Catechiſm, allowing them no liberty "to expound or enlarge upon any of the Anſwers." The Puritans had ſuffered hitherto only for the neglect of ceremonies, but now their very Doctrine is an offence. From this time, all Calviniſts were in a manner excluded from Court Preferments. The way to riſe in the Church, was to preach up the abſolute power of the King, to declaim againſt the rigours of Calviniſm, and to ſpeak favourably of Popery. Thoſe that ſcrupled this, were neglected, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of Doctrinal Puritans; but it was the glory of this people that they ſtood together, like a wall, againſt the arbitrary Proceedings of the King, both in Church and State.

Archbiſhop Abbot accidentally kills a Man, and retires from Court.

Archbiſhop Abbot was at the head of the doctrinal Puritans; and often adviſed the King to return to the old parlimentary way of raiſing money: But this coſt him his Intereſt at Court; and an accident happened this year, which quite broke his Spirits, and made him retire from the world. Lord Zouch invited his Grace to a Buck-hunting in Bramſhill-Park in Hampſhire; and while the Keeper was running among the Deer, to bring them to a fairer mark, the Archbiſhop ſitting on horſeback, let fly a barbed Arrow, which ſhot him under the Arm-pit, and killed him dead upon the ſpot. His Grace was ſo diſtreſſed in mind with this accident, that he retired to one of his own Alms-houſes at Guilford; and though upon examination of the caſe, it was judged caſual Homicide, he kept that day as a Faſt as long as he lived; and gave the Keeper's Widow twenty Pounds a year for her maintenance. The King alſo being moved with compaſſion, ſent to him to Lambeth, and gave him a Royal Pardon and Diſpenſation, to prevent all exceptions to his Epiſcopal Character; but he prudently withdrew from the Council Board, where his advice was but little regarded before, as coming from a perſon of unfaſhionable principles.

Death and Character of Mr. Byfield.

The Puritans loſt an eminent practical writer and Preacher about this time, Nicholas Byfield, born in Warwickſhire and educated in Exeter College, Oxford. After four years, he left the Univerſity, and went for Ireland; but preaching at Cheſter, the Inhabitants gave him an unanimous invitation to St. Peter's Church in that City, where he continued ſeven years. From thence he removed to Iſleworth in Middleſex, where he continued to his Death. He was a Divine of a profound Judgment, a ſtrong Memory, quick Invention, and unwearied Induſtry, which brought the Stone upon him, of which he died this year, in the forty

fifth Year of his age. His body being opened, a ſtone was taken out of his Bladder, that weighed thirty three ounces, and was in meaſure about the edge, fifteen inches and a half; about the length and breadth, thirteen inches, and ſolid like a flint; an almoſt incredible relation! But Dr. William Gouge, who writ this account, was an Eye-witneſs of it, with many others. Mr. Byfield was a Calviniſt, a Nonconformiſt to the Ceremonies, and a ſtrict obſerver of the Sabbath. He publiſhed ſeveral practical Books in his life-time; and his Commentaries upon the Coloſſians and St. Peter, publiſhed after his death, ſhew him to be a Divine of great piety, learning, and capacity. King James I. 1622.

The Archbiſhop being in diſgrace, the Council were of a piece, and met with no interruption in their proceedings. The Puritans retired to the new Plantations in America, and Popery came in like an armed man. This was occaſioned partly by the new promotions at Court, but chiefly by the Spaniſh match, which was begun about the year 1617, and drawn out to a length of ſeven years, till the Palatinate was loſt, and the Proteſtant Religion, in a manner, extirpated out of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and other parts of Germany; and then the match itſelf was broke off.

To trace this affair from its beginning, becauſe it was the ſource of the remaining calamities of this and the following Reign. Prince Charles being arrived at the ſtate of manhood, the King had thoughts of marrying him, but could not find a Proteſtant Princeſs fit for him. He deſpiſed the Princes of Germany, and would hear of nothing below a King's Daughter for his Son. This put him upon ſeeking a Wife for him out of the Houſe of Auſtria, ſworn Enemies to the Proteſtant Religion; for which purpoſe he entered into a Treaty with Spain for the Infanta. Under Colour of this Match, Gondamar, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, made the King do whatever he pleaſed. If he enclined to aſſiſt his Son-in-Law in recovering the Palatinate, he was told he muſt keep fair with the Houſe of Auſtria, or the match would break off: If he denied any favours to the Papiſts at home, the Court of Rome, and all the Roman Catholick Powers, were diſobliged, and then it could never take place. To obviate theſe and other objections to the Match, his Majeſty promiſed, upon the Word of a King, that no Roman Catholick ſhould be proceeded againſt capitally; and though he could not at preſent repeal the pecuniary Laws, he promiſed to mitigate them, to the ſatisfaction of the King Of the Spaniſh Match.

King James I. 1622.

King of Spain; and the lengths his Majeſty went in favour of Papiſts on this occaſion, will appear by the following Articles, which were inſerted both into the Spaniſh and French Treaty, which afterwards took place.

Articles of Marriage.

The Articles of the intended Spaniſh match relating to religion, were theſe.

Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 86. Rapin, p. 543.

Art. 6. "The Infanta herſelf, her Men and Maid Servants, her Children and Deſcendants, and all their "Families, of what ſort ſoever, ſerving her Highneſs, "may freely and publickly profeſs themſelves Catholicks.

Ar 5, 7, and 8. "Provide a Church, a Chapel, and "an oratory for her Highneſs, with all Popiſh Ornaments, "Utenſils, and Decorations.

Art. 10 and 11. "Allow her twenty four Prieſts and "aſſiſtants, and over them a Biſhop, with full authority "and ſpiritual Juriſdiction.

Art. 13. "Admits the Infanta and her Servants to procure from Rome Diſpenſations, Indulgences, Jubilees, "&c. and all Graces, as ſhall ſeem meet to them.

Art. 16. "Provides, that the Laws made againſt Roman "Catholicks in England, or in any of the King's Dominions, "ſhall not extend to the Children of this marriage; nor "ſhall they loſe their Succeſſion to the Crown, although "they be Roman Catholicks.

Art. 17. "Authorizes the Infanta to chooſe Nurſes for "her Children, and to bring them up in her Religion till "they are ten years of age." But the Term was afterwards enlarged to twelve; and in the Match with France, to thirteen.

1623. Sworn to by the King and Prince of Wales.

King James ſwore to the obſervation of theſe Articles, in the Preſence of the two Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, and twenty four Privy-Counſellors, who ſet their hands to the Treaty. Beſides which, his Majeſty and Prince of Wales ſwore to four following private ones, "(1.) That no Laws "againſt Papiſts ſhould hereafter be put in execution. (2.) "That no new Laws ſhall be made againſt them; but that "there ſhall be a perpetual Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion in private houſes, throughout all his "Majeſty's Dominions, which his Council ſhall ſwear to. "(3.) That he will never perſuade the Infanta to change "her Religion. (4.) That he will uſe all his authority "and influence to have theſe Conditions ratified by Parli-

"ament,

" ament, that ſo all penal Laws againſt Papiſts may not " only be ſuſpended, but legally diſannuulled." King James I. 1623.

The Words of the Prince of Wales's Oath were theſe: " I Charles Prince of Wales engage myſelf——that all " things contained in the foregoing Articles, which concern " as well the Suſpenſion as Abrogation of all Laws made " againſt Roman Catholicks, ſhall within three years in- " fallibly take effect, and ſooner, if poſſible; which we " will have to lie upon our Conſcience and Royal Honour: " And I will intercede with my father that the ten years " of education of the Children that ſhall be born of this " marriage, which the Pope of Rome deſires may be " lengthened to twelve, ſhall be prolonged to the ſaid " Term. And I ſwear, that if the entire power of diſpo- " ſing this matter be devolved upon me, I will grant and " approve of the ſaid Term. Furthermore, as oft as the " Infanta ſhall deſire that I ſhould give ear to Divines and " others, whom her Highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to employ " in matters of the Roman Catholick Religion, I will " hearken to them willingly, without all Difficulties, and " laying aſide all excuſes." Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 89

Under theſe advantages, the Papiſts appeared openly, and behaved with an offenſive inſolence; but the hearts of all true Proteſtants trembled for themſelves and their Poſterity. And Archbiſhop Abbot, though under a cloud, ventured to write to the King upon this Subject; beſeeching him, in his Letter, to conſider, " Whether by the " Toleration which his Majeſty propoſes, he is not ſet- " ting up that moſt damnable and heretical Doctrine of " the Church of Rome, the Whore of Babylon? How " hateful muſt this be to God, and grievous to your good " Subjects, (ſays he) that your Majeſty, who hath learned- " ly written againſt theſe wicked Hereſies, ſhould now ſhew " yourſelf a Patron of thoſe Doctrines, which your Pen " has told the World, and your Conſcience tells yourſelf, " are ſuperſtitious, idolatrous, and deteſtable——Beſides, " this Toleration which you endeavoured to ſet up, by " Proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, un- " leſs your Majeſty will let your Subjects ſee that you will " take a liberty to throw down the Laws at your Pleaſure. " And above all, I beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, leſt " by this Toleration your Majeſty do not draw upon the " Kingdom in general, and on yourſelf in particular, God's " heavy Wrath and Indignation." Archbiſhop Abbot againſt them. Fuller, B. X. p. 106.

But this wiſe King, inſtead of hearkning to the Remonſtrances

King James I. 1623.

ſtrances of his Proteſtant Subjects, put the Peace of his Kingdom, and the whole Proteſtant Religion, into the hands of the Spaniard, by ſending his Son with the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid, to fetch home the Infanta; a piece of confidence that the Solomon of the age ſhould not have been guilty of. When the Prince was gone, 'tis ſaid, That Archy, the King's Fool, clapp'd his cap upon the King's head. The King aſking him the reaſon, he anſwer'd, "Becauſe he had ſent the Prince into Spain." But ſays his Majeſty, What if he ſhould come back ſafe? Why then, ſays Archy, "I will take my Cap off from your "head and put it on the King of Spain's." The Spaniards gave out that the deſign of the Prince's Journey was to reconcile himſelf to the Church of Rome. 'Tis certain the Pope writ to the Biſhop of Conchen, to lay hold of this opportunity to convert him; and directed a moſt perſuaſive Letter to the Prince himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, dated April 20, 1623, which the Prince anſwered June 20, in a very obliging manner, giving the Pope the title of "Moſt Holy Father," and encouraging him to expect, that when he came to the Crown there ſhould be but one Religion in his Dominions, ſeeing (ſays he) that both Catholicks and Proteſtants believe in one Jeſus Chriſt. He was ſtrongly ſolicited to change his Religion by ſome of the firſt Quality, and by the moſt learned Prieſts and Jeſuits, who careſſed his Highneſs with Speeches, dedicated Books to him, invited him to their Proceſſions, and gave him a view of their moſt magnificent Churches and Reliques; by which artifices, though he was not converted, he was confirmed in his reſolution of attempting a Coalition of the two Churches; for the accompliſhment of which he afterwards loſt both his Crown and Life. It was happy, after all, that the Prince got ſafe out of the Spaniſh Territories, which, as Spanheim obſerves, that politick Court would not have permitted, had they not conſidered, "That the Queen "of Bohemia, next Heir to the Crown, was a greater ene-"my to Popery than her Brother." But after all, when this memorable Treaty of Marriage had been upon the Carpet ſeven years, and wanted nothing but Conſummation, the Portion being ſettled, the Pope's Diſpenſation obtained, the marriage articles ſworn to on both ſides, and the very day of Conſummation by proxy appointed, it was broke off by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham upon the Prince, who ordered the Earl of Briſtol not to deliver the Proxy till the time limitted by the Diſpenſation was expired; the King of Spain

Prince of Wales goes to Madrid.

Wilſon, p. 233. Rapin, p. 535.

Rapin, p. 558. Vide Note.

The Match broke off.

Spain ſuſpecting the deſign, in order to throw all the blame upon the King of England, ſign'd a promiſe with his own hand and deliver'd it to the Ambaſſador, wherein he obliged himſelf to cauſe the Palatinate to be reſtored to the Elector Palatine, in caſe the marriage took effect; but his Highneſs was immoveable, and obliged the King to recal his Ambaſſador. King James I. 1623.

From this time the Prince and Duke ſeemed to turn Puritans, the latter having taken Dr. John Preſton, one of their chief Miniſters, into his Service, to conſult him about alienating the Dean and Chapter lands to the purpoſes of preaching. They alſo adviſed the King to call a Parliament, which his Majeſty did, and made ſuch a Speech to them, as one would think impoſſible to come from the ſame lips with the former. "I aſſure you (ſays he, ſpeaking of "the Spaniſh match) on the Faith of a Chriſtian King, "that it is "res integra" preſented unto you, and that "I ſtand not bound, nor either way engaged, but remain "free to follow what ſhall be beſt adviſed." His Majeſty adds, "I can truly ſay, and will avouch it before the Seat "of God and Angels, that never King governed with a "purer, ſincerer, and more uncorrupt heart than I have "done, far from ill will and meaning of the leaſt error and "imperfection in my Reign.—It has been talked of my re- "miſſneſs in maintenance of Religion, and ſuſpicion of a "Toleration [of Popery]; but as God ſhall judge me, I "never thought nor meant, nor ever in word expreſſed "any thing that ſavoured of it——I never in all my trea- "ties agreed to any thing to the overthrow and diſannul- "ling of thoſe laws, but had in all a chief regard to the "preſervation of that truth which I have ever profeſſed." The Reader will remember how this agrees with the marriage Articles above-mentioned, which the King had ſworn to. 1624. A new Parliament. Rapin, p. 567.

But the Parliament taking things as the King had repreſented them, adviſed his Majeſty to break off the match, and to declare war for the recovery of the Palatinate; and at the ſame time petitioned his Majeſty, that all Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts might be commanded to depart the Realm; that the Laws might be put in execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants; that all ſuch might be removed from Court, and ten miles from London. To which the King made this remarkable anſwer, which muſt ſtrike the Reader with Surprize and Wonder. ——"What Religion I am of "my Books declare; I wiſh it may be written in Marble, and King's anſwer to their Petition. Rapin, p. 529. Ruſh. V. I. P. 143.

King James I. 1624.

" and remain to Poſterity as a mark upon me, when I " ſwerve from my Religion; for he that diſſembles with " God is not to be truſted with Men.——I proteſt before " God, that my Heart hath bled when I have heard of " the increaſe of Popery. God is my Judge, it hath been " ſuch a grief to me, that it has been as Thorns in my " Eyes, and pricks in my Sides.——It hath been my de- " ſire to hinder the Growth of Popery; and I could not " be an honeſt Man, if I had done otherwiſe.——I will " order the laws to be put in execution againſt popiſh Re- " cuſants as they were before theſe Treaties, for the laws " are ſtill in being, and were never diſpenſed with by me; " God is my Judge, they were never ſo intended by me."

Remarks.

What ſolemn appeals to Heaven are theſe, againſt the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt facts! it requires a good degree of charity, to believe this Prince had either Religion or honeſty. For though he told his Parliament, that his heart bled within him when he heard of the increaſe of Popery, yet this very Parliament preſented him with a liſt of fifty ſeven popiſh Lords and Knights who were in publick Offices, none of which were diſplaced, while the Puritan Miniſters were driven out of the Kingdom, and hardly a Gentleman of that Character advanced to the dignity of a Juſtice of Peace.

French Match. Rapin, p. 589.

The Parliament being prorogued, the King, inſtead of going heartily into the War, or marrying his Son to a Proteſtant Princeſs, enter'd into a Treaty with Lewis XIII. King of France, for his Siſter Henrietta Maria. Upon this occaſion the Archbiſhop of Ambrun was ſent into England, who told the King, the beſt way to accompliſh the Match for his Son, was to grant a full Toleration to the Catholicks. The King replied, that he intended to grant it, and was willing to have an aſſembly of Divines to compromiſe the difference between Proteſtants and Papiſts, and promiſed to ſend a Letter to the Pope to bring him into the Project. In this Letter, ſays Monſieur Deageant in his Memoirs, the King ſtiles the Pope, Chriſt's Vicar, and head of the Church Univerſal, and aſſures him, he would declare himſelf a Catholick as ſoon as he could provide againſt the inconveniencies of ſuch a Declaration; but whether this was ſo or not, 'tis certain he immediately relaxed the penal laws againſt Papiſts, and permitted Ambrun to adminiſter Confirmation to ten thouſand Catholicks at the door of the French Ambaſſador's Houſe, before a great concourſe of people.

people. In the mean time, the Treaty of Marriage went forwards, and was at laſt ſigned, Nov. 10. in thirty three Articles, and three ſecret ones, wherein the very ſame, or greater advantages, were ſtipulated for the Catholicks than in thoſe of Madrid; but before the diſpenſation from the Pope could be procured his Majeſty fell ſick at Theobald's of a Tertian Ague, which put an end to his Life, not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon, March 27. 1625. in the 59th year of his age. King James I. 1624. The King dies.

To review the courſe of this Reign; 'tis evident that both Popery and Puritaniſm encreaſed prodigiouſly, while the friends of the Hierarchy ſunk into contempt; this was owing partly to the ſpiritual promotions, and partly to the arbitrary maxims of State that the King had advanced. In promoting of Biſhops the King had a greater regard to ſuch as would yield a ſervile compliance with his abſolute commands, than to ſuch as would fill the Pulpit with Reputation, and be an example to the people of Religion and Virtue; of which number were Biſhop Neile, Buckeridge, Harſnet, Laud, &c. The faſhionable Doctrines at Court were ſuch as the King had condemned at the Synod of Dort, and which in the opinion of the old Engliſh Clergy, were ſubverſive of the Reformation. The new Biſhops admitted the Church of Rome to be a true Church, and the Pope the firſt Biſhop of Chriſtendom. They declared for the lawfulneſs of Images in Churches; for the real Preſence; and that the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation was a School Nicety. They pleaded for Confeſſion to a Prieſt; for ſacerdotal Abſolution, and the proper merit of good Works. They gave up the morality of the Sabbath, and the five diſtinguiſhing points of Calviniſm which their predeceſſors had contended for. They claimed an uninterrupted Succeſſion of the Epiſcopal Character from the Apoſtles through the Church of Rome, which obliged them to maintain the validity of her Ordinations, when they denied the validity of thoſe of the foreign Proteſtants. Further, they began to imitate the Church of Rome in her gaudy Ceremonies, in the rich furniture of her Chapels, and the pomp of their Worſhip. They complimented the Roman Catholick Prieſts with their Dignitary Titles, and ſpent all their zeal in ſtudying how to compromiſe matters with Rome, while they turned their backs upon the old Proteſtant Doctrines of the Reformation, and were remarkably negligent in preaching, or inſtructing the people in Chriſti- Summary State of Religion in this Reign.

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King James I. 1624.

an Knowledge. Things were come to ſuch a paſs, that Gondamar the Spaniſh Ambaſſador writ to Spain, that there never was more hopes of England's Converſion, for "there are more Prayers (ſays he) offered to the Mother "than to the Son of God." The Prieſts and Jeſuits challenged the eſtabliſhed Clergy to publick Diſputations; the Duke of Buckingham's Mother being a Papiſt, a Conference was held in her preſence between Fiſher a Jeſuit on the one part, and Dr. White, Williams, and Laud, on the other. Each of them diſputed with the Jeſuit a day before a great concourſe of people, but not to the Counteſs's Converſion, which was not at all ſtrange, upon their principles. Amongſt other popiſh Books that were publiſhed, one was entitled, "A new Gag for the old Goſpel;" which Dr. Montague, Rector of Stamford Rivers anſwered in ſuch a manner, as gave great offence to the old Clergy, for he yielded up all the points above-mentioned, and not only declared for Arminianiſm, but made very dangerous advances towards Popery itſelf. The Book making a great Noiſe, Mr. Ward and Yates, two Miniſters at Ipſwich, made a collection of the Popiſh and Arminian Tenets contained in it, in order to lay them before the next Parliament; but the Author, with the King's leave, took ſhelter under the Royal Wing, and prepared for the Preſs, his "Apello Cæſarem," or a juſt Appeal from two unjuſt Informers; which White, Biſhop of Carliſle, licenſed in theſe words, that "there was nothing contained in the "ſame but what was agreeable to the publick Faith, "Doctrine, and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Church of "England." But before the Book was publiſhed the King died.

Clarke's Life of Rothwel, p. 69.

Theſe advances of the Court Divines towards Popery made moſt of the people fall in with the Puritans, who being conſtant Preachers, and of exemplary and holy lives, wrought them up by their awakening Sermons to an abhorrence of every thing that looked that way. Many of the Nobility and Gentry favoured them. Lady Bowes, afterwards Lady Darcy, gave a thouſand pounds per Annum, to maintain preachers in the North, where there were none, and all her preachers were ſilenced Non-conformiſts. Almoſt all the famous practical Writers of this Reign, except Biſhop Andrews, were Puritans, and Sufferers for Non-Conformity, as Doctor Willet, Mr. Jer. Dyke, Doctor Preſton, Sibbs, Byfield, Bolton, Hilderſham, Dod, Ball, Whately, and others, whoſe Works have done great

Service

ſervice to Religion. The character of theſe Divines was the reverſe of what the learned Selden ſays of the Clergy of theſe times in his Hiſtory of Tithes, where he taxes them with Ignorance and Lazineſs; and adds, "That they had "nothing to ſupport their credit but Beard, Title and Ha- "bit; and that their learning reached no further than the "Poſtils and the Polyanthia." Upon the whole, if we may believe Mr. Coke, the Puritan party had gathered ſuch ſtrength, and was in ſuch reputation with the people, that they were more in number than all the other parties in the Kingdom put together. King James I. 1624. In Pref.

With regard to King James himſelf, 'tis hard to draw his juſt Character, for no Prince was ever ſo much flatter'd that had ſo little to deſerve it. He was of a middle ſtature, not very corpulent, but ſtuffed out with clothes, which hung ſo looſe, and being quilted, were ſo thick, as to reſiſt a dagger. His countenance was homely, and his tongue too big for his mouth, ſo that he could not ſpeak with decency. While he was in Scotland he appeared ſober and chaſte, and acquired a good degree of learning, but upon his acceſſion to the Engliſh Crown he threw off the maſk, and by degrees gave himſelf up to luxury and eaſe, and all kinds of licentiouſneſs. His language was obſcene, and his actions very often lewd and indecent. He was a profane ſwearer, and would often be drunk, but when he came to himſelf would weep like a child, and ſay, he hoped God would not impute his infirmities to him. He valued himſelf upon what he called King-Craft, which was nothing elſe but deep hypocriſy and diſſimulation in every character of life, reſulting from the exceſſive timorouſneſs of his nature. If we conſider him as a King, he never did a great or generous action throughout the courſe of his Reign, but proſtituted the honour of the Engliſh Nation beyond any of his predeceſſors. He ſtood ſtill while the Proteſtant Religion was ſuppreſſed in France, in Bohemia, in the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany. He ſurrendered up the Cautionary Towns to the Dutch for leſs than a fourth part of the value, and ſuffered them to diſpoſſeſs us of our Factories in the Eaſt-Indies. At home he committed the direction of all affairs in Church and State to two or three favourites, and cared not what they did if they gave him no trouble. He broke through all the laws of the Land, and was as abſolute a Tyrant as his want of courage would admit. He revived the projects of Monopolies, Loans, Benevolences, &c. to ſupply his Exchequer, which was exhauſted by his profuſeneſs Character of K. James I. Character of the Court of K. James.

King James I. 1624.

towards his favourites, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his Son's reign. Upon the whole, though he was flatter'd by hungry courtiers as the Solomon and Phœnix of his age, he was in the opinion of Biſhop Burnet, "The "ſcorn of the age, a mere Pedant, without true judgment, "courage, or ſteadineſs, his Reign being a continued courſe "of mean practices."

'Tis hard to make any judgment of his Religion, for one while he was a Puritan, and then a zealous Churchman; at firſt a Calviniſt and Preſbyterian, afterwards a Remonſtrant or Arminian, and at laſt a half, if not an entire Doctrinal Papiſt; Sir Ralph Winwood, in his Memoirs ſays, That as long ago as the year 1596. he ſent Mr. Ogilby, a Scots Baron, to Spain, to aſſure his Catholick Majeſty he was then ready to turn Papiſt, and to propoſe an alliance with that King and the Pope againſt the Queen of England; but for reaſons of State the affair was huſht. Rapin ſays, he was neither a ſound Proteſtant, nor a good Catholick, but had formed a Plan of uniting both Churches, which muſt effectually have ruined the Proteſtant Intereſt, for which, indeed, he never expreſſed any real concern. But I am rather of opinion, that all his Religion was his pretended King-Craft. He was certainly the meaneſt Prince that ever ſat upon the Britiſh Throne: England never ſunk in its reputation, nor was ſo much expoſed to the ſcorn and ridicule of its Neighbours, as in his Reign. How willing his Majeſty was to unite with the Papiſts the foregoing hiſtory has diſcovered; and yet in the preſence of many Lords, and in a very remarkable manner, he made a ſolemn Proteſtation, "That he would ſpend the laſt drop of "Blood in his Body before he would do it; and prayed, "that before any of his Iſſue ſhould maintain any other "Religion than his own [the Proteſtant] that God would "take them out of the world." How far this Imprecation took place upon himſelf or any of his Poſterity, I leave with Mr. Archdeacon Eachard to the determination of an Omniſcient Being.

State Tracts. Vol. I. p. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the death of King James I. to the diſſolution of the third Parliament of King Charles I. in the year 1628.

BEFORE we enter upon this Reign, it will be proper to take a ſhort view of the Court, and of the moſt active Miniſters under the King for the firſt fifteen years. King. Charles I. 1625.

King Charles I. came to the Crown at the age of twenty five years, being born at Dumfermling in Scotland, in the year 1600. and baptized by a Preſbyterian Miniſter of that country. In his youth, he was of a weakly conſtitution, and ſtammering ſpeech; his legs were ſomewhat crooked, and he was ſuſpected (ſays Mr. Eachard) to be of a perverſe nature. When his father [King James] came to the Engliſh Crown, he took him from his Scots Tutors, and placed him under thoſe that gave him an early averſion to that Kirk, into which he had been baptized, and to thoſe Doctrines of Chriſtianity, for which they had the greateſt veneration. As the Court of King James leaned towards Popery and arbitrary power, ſo did the Prince, eſpecially after his journey into Spain; where he imbibed not only the pernicious Maxims of that Court, but their reſerved and diſtant Behaviour. He aſſured the Pope by letter, in order to obtain a Diſpenſation to marry the Infanta, "That he "would not marry any mortal whoſe Religion he hated: "He might therefore depend upon it, that he would always "abſtain from ſuch actions as might teſtify an hatred to the "Roman Catholick Religion, and would endeavour that all "ſiniſter opinions might be taken away; that as we all pro-"feſs one individual Trinity, we may unanimouſly grow "up into one Faith;" His Majeſty began his Reign upon moſt arbitrary Principles; and though he had good natural abilities, was always under the direction of ſome favourite, to whoſe judgment and conduct he abſolutely reſigned himſelf. Nor was he ever maſter of ſo much judgment in politicks, as to diſcern his own and the nation's true intereſt, or to take the advice of thoſe that did. With regard to the Church, he was a punctual obſerver of the Ceremonies, and had the higheſt diſlike and prejudice to that part of his Subjects that were againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution: "Looking upon them as a very dangerous and ſeditious "people, who would, under pretence of Conſcience, which "kept them from ſubmitting to the ſpiritual juriſdiction, Character of King Charles I.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 81.

King Charles I. 1625.

" take the firſt opportunity they could find or make (ſays " Lord Clarendon) to withdraw themſelves from his tem- " poral juriſdiction; and therefore his Majeſty cauſed this " People [the Puritans] to be watched and provided againſt " with the utmoſt vigilance."

Of his Queen.

Upon his Majeſty's acceſſion, and before the ſolemnity of his father's funeral, he married Henrietta Maria, Daughter of Henry IV. and Siſter of Lewis XIII. preſent King of France. The marriage was ſolemnized by proxy; firſt at Paris, with all the Ceremonies of the Romiſh Church, and afterwards at Canterbury, according to the Rites of the Church of England; the Articles being in a manner the ſame with thoſe already mentioned in the Spaniſh Match. Her Majeſty arrived at Dover June 13. and brought with her a long train of Prieſts and menial ſervants of the Romiſh religion; for whoſe devotions a Chapel was fitted up in the King's Houſe at St. James's. " The Queen was an agree- " able and beautiful Lady, and by degrees (ſays Lord Cla- " rendon) obtained a plenitude of power over the King.---- " His Majeſty had her in perfect adoration, and would do " nothing without her, but was inexorable as to every thing " that he promiſed her." Biſhop Burnet ſays: " The Hiſt. Life and Times. " Queen was a lady of great vivacity, and loved intrigues " of all ſorts, but was not ſecret in them, as ſhe ought: " She had no manner of judgment, being bad at contri- " vance, but worſe at execution. By the livelineſs of her " diſcourſe, ſhe made great impreſſions upon the King; ſo " that to the Queen's little practice, and the King's own " temper, the ſequel of all his misfortunes were owing." Biſhop Kennet adds: " That the King's match with this " lady, was a greater Judgment to the Nation than the " Plague, which then raged in the Land; for conſidering " the Malignity of the Popiſh Religion, the Imperiouſneſs " of the French Government, the Influence of a ſtately " Queen over an affectionate Huſband, and the ſhare ſhe " muſt needs have in the education of her children, [till " thirteen years of age] it was then eaſy to foreſee it " might prove very fatal to our Engliſh Prince and People, " and lay in a vengeance to future generations." The Queen was a very great Bigot to her religion; her conſcience was directed by her Confeſſor, aſſiſted by the Pope's Nuncio, and a ſecret cabal of Prieſts and Jeſuits. Theſe directed the Queen, and ſhe the King; ſo that in effect the Nation was governed by Popiſh Councils, till the long Parliament.

The

King Charles I. 1625.

The Prime Miniſter under the King was G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, a graceful young gentleman, but very unfit for his high ſtation. He had a full poſſeſſion of the King's heart, inſomuch that his Majeſty broke meaſures with all his Parliaments for his ſake. "Moſt men (ſays "Lord Clarendon) imputed all the calamities of the nati- "on to his arbitrary councils; ſo that few were diſpleaſed "at the news of his murder by Felton, in the year 1628, "when he was not above thirty four years of age."

The Duke of Buckingham. Claren. Vol. I. p. 837.

Archbiſhop Laud.

Upon the Duke's death, Dr. William Laud, then Biſhop of London, became the chief Miniſter, both in church and ſtate. He was born at Reading, and educated in St. John's College, Oxford, upon the charitable donation of Mr. White, founder of Merchant-Taylors School. Here he continued till he was fifty years of age, and behaved in ſuch a manner, that no body knew what to think of him. "I would know (ſays the pious Biſhop Hall, in one of his "letters) where to find you; to-day you are with the Ro- "maniſts, to-morrow with us; our adverſaries think you "ours, and we theirs; your conſcience finds you with "both and neither: How long will you halt in this indiffe- "rency?" Dr. Abbot ſays: "He ſpent his time in picking "quarrels with the Lectures of publick Readers, and gi- "ving advice to the then Biſhop of Durham, that he might "fill the ears of the King [James I.] with prejudices a- "gainſt honeſt men, whom he called Puritans." Heylin confeſſes, it was thought dangerous to keep him company. By the intereſt of Biſhop Williams, he was firſt advanced to a Welch Biſhoprick, and from thence by degrees to the higheſt preferments in Church and State. He was a little man, of a quick and rough temper, impatient of contradiction even at the council table, of arbitrary principles, both in Church and State; always inclined to methods of ſeverity, eſpecially againſt the Puritans; vaſtly fond of external pomp and ceremony in divine worſhip; and though he was not an abſolute Papiſt, he was ambitious of being the ſovereign patriarch of three kingdoms.

Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 440.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 97, 98.

L. C. J. Finch, and the reſt of the Judges.

Lord Chief Juſtice Finch was a man of little knowledge in his profeſſion, except it was for making the Statute-laws of the Land give place to Orders of Council. Mr. Attorney-General Noy was a man of affected pride and moroſity, who valued himſelf (ſays Lord Clarendon) upon making that to be law which all other men believed not to be ſo. Indeed, all the Judges were of this ſtamp, who, inſtead of

Claren. Vol. I. p. 71, 73, 74.

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upholding the law, as the defence and ſecurity of the ſubjects properties, ſet it aſide upon every little occaſion, diſtinguiſhing between a Rule of Law, and a Rule of Government: So that thoſe whom they could not convict by Statute Law, were ſure to ſuffer by the Rule of Government, or the general juſtice of the kingdom. The Judges held their places during the King's pleaſure; and when the prerogative was to be ſtretched above law, in any particular inſtances; Laud would ſend to them for their opinions before-hand, to give the greater ſanction to the proceeding of the Council and Star-chamber, by whom they were often put in mind, that "if they did not do his Majeſty's buſineſs to ſatisfaction, they would be removed." Upon the whole, they were mercenary men, and (according to Lord Clarendon) ſcandalous to their profeſſion.

The Courts of Weſtminſter-Hall had little to do between the King and the Subject; all buſineſs of this kind being tranſacted at the Council Table, the Star-Chamber, and the Court of High Commiſſion.

Of the Council Table.

The Council Table was the Legiſlature of the kingdom; their proclamations and orders being made the rule of government, and the meaſure of the ſubjects obedience. Though there was not one ſingle law made in twelve years, there were no leſs than two hundred and fifty proclamations; every one of which had the force of a law, and bound the ſubject under the ſevereſt penalties. The Lord Keeper Finch, upon a demurrer put into a bill, that had no other equity than an Order of Council, declared upon the bench, that while he was keeper, "no man ſhould be ſo ſawcy as "to diſpute thoſe orders, but that the wiſdom of that "board ſhould always be ground good enough for him to "make a decree in Chancery." Judge Berkeley, upon a like occaſion, declared, that "there was a rule of law, "and a rule of government, that many things that might "not be done by the rule of law, might be done by the "rule of government:" His Lordſhip added, that "no "Act of Parliament could bind the King not to command "away his ſubjects goods and money.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 74.

The Star-Chamber, Vol. I. p. 68, 69.

"The Star-Chamber (ſays Lord Clarendon) was in a "manner the ſame Court with the Council Table, being "but the ſame perſons in ſeveral rooms: they were both "grown into Courts of Law, to determine Right; and "courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treaſury: "The Council Table, by Proclamations, enjoining to the "peo-

" people what was not enjoined by Law, and prohibiting " that which was not prohibited; and the Star-chamber " cenſuring the breach and diſobedience to thoſe procla- " mations, by very great fines and impriſonment; ſo that " any diſreſpect to any Acts of State, or to the perſons of " Stateſmen, was in no time more penal, and thoſe foun- " dations of right, by which men valued their ſecurity, " were never in more danger of being deſtroy'd. King Charles I. 1625.

" The High Commiſſion alſo had very much overflow- " ed the Banks that ſhould have contained it, not only in " meddling with things not within their connuſance, but in " extending their ſentences and judgments beyond that de- " gree that was juſtifiable, and grew to have ſo great a " contempt of the Common Law, and the profeſſors of it, " that prohibitions from the ſupreme Courts of Law, which " have and muſt have the ſuperintendency over all the in- " ferior Courts, were not only neglected, but the Judges " were reprehended for granting them, which, without " perjury, they could not deny.——Beſides, from an Ib. p. 283. " Eccleſiaſtical Court for reformation of manners, it was " grown to a Court of Revenue, and impoſed great fines " upon thoſe who were culpable before them; ſometimes " above the degree of the offence, had the juriſdiction of " fining been unqueſtionable, which it was not; which " courſe of fining was much more frequent, and the fines " heavier, after the King had granted all that revenue for " the reparation of St. Paul's, which made the grievance " greater;" and gave occaſion to an unlucky obſervation, " That the Church was built with the ſins of the people." The High Commiſſion.

Theſe Commiſſioners, not content with the Buſineſs that was brought before them, ſent their Commiſſaries over the whole kingdom, to ſuperintend the proceedings of the Biſhops Courts in their ſeveral Dioceſes, which of themſelves made ſufficient havock among the Puritans, and were under a general diſlike for the ſevere exercife of their power: But if the Biſhops, or his Officers, were negligent in their Citations, or ſhewed any degree of favour to the Puritan Miniſters, notice was immediately ſent to Lambeth, and the accuſed perſons were cited before the High Commiſſion, to their utter ruin. They alſo kept men in priſon many months, without bringing them to a trial, or ſo much as acquainting them with the cauſe of their commitment. Sir Edward Deering ſays, that " their proceedings were in " ſome ſenſe worſe than the Romiſh Inquiſition, becauſe

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"they do not puniſh men of their own religion, eſtabliſh'd "by law; but with us (ſays he) how many ſcores of poor "diſtreſſed Miniſters have, within a few years, been ſuſ- "pended, degraded, and excommunicated, though not "guilty of a breach of any eſtabliſhed law?" All which was ſo much the worſe, becauſe they knew that the Court had no juriſdiction of fining at all; for the Houſe of Commons, in the third and ſeventh of King James I. reſolved, "That the Court of High Commiſſion's fining and impri- "ſoning men for Eccleſiaſtical Offences, was an intolera- "ble grievance, oppreſſion, and vexation, not warranted "by the Statute 1 Eliz. Chap. 1." And Sir Edward Coke, with the reſt of the Judges, at a conference with the Prelates, in the preſence of King James, gave it as their unanimous opinion, "that the High Commiſſion could fine in "no caſe, and impriſon only in caſes of Hereſy and Inconti- "nency of a Miniſter, and that only after conviction, but not "by way of proceſs before it:" So that the juriſdiction of the Court to fine was not only queſtionable, but null and void. Notwithſtanding which, they hunted after their prey with full cry, "and brought in the greateſt and moſt ſplen- "did tranſgreſſors: Perſons of honour and greateſt quality "(ſays the noble hiſtorian) were every day cited into the "High Commiſſion, upon the fame of their incontinency, "or ſcandal of life, and very heavy fines were levied upon "them, and applied to the repairing of St. Paul's Cathe- "dral."

State of Arminianiſm.

Upon the acceſſion of King Charles to the throne, the Duke of Buckingham threw off the maſk, and ſhook hands with his old friend Dr. Preſton, whom he never loved, any further than as a tool to ſerve his intereſt with the people. Laud was his Confeſſor and Privy-councellor for the Church, whoſe firſt care was to have none but Arminian and Anti-puritanical Chaplains about the King: For this purpoſe, he drew up a ſmall treatiſe, and put it into the duke's hand, proving that the Arminian doctrines were orthodox; and ſhewing, in ten particulars, that the Anti-arminian tenets were no better than doctrinal Puritaniſm. Agreeably to this ſcheme, he preſented the Duke [April 9.] with a liſt of divines for his Majeſty's Chaplains, diſtinguiſhing their characters by the two capital letters, O. for orthodox, [that is Arminian] and P. for Puritan, [that is Calviniſts.] At the ſame time, he received orders to conſult Biſhop Andrews how to manage, with reſpect to the five diſtinguiſhing points of Calviniſm,

viniſm, in the enſuing Convocation; but the wiſe Biſhop adviſed his Brother by all means to be quiet, and keep the controverſy out of the Houſe: "For (ſays he) the truth in "this point is not ſo generally entertained among the Cler- "gy; nor is Archbiſhop Abbot, nor many of the Prelates "ſo inclined to it, as to venture the deciding it in Convoca- "tion." It was therefore wiſely dropt, becauſe the majority of the lower Houſe were zealous Calviniſts; and forty five of them (according to Dr. Leo, who was one of the number) had made a Covenant among themſelves to oppoſe every thing that tended towards Pelagianiſm, or Semi-Pelagianiſm: But the Controverſy was warmly debated without doors, till the King put a ſtop to it, by his Royal Declaration. King Charles I. 1625.

Popery advanced hand in hand with Arminianiſm, and began the diſputes between the King and his firſt Parliament, which met June 16, 1625. His Majeſty towards the cloſe of his Speech, having aſked their aſſiſtance for the recovery of the Palatinate, aſſured them, that though he had been ſuſpected as to his Religion, he would let the world ſee, "that none ſhould be more deſi- "rous to maintain the Religion he profeſſed, than himſelf. The Houſes thanked the King for his moſt gracious Speech; but before they entered upon other buſineſs, joined in a petition againſt popiſh Recuſants, which his Majeſty promiſed to examine, and give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the particulars. And of Popery.

The petition ſets forth the cauſes of the encreaſe of Popery, with the remedies: The cauſes are, Cauſes of the encreaſe of Popery. Ruſhw. p. 281.

(1.) The want of the due Execution of the Laws againſt them.

(2.) The interpoſing of foreign Powers by their Ambaſſadors and Agents in their favour.

(3.) The great concourſe of Papiſts to the City, and their frequent Conferences and Conventicles there.

(4.) Their open reſort to the Chapels of foreign Ambaſſadors.

(5.) The Education of their Children in foreign Seminaries.

(6.) The want of ſufficient inſtruction in the Proteſtant Religion in ſeveral places of the Country.

(7.) The licentious printing of Popiſh Books.

(8.) The employment of Men ill affected to the Proteſtant Religion in places of Government.

They

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Petitions of the Commons with the King's Anſwer.

They therefore pray that the Youth of the Kingdom may be carefully enducated under Proteſtant School-maſters; which his Majeſty, in his anſwer to their petition, promiſed: That the ancient diſcipline of the Univerſities may be reſtored; "which his Majeſty approved:" That the preaching of the Word of God may be enlarged; and that to this purpoſe the Biſhops be adviſed to make uſe of the labours of ſuch able Miniſters as have been formerly ſilenced, adviſing and beſeeching them to behave themſelves peaceably; and that Pluralities, Non-reſidencies, and Commendams, may be moderated. Anſwer, "This his Majeſty approved, ſo far as the Miniſters would conform to Church Government. But he apprehends that Pluralities, &c. are now ſo moderate, that there is no room for complaint; and recommends it to the Parliament to take care that every Pariſh allow a competent maintenance for an able Miniſter." That proviſion might be made againſt tranſporting Children to Popiſh Seminaries, and for recalling thoſe that were there. Anſw. "To this his Majeſty agreed." That no Popiſh Recuſant be admitted to come to Court, but upon ſpecial occaſion, according to Statute 3 Jac. Anſ. "This alſo his Majeſty promiſed." That the laws againſt Papiſts be put in execution, and that a day be fixed for the departure of all Jeſuits and ſeminary Prieſts out of the Kingdom; and that no natural born Subject, nor ſtrange Biſhops, nor any other by authority from the See of Rome, confer any Eccleſiaſtical Orders, or exerciſe any Eccleſiaſtical Function upon yonr Majeſty's Subjects. Anſw. "It ſhall be ſo publiſhed by Proclamation." That your Majeſty's learned Council may have orders to conſider of all former grants of Recuſants Lands, that ſuch may be avoided as are avoidable by law. Anſw. "It ſhall be done, according as is deſired." That your Majeſty give order to your Judges, and all Officers of Juſtice, to ſee the laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants duly executed. Anſw. "His Majeſty leaves the laws to their courſe." That your Majeſty will remove from places of Authority and Government all Popiſh Recuſants. Anſw. "His Majeſty will give order accordingly." That order be taken for diſarming all Popiſh Recuſants convict according to law, and that Popiſh Recuſants be commanded to retire to their houſes and be confined within five miles of home. Anſw. "The laws ſhall be put in execution." That none of your Majeſty's natural born Subjects go to hear Maſs at the Houſes or Chapels of foreign Ambaſſadors. Anſw. "The King will give order accord-

" accordingly." That the Statute of 1 Eliz. for the payment of twelve pence every Sunday by ſuch as abſent from divine Service in the Church, without a lawful excuſe, be put in execution. Anſw. " The King promiſes the penal-" ties ſhall not be diſpenſed with." That your Majeſty will extend your princely care to Ireland, that the like courſes may be taken there for eſtabliſhing the true Religion. Anſw. " His Majeſty will do all that a religious " King can do in that affair." King Charles I. 1625.

'Tis ſurprizing that the King ſhould make theſe promiſes to his Parliament within ſix months after he had ſigned his marriage Articles, in which he had engaged to ſet all Roman Catholicks at liberty, and to ſuffer no ſearch or moleſtation to be given them for their Religion, and had in conſequence of it pardoned twenty Romiſh Prieſts, and (in imitation of his Royal Father) given orders to his Lord-Keeper to direct the Judges and Juſtices of the Peace all over England, " to forbear all manner of proceedings againſt " hisRoman Catholick Subjects, byInformation, Indictment, " or otherwiſe; it being his Royal Pleaſure that there " ſhould be a Ceſſation of all and ſingular pains and penalties " whereunto they are liable by any Laws, Statutes, or Or-" dinances of this Realm." But as a judicious Writer obſerves, it ſeems to have been a maxim in this and the laſt Reign, " That no Faith is to be kept with Parliaments." The Papiſts were ſenſible of the reaſons of State that obliged the King to comply outwardly with what he did not really intend; and therefore tho' his Majeſty directed a letter to his Archbiſhop, [December 15, 1625.] to proceed againſt popiſh Recuſants, and a Proclamation was publiſhed to recal the Engliſh Youth from popiſh Seminaries, little regard was paid to it. The King himſelf releaſed eleven Romiſh Prieſts out of priſon, by ſpecial warrant the next day: The titular Biſhop of Chalcedon, by letters dated June 1, 1625. appointed a popiſh Vicar-General, and Archdeacons all over England; whoſe names were afterwards publiſhed in the year 1643. And when the next Parliament petitioned for the removal of Papiſts from offices of Truſt, it appeared by a Liſt annexed to their petition, that there were no leſs than fifty nine of the nobility and gentry of that Religion in the Commiſſion. Remarks. Ruſhw. p. 169. Rapin. Ruſhw. p. 391.

But the King not only connived at the Roman Catholicks at home, but unhappily contributed to the ruin of the Proteſtant Religion abroad. Cardinal Richlieu having formed a deſign to extripate the Hugonots out of France, by ſecuring all their King contributes to the loſs of Rochel.

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their places of ſtrength, laid ſiege to Rochel, a Sea Port Town, with a good harbour, and a number of Ships ſufficient for its defence. Richlieu, taking advantage of the King's late match with France, ſent to borrow ſeven or eight Ships, to be employed as the King of France ſhould direct, who appointed them to block up the harbour of Rochel; but when the honeſt Sailors were told where they were going, they declared they would rather be thrown over-board, or hanged up upon the Top of the Maſts than fight againſt their Proteſtant Brethren. Admiral Pennington and the French Officers uſed all their rhetorick to perſuade them, but they were inflexible. The Admiral therefore acquainted the King, who ſent him a Warrant to the following effect: "That he ſhould conſign his own Ship immediately into "the hands of the French Admiral, with all her Equipage "Artillery,&c. and require the other ſeven to put themſelves "into the Service of our dear Brother, the French King; "and in caſe of backwardneſs or refuſal, we command you "to uſe all forcible means, even to the ſinking." In purſuance of this warrant the Ships were delivered into the hands of the French, but all the Engliſh Sailors and Officers abondoned them except two. The French having got the Ships and Artillery, quickly manned them with Sailors of their own Religion, and joining the reſt of the French Fleet they blocked up the Harbour, deſtroyed the little Fleet of the Rochellers, and cut off their Communication by Sea with their Proteſtant Friends, by which means they were reduced to all the hardſhips of a moſt dreadful famine; and after a long blockade both by Sea and Land, were forced to ſurrender the chief bulwark of the Proteſtant Intereſt in France into the hands of the Papiſts.

Mr. Montague cited before the Commons. Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 173.

To return to the Parliament; it has been remembred, that Mr. Richard Montague, a Clergyman, and one of the King's Chaplains, publiſhed a Book in the year 1623, entitled, "A new Gag for an old Gooſe," in anſwer to a popiſh Book, entitled, "A Gag for the new Goſpel." The Book containing ſundry propoſitions tending to the diſturbance of Church and State, was complained of in the Houſe of Commons, who, after having examined the Author at their Bar, referred him to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who diſmiſſed him, with an expreſs prohibition to write no more about ſuch matters. But Montague being encouraged from Court went on, and writ "An Appeal to Cæſar," deſigning it for King James, but being dead before it was ready, it was dedicated

dicated to King Charles, and recommended at first by several Court Bishops, who upon better consideration artfully withdrew their Names from before it; and left Dr. Fr. White to appear by himself, as he complained publickly. The Appeal was calculated to promote Arminianism; to attempt a Reconciliation with Rome, and to advance the King's Prerogative above Law. The House appointed a Committee to examine into the errors of it; after which they voted it to be contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, and bound the Author in a Recognizance of two thousand pounds for his appearance.

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Bishop Laud apprehending this to be an Invasion of the prerogative, and a dangerous precedent, joined with two other Bishops in a Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, to engage his Majesty to take the cause into his own hands: The Letter says, "That the Church of England when it "was reformed would not be too busy with School points of "Divinity; now the points for which Mr. Montague is "brought into trouble, are of this Kind; some are resolved Doctrines of the Church of England, which he is "bound to maintain; and others are fit only for Schools, "wherein men may abound in their own sense. To make "men subscribe School Opinions is hard, and was one "great fault of the Council of Trent. Besides, Disputes "about Doctrines in Religion ought to be determined in a "National Synod or Convocation, with the King's Licence, "and not in Parliament; if we submit to any other Judge "we shall depart from the Ordinance of Christ, we shall "derogate from the honour of the late King, who saw "and approved of all the opinions in that book; as well "as from his present Majesty's Royal Prerogative, who has "power and right to take this matter under his own care, "and refer it in a right course to Church Consideration. "Some of the opinions which are opposite to Mr. Montague's will prove fatal to the Government if publickly "taught and maintained; When they had been concluded "upon at Lambeth, Queen Elizabeth caused them to be "suppressed, and so they continued, till of late some of "them received countenance from the Synod of Dort; "a Synod, whose conclusions have no authority in this "Country, and 'tis to be hoped never will." Signed, Jo. Roffensis, Jo. Oxon, and Guilielmus Menevensis, Aug. 2d. 1625.

Montague censured by Parliament. Bishops Letter in his Favour. Cabbala, p. 105. Rushw. p. 176.

This

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Parliament diſſolved.

This Letter had its effect, and procured Montague his Quietus at preſent. The King declared he would bring the cauſe before the Council, it being a branch of his Supremacy to determine matters of Religion. He expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the Commons, for bringing his Chaplain to their bar, and for alarming the Nation with the danger of Popery. But theſe affairs, together with the King's aſſiſting at the Siege of Rochel, made ſuch a noiſe at Oxford, where the Parliament were re-aſſembled, becauſe of the Plague at London, that the King was obliged to diſſolve them [Aug. 12.] before they had granted the Supplies neceſſary for carrying on the war. Nor did his Majeſty paſs any Act relating to Religion, except one, which was ſoon after ſuſpended by his Royal Declaration; it was "to prevent unlawful paſtimes on the Lord's Day." The Preamble ſets forth, That the holy keeping of the Lord's Day is a principal part of the true Service of God ——" Therefore it is enacted, That there ſhall be no aſ- "ſemblies of people out of their own Pariſhes, for any "ſports or paſtimes whatſoever; nor any bear-beating, bull- "beating, interludes, common plays, or other unlawful ex- "erciſes or paſtimes, within their own pariſhes, on forfei- "ture of three ſhillings and ſix pence for every ſuch of- "fence to the poor." But this Law was never put in execution. Men were reproached and cenſured for too ſtrict an obſervation of the Lord's Day, but none that I have met with for the profanation of it.

Arbitrary Methods of raiſing Money. Ruſhw. p. 195.

His Majeſty having diſmiſſed his Parliament before they had given him the neceſſary ſupplies for the War with Spain, reſolved to try his credit, by borrowing money, by way of loan, of ſuch perſons as were beſt able to lend; for this purpoſe Gentlemen were taxed at a certain ſum, and had promiſſory letters under the Privy Seal to be repayed in eighteen months. With this money the King fitted out a fleet againſt Spain, which after it had waited about two months for the Plate-fleet, returned without doing any action worth remembrance.

King's Coronation. Rapin, p 35.

The Ceremony of the King's Coronation, which was not performed till the beginning of February, was another expence which his Majeſty thought fit to provide for, by iſſuing out a proclamation, That all ſuch as had forty pounds a year, or more, and were not yet Knights, ſhould come and receive the order of Knighthood, or compound for it. This was a new grievance, loudly complained of in the following

lowing Parliaments. The Coronation was performed by Archbiſhop Abbot, aſſiſted by Biſhop Laud as Dean of Weſtminſter, who, beſides the old Regalia, which were in his Cuſtody, that is, the Crown, the Sceptre, the Spurs, &c. of King Edward the Confeſſor, brought forth an old Crucifix, and placed it upon the Altar. As ſoon as the Archbiſhop had put the Crown upon that King's head, and perform'd the other uſual Ceremonies, his Majeſty being ſeated on the Throne, ready to receive the Homage of the Lords, Biſhop Laud came up to him, and read the following extraordinary paſſage, which is not to be found in former Coronations. "——Stand, and hold faſt, from hence-"forth, the place to which you have been Heir by the "Succeſſion of your Fore-fathers, being now delivered to "you by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the "hands of us, and all the Biſhops and Servants of God. "And as you ſee the Clergy to come nearer to the Altar "than others, ſo remember that in all places convenient "you give them greater Honour, that the Mediator of "God and Man may eſtabliſh you in the Kingly Throne, "to be a Mediator between the Clergy and the Laiety, "and that you may reign for ever with Jeſus Chriſt, the "King of Kings, and Lord of Lords." This, and ſundry other Alterations were objected to the Archbiſhop at his Trial, which we ſhall take notice of hereafter.

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The King's Treaſury being exhauſted, and the war with Spain ſtill open, his Majeſty was obliged to call a new Parliament; but to avoid the choice of ſuch Members as had exclaimed againſt the Duke of Buckingham, and inſiſted upon redreſs of grievances, the Court pricked them down for Sheriffs, which diſqualified them from being choſen Members of Parliament; of this number were Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford. The Houſes met Feb. 6. and fell immediately upon Grievances. A Committee for Religion was appointed, of which Mr. Pym was Chairman, who examined Mr. Montague's Writings, (viz.) his Gag, his Appeal, and his Treatiſe of the Invocation of Saints, out of which they collected ſeveral opinions contrary to the book of Homilies and the Thirty nine Articles, which they reported to the Houſe; as,

A new Parliament.

1. "That he maintained the Church of Rome is, and "ever was a true Church, contrary to the ſixteenth Homily "of the Church of England.

Articles exhibited againſt Montague. Ruſhw. p. 299.

2. "That

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2. "That the ſaid Church had ever remained firm upon "the ſame foundation of Sacraments and Doctrine inſtitu- "ted by God.

3. "That ſpeaking of the Doctrines of Faith, Hope, "and Charity, he affirmed, that none of theſe are con- "troverted between the Papiſts and Proteſtants; but that "the controverted Points are of a leſſer and inferior Na- "ture, of which a man may be ignorant without any dan- "ger of his Soul.

4. "That he maintained the uſe of Images, for Inſtruc- "tion of the Ignorant, and exciting Devotion.

5. "That in his Treatiſe of the Invocation of Saints he "affirmed, that ſome Saints have a peculiar Patronage, "Cuſtody, Protection and Power, (as Angels have) over "certain Perſons and Countries.

6. "That in his Appeal he maintained, That men juſti- "fied may fall away from Grace, and may recover again, "but not certainly nor neceſſarily.

7. "That the ſaid R. Montague has endeavoured to "raiſe Factions among the King's Subjects, by caſting the "odious ſcandalous Name of Puritans upon thoſe who "conform to the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Church. "That he ſcoffed at preaching, at Lectures, and all ſhews "of Religion; and that the deſign of his Book was appa- "rently to reconcile the Church of England with the See "of Rome."

In what manner the Commons deſigned to proſecute this Impeachment is uncertain, for Montague was not brought to his defence, the King having intimated again to the Houſe, that their Proceedings, againſt him without his leave was diſpleaſing to him; that as to their holding him to bail, he thought his ſervants might have the ſame protection as an ordinary Burgeſs, and therefore he would take the Cauſe into his own hands; and ſoon after he diſſolved the Parliament.

Though the Arminian Controverſy was thus taken out of the hands of the Parliament, it was warmly debated without doors; Montague was attacked in print by Dr. Carleton Biſhop of Chicheſter, Dr. Sutliffe Dean of Exeter, Dr. Featly, Dr. Goad, Mr. Ward, Burton, Yates, Wotton, Prynne, and Fran. Rouſe, Eſq; &c. Conferences were appointed to debate the point, "Of "the poſſibility of the Elects falling from Grace." One was at York Houſe, Feb. 11, 1625-6. before the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Warwick, and other Lords; Dr.

Conferences between Calviniſts and Arminians. Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 158, 159. Fuller, B. XI. p. 124.

Dr. Buckeridge Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dr. White Dean of Carliſle, being on one ſide; and Dr. Moreton Biſhop of Coventry, and Dr. Preſton, on the other. The ſucceſs of the Diſpute is variouſly related; but the Earl of Pembroke ſaid, that none went from thence Arminians, ſave thoſe who came thither with the ſame opinions. Soon after, Feb. 17th, there was a ſecond Conference in the ſame place, Dr. White and Mr. Montague on one ſide, and Dr. Moreton and Preſton on the other; Dr. Preſton carried it clear at firſt, by dividing his Adverſaries, who quickly perceiving their error, united their forces (ſays my Author) in a joint oppoſition to him; but upon the whole, theſe Conferences ſerved rather to encreaſe the differences than abate them. The King therefore iſſued out a Proclamation, containing very expreſs Commands not to preach or diſpute upon the controverted points of Arminianiſm. It was dated Jan. 14. 1626, and ſets forth, "That the King will admit "of no Innovations in the Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Go- "vernment of the Church, and therefore charges all his "Subjects, and eſpecially the Clergy, not to publiſh or "maintain in preaching or writing, any new inventions or "opinions, contrary to the ſaid Doctrine and Diſcipline "eſtabliſhed by law, aſſuring them, that his Majeſty will "proceed againſt all offenders againſt this Order, with all "that ſeverity their Contempt ſhall deſerve, that by the "exemplary puniſhment of a few, others may be warned "againſt falling under the juſt indignation of their Sove- "reign."

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Ib. p. 125.

King puts an end to the Controverſy. Ruſhw. p. 412. Bib. Regia.

One would have thought this proclamation to be in favour of Calviniſm, but the execution of it being in the hands of Laud, and the Biſhops of his party, the edge was turned againſt the Puritans, and it became, (ſays Ruſhworth) the ſtopping of their Mouths, and gave an uncontrouled liberty to the tongues and pens of the Arminian party. Others were of opinion, that Laud and Neile procured this injunction, in order to have an opportunity to oppreſs the Calviniſts who ſhould venture to break it, while the diſobedienee of the contrary party ſhould be winked at. The Puritans thought they might ſtill write in defence of the received Doctrine of the thirty nine Articles, but the Preſs being in the hands of their adverſaries, ſome of their Books were ſtopt, ſome were caſtrated, and others that were got abroad were called in, and the authors and publiſhers queſtioned in the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion, for engaging in a Controverſy prohibited by the Government. By

Reſtraint of the Preſs in favour of Arminianiſm. Ruſhw. p. 413. Rapin, p. 107.

Prynne, p. 158, 159.

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theſe methods effectual care was taken, that the Puritan and Calvinian Writers ſhould do their adverſaries no harm. Biſhop Laud, with two or three of his Chaplains, undertaking to judge of truth and error, civility and good manners, for all the wiſe and great Men of the Nation, in doing which they were ſo ſhamefully partial, that learning and induſtry were diſcouraged, Men of gravity and great experience not being able to perſuade themſelves to ſubmit their Labours to be mangled and torn in pieces by a few younger Divines, who were both judges and parties in the affair. At length the Bookſellers being almoſt ruined, preferr'd a petition to the next Parliament [1628.] complaining that the Writings of their beſt Authors were ſtifled in the Preſs, while the Books of their Adverſaries [Papiſts and Arminians] were publiſhed, and ſpread over the whole Kingdom. Thus "Cheney's Collectiones Theologicæ," an Arminian and popiſh Performance was licenſed; when the learned Dr. Twiſſe's anſwer to Arminius, though writ in Latin, was ſtopt in the Preſs. Mr. Montague's Book, entitled, "God's Love to Mankind," was licenſed and publiſhed, when Dr. Twiſſe's Reply to the ſame Book was ſuppreſſed. Many Affidavits of this kind were made againſt Laud at his Trial, by the moſt famous Calviniſtical Writers, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Complaint of the Bookſellers. Ruſhw. p. 655.

Prynne, p. 166, 167, &c.

And in favour of Popery.

The Caſe was the ſame with regard to Books againſt Popery; the Queen and the Roman Catholicks muſt not be inſulted, and therefore all offenſive paſſages, ſuch as calling the Pope Antichriſt; the Church of Rome "no true "Church;" and every thing that tended to expoſe Images in Churches, Crucifixes, Penance, Auricular Confeſſion, and popiſh Abſolution, muſt be expunged. Sir Edward Deering compares the "Licenſers of the Preſs" to the Managers of the "Index Expurgatorius" among the Papiſts, "who clip the Tongues of ſuch Witneſſes whoſe "Evidences they do not like; in like manner (ſays he) "our Licenſers ſuppreſs the Truth, while popiſh Pamph-"lets fly abroad "Cum Privilegio;" nay, they are ſo "bold as to deface the moſt learned Labours of our anci-"ent and beſt Divines. But herein the Roman Index is "better than ours, that they approve of their own eſta-"bliſhed Doctrines; but our Innovators alter our ſettled "Doctrines, and ſuperinduce points repugnant and con-"trary. This I do affirm, and can take upon myſelf to "prove."

Terrible

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Terrible were the triumphs of Arbitrary Power over the Liberties and Eſtates of the Subject, in the intervals between this and the next Parliament; Gentlemen of Birth and Character, who refuſed to lend what Money the Council was pleaſed to aſſeſs them, were taken out of their Houſes and impriſoned at a great diſtance from their habitations; among theſe were Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Strangeways, Sir Thomas Grantham, Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, John Hampden, Eſq; and others; ſome were confined in the Fleet, the Marſhalſea, the Gate-Houſe, and other priſons about London, as Sir John Elliot, Mr. Selden, &c. Upon the whole, there were impriſoned by orders of Council, nineteen Knights, thirteen Eſquires, and four Gentlemen, in the County Gaols; three Knights, one Eſquire, and four wealthy Citizens in the Fleet, beſides great numbers in other places. Thoſe of the lower Sort that refuſed to lend were preſſed for the Army, or had Soldiers quartered upon them, who by their inſolent behaviour diſturbed the peace of Families, and committed frequent Robberies, Burglaries, Rapines, Murders, and other barbarous Cruelties, inſomuch that the Highways were dangerous to travel, and the Markets unfrequented. The King would have borrowed one hundred thouſand pounds of the City of London, but they excuſed themſelves. However, his Majeſty got a round ſum of Money from the Papiſts, by iſſuing out a Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of York, to compound with them for all their Forfeitures that had been due for Recuſancy, ſince the tenth of King James I. or that ſhould be due hereafter. By this fatal policy, (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) Men well affected to the Hierarchy, but enemies to arbitrary power, were obliged to ſide with the Puritans to ſave the Nation, and enable them to oppoſe the Deſigns of the Court.

Gentlemen, Citizens, and others, impriſoned, on account of the Loan. Ruſhw. p. 418, 420, 428, 473.

To convince the people that it was their duty to ſubmit to the Loan, the Clergy were employed to preach up the Doctrines of Paſſive-Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, and to prove, that the abſolute ſubmiſſion of Subjects to the Royal Will and Pleaſure of their Sovereign, was the Doctrine of Holy Scripture; among theſe was Doctor Sibthorp a Man of mean parts, but of ſordid ambition, who in his Sermon at the Lent Aſſizes at Northampton, from Rom. xiii. 7. told the people, "That if Princes commanded any "thing which Subjects might not perform, becauſe it is "againſt the Laws of God, or of Nature, or impoſſible, "yet Subjects are bound to undergo the puniſhment, with-

Sibthorp's Sermon for the Prerogative. Ruſhw. p. 423.

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"out resisting or railing, or reviling; and so to yield a "Passive Obedience where they cannot yield an active "one." Dr. Manwaring went further, in two Sermons preached before the King at Oatlands, and published under the Title of "Religion and Allegiance," He says, "The "King is not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm, "concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties, but that "his Royal Will and Pleasure, in imposing Taxes without "Consent of Parliament, doth oblige the Subjects Con-"science on pain of Damnation; and, that those who re-"fuse obedience transgress the laws of God, insult the "King's Supreme Authority, and are guilty of Impiety, "Disloyalty, and Rebellion. That the authority of both "Houses of Parliament is not necessary for the raising aids "and subsidies, as not suitable to the Exigencies of the "State." These were the Doctrines of the Court; "which (says the noble Historian) were very unfit for the "place, and very scandalous for the persons, who presum-"ed often to determine things out of the verge of their "own profession, and in "ordine ad spiritualia," gave "unto Cæsar that which did not belong to him."

And Dr. Manwaring's.

Archbishop Abbot suspended for refusing to license Sibthorp's Sermon.

Sibthorp dedicated his Sermon to the King, and carried it to Archbishop Abbot to be licensed, which the honest old Prelate refused, for which he was suspended from all his Archiepiscopal Functions, and ordered to retire to Canterbury or Ford, a mooriſh, unhealthy place, five miles beyond Canterbury. The Sermon was then carried to the Bishop of London, who licensed and recommended it "as "a Sermon learnedly and discreetly preached, agreeable "to the ancient Doctrine of the Primitive Church, both for "Faith and good manners, and to the established Doctrine "of the Church of England."

1627. Other Reasons of the Abp's Suspension. Rushw. p. 442. Collyer, p. 942.

Archbishop Abbot had been out of favour for some time, because he would not give up the laws and liberties of his Country, nor treat the great Duke of Buckingham with that servile submission that he expected. Heylin says, the King was displeased with him for being too favourable to the Puritans, and too remiss in his Government; and that for this reason he seized his Jurisdiction, and put it into hands more disposed to act with severity. Fuller says, that a Commission was granted to five Bishops, whereof Laud was one, to suspend him for "casual Homicide" that he had committed seven years before, and of which he had been cleared by Commissioners appointed to examine into the Fact in the Reign of King James; besides,

beſides, his Grace had a royal Diſpenſation to ſhelter him from the Canons, and had ever ſince exerciſed his juriſdiction without interruption, even to the conſecrating of Laud himſelf to a Biſhoprick. But the Commiſſion mentions no cauſe of his ſuſpenſion, and only takes notice, that the "Archbiſhop cannot at preſent, in his own perſon, attend "the ſervices which are otherwiſe proper for his connuſance "and juriſdiction." But why could he not attend them? But becauſe his Majeſty had commanded him to retire, for refuſing to licenſe Sibthorp's Sermon. The blame of this ſeverity fell upon Laud, as if not having patience to wait for the reverend old Prelate's death, he was deſirous to ſtep into the archiepiſcopal Chair, while he was alive; for no ſooner was Abbot ſuſpended but his Juriſdiction was put into the hands of five Biſhops, by commiſſion, of which Laud was the chief.

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There was another Prelate that gave the Court ſome uneaſineſs, (viz.) Dr. Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, late Lord Keeper of the Broad Seal, who being in diſgrace at Court retired to his Dioceſe, and became very popular among his Clergy. He declared againſt the Loan, and fell in with the Puritans and Country Party, inſomuch that Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp informed the Council, that they were grieved to ſee the Biſhop of Lincoln give place to unconformable Miniſters, when he turned his back upon thoſe that were conformable. That the Puritans ruled all with him; and, that divers Puritans in Leiceſterſhire being convened before the Commiſſaries, his Lordſhip would not admit proceedings to be had againſt them. That they [the Commiſſaries for the High Commiſſion] had informed the Biſhop then at Bugden, that ſeveral of the factious Puritans in his Dioceſe would not come up to the Table to receive the Communion kneeling; that they kept unlawful Faſts and Meetings; that one Faſt held from eight in the morning till nine at night; and that collections for money were made without authority, upon pretence for the Palatinate. That therefore they had deſired leave from the Biſhop to proceed againſt them "Ex officio;" but the Biſhop replied, That he would not meddle againſt the Puritans, that for his part he expected not another Biſhoprick; they might complain of them if they would to the Council Table, for he was under a cloud already. He had the Duke of Buckingham for his enemy, and therefore would not draw the Puritans upon him, for "He was ſure they would carry all things at "laſt." Beſides, he ſaid, the King in the firſt year of

Bp. of Lincoln favourable to the Puritans. Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 420.

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his Reign, had given anſwer to a Petition of the lower Houſe at Oxford in favour of the Puritans.

It appeared, by the information of others, that Lamb and Sibthorp preſs'd the Biſhop again to proceed againſt the Puritans in Leiceſterſhire; that the Biſhop then aſked them, what ſort of People they were, and of what condition? To which Sir John Lamb replied, in the preſence of Dr. Sibthorp, "That they ſeemed to the World to be ſuch as "would not ſwear, whore, nor be drunk, but yet they "would lye, cozen, and deceive; that they would fre-"quently hear two Sermons a day, and repeat the ſame "again too, and afterwards pray, and that ſometimes they "would faſt all day long." Then the Biſhop aſked, whether the places where thoſe Puritans were did lend money freely upon the collection for the Loan? To which Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp replied, that they did. Then ſaid the Biſhop, no man of diſcretion can ſay, that that place is a place of Puritans: For my part (ſaid the Biſhop) I am not ſatisfied to give way to proceedings againſt them; at which Sibthorp was much diſcontented, and ſaid, he was troubled to ſee that the Church was no better regarded. This information being tranſmitted to the Council, was ſealed up for the preſent, but was afterwards, with ſome other matters, produced againſt his Lordſhip in the Star-chamber, as will be ſeen hereafter.

War with France.

Though the King was at war with Spain, and with the Houſe of Auſtria, and (if I may be allowed to ſay it) with his own Subjects, though he had no money in his Exchequer, and was at the greateſt loſs how to raiſe any; yet he ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed with to enter into a new war with France, under the colour of ſupporting the Proteſtant Religion in that country, without ſo much as thinking of ways and means to ſupport it. But when one conſiders the character of this King and his Miniſtry, we can hardly believe that this could be the real motive of the war; for his Majeſty and his whole Court had a mortal averſion to the French Hugonots. Buckingham had no Religion at all; Weſton and Conway were Catholicks; Laud and Neile thought there was no ſalvation out of the Church of England: How then can it be ſuppoſed that they ſhould make war for the ſupport of a Religion, for which they had the utmoſt contempt? Lord Clarendon ſays, the war was owing to Buckingham's diſappointment in his amours at the French Court; but 'tis more likely he adviſed it to keep up the miſunderſtandings between the King and his Parliaments,

Rapin, p. 119.

by

by continuing the neceſſity of raiſing money by extraordinary methods, upon which his credit and reputation depended. War being declared, the Queen's Domeſticks were ſent home, and a Fleet was fitted out, which made a fruitleſs deſcent upon the Iſle of Rhee, under the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, with the loſs of five thouſand men. This raiſed a world of complaints and murmurs againſt the Duke, and obliged the weak and unhappy King to try the experiment of another Parliament, which was appointed to meet March 17, 1627-8. King Charles I. 1627.

As ſoon as this reſolution was taken in Council, orders were diſpatched to all parts of the Kingdom, to releaſe the gentlemen impriſoned for the Loan, to the number of ſeventy eight, moſt of whom were choſen Members for the enſuing Parliament. In the mean time, his Majeſty went on with raiſing money by Exciſe; and inſtead of ſoftening the miſtakes of his government, put on an air of high ſovereignty, and told his Parliament, that if they did not provide for the neceſſities of the State, he ſhould uſe thoſe other means that God had put into his hands, to ſave that which the follies of other men would hazard. "Take not this (ſays his "Majeſty) as a threatning, for I ſcorn to threaten my in- "feriors, but as an admonition from him, who, by nature "and duty, has moſt care of your preſervation and pro- "ſperity." 1628. A new Parliament. Ruſhw. p. 476.

But the Parliament not being awed with this language, began with grievances; and though they voted five Subſidies, they refuſed to carry the Bill through the Houſe, till they had obtained the Royal Aſſent to their Petition of Right, which contained, among others, the following claims, contained in Magna Charta. Petition of right.

1. That no Freeman ſhall be detained in priſon by the King and Privy-Council, without the cauſe of commitment be expreſſed, for which by law he ought to be detained.

2. That an Habeas Corpus ought not to be denied, where the law allows it.

3. That no Tax, Loan, or Benevolence, ſhall be impoſed without Act of Parliament.

4. That no man ſhall be fore-judged of life or limb, or be exiled or deſtroyed, but by the Judgment of his Peers, according to the Laws of the Land, or by Act of Parliament.

The King gave the Royal Aſſent to this Bill in the moſt ample manner, which I mention, that the reader may re-

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member what regard his Majesty paid to it in the following twelve years of his Reign.

In the mean time, the House of Lords went upon Manwaring's Sermons, already mentioned, and passed the following Sentence upon the Author; "That he be imprisoned during "pleasure, and be fined one thousand pounds; that he "make his submission at the Bar of the House, and be sus-"pended from his Ministry for three years; that he be dis-"abled for ever from preaching at Court, be uncapable of "any ecclesiastical or secular Preferment, and that his ser-"mons be burnt in London and both Universities." According to this sentence, Manwaring appeared upon his knees at the Bar of the House, June 23. and made an ample acknowledgment and submission, craving pardon of God, the King, the Parliament, and the whole Commonwealth, in words drawn up by a Committee: But the Houses were no sooner risen, but his fine was remitted, and himself preferred, first to the Living of Stamford Rivers, with a Dispensation to hold St. Giles's in the Fields, then to the Deanry of Worcester, and after some time to the Bishoprick of St. David's.

Manwaring's severe sentence, Rushw. p. 593, 605, Fuller, p. 129.

He is pardoned and preferred.

Within a month after this, [August 22.] Montague was preferred to the Bishoprick of Chichester. while he lay under the censure of Parliament. At his Consecration at Bow Church, Mr. Jones, a Stationer of London, stood up, and excepted against his qualification for a Bishoprick, because the Parliament had voted him uncapable of any preferment in the Church; but his exceptions were over-ruled, because they were not delivered in by a Proctor; tho' Jones averred that he could not prevail with any one to appear for him, though he offered them their fees: So the Consecration proceeded.

Montague consecrated Bishop of Chichester.

Sibthorp preferred.

Sibthorp, the other Incendiary, was made Prebendary of Peterborough, and Rector of Burton Latimer in Wiltshire; though the Oxford Historian confesses he had nothing to recommend him but forwardness and servile flattery.

While the Money Bill was going through the House of Lords, the Commons were busy in drawing up a remonstrance of the Grievances of the Nation, with a petition for redress: But as soon as the King had got his Money, he came to the House June 26. and prorogued the Parliament, first to the 20th of October, and then to the 26th of January. The Commons being disappointed of presenting their Remonstrance, published it to the Nation; but the King called it in, and, after some time, published an answer, drawn

drawn up by Biſhop Laud, as was proved againſt him at his trial.

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Parliament's Remonſtrance, and the King's Anſwer:

The Remonſtrance was dated June 11. and beſides the civil grievances of billetting Soldiers, &c. complains with regard to Religion.

1. Of the great encreaſe of Popery by the Laws not being put in execution; by conferring honours and places of command upon Papiſts; by iſſuing out commiſſions to compound for rheir recuſancy, and by permitting Maſs to be ſaid openly at Denmark Houſe, and other places.

The Anſwer denies any noted encreaſe of Popery, or that there is any cauſe to fear it. As for Compoſitions, they are for the encreaſe of his Majeſty's profit, and for returning that into his purſe, which the connivance of inferior officers might perhaps divert another way.

2. The Remonſtrance complains of the diſcountenancing orthodox and painful Miniſters, though conformable and peaceable in their behaviour, inſomuch that they are hardly permitted to lecture where there is no conſtant Preaching.—That their books are prohibited, when thoſe of their adverſaries are licenſed and publiſhed---That the Biſhops Neile and Laud are juſtly ſuſpected of Arminianiſm and popiſh Errors; and that this being the way to Church Preferment, many Scholars bend the courſe of their ſtudies to maintain them.

The Anſwer denies the diſtreſſing or diſcountenancing good Preachers, if they be, as they are called, good; but affirms, that it was neceſſary to prohibit their books, becauſe ſome whom the Remonſtrance calls Orthodox, had aſſumed an inſufferable licenſe in printing.——That great wrong was done to the two eminent Prelates mentioned, without any proof: For ſhould they or any others attempt innovation of Religion (ſays his Majeſty) we ſhould quickly take order with them, without ſtaying for the Remonſtrance; and as for Church Preferments, we will always beſtow them as the reward of merit; but as the preferments are ours, we will be Judge, and not be taught by a Remonſtrance.

3. The Remonſtrance complains of the growth of Arminianiſm, as a cunning way to bring in Popery.

The Anſwer ſays, this is a great wrong to ourſelf and Government; for our people muſt not be taught by a parliamentary Remonſtrance, or any other way, that we are ſo ignorant of truth, or ſo careleſs of the profeſſion of it, that any opinion or faction ſhould thruſt itſelf ſo faſt into our Dominions without our knowledge. This is a mere dream, and would make our loyal people believe we are aſleep.

But

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Jeſuit's letter about the growth of Arminianiſm.

But the following Letter, writ at this time by a Jeſuit in England, to the Rector of the College at Bruſſels, will ſufficiently ſupport the Parliament's Charge, and ſhew how Arminianiſm and Popery, which have no natural connection, came to be united at this time againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of England.

Foxes and Firebrands, Part II. p. 118. Ruſhw. p. 474.

" Let not the damp of aſtoniſhment ſeize upon your " ardent and zealous ſoul, (ſays the Jeſuit) in apprehending " the unexpected calling of a Parliament; we [the Papiſts] " have not oppoſed, but rather furthered it.———

" You muſt know the Council is engaged to aſſiſt the " King by way of Prerogative, in caſe the Parliament fail. " You ſhall ſee this Parliament will reſemble the Pelican, " which takes pleaſure to dig out with her beak her own " bowels.

" The Elections have been in ſuch confuſion of appa- " rent faction, as that which we were wont to procure with " much art and induſtry, when the Spaniſh Match was " in treaty.———

" We have now many Strings to our Bow, and have " ſtrongly fortified our faction, and have added two Bul- " warks more; for when King James lived, he was very " violent againſt Arminianiſm, and interrupted our ſtrong " deſigns in Holland.———

" Now we have planted that ſovereign drug Arminia- " niſm, which we hope will purge the Proteſtants from " their Hereſy, and it flouriſhes and bears fruit in due " ſeaſon.

" The materials that build up our Bulwark, are the " projectors and beggars of all ranks and qualities; how- " ever, both theſe factions co-operate to deſtroy the Par- " liament, and to introduce a new ſpecies and form of Go- " vernment, which is Oligarchy.

" Theſe ſerve as Mediums and inſtruments to our end, " which is the univerſal Catholick Monarchy; our foun- " dation muſt be Mutation, and Mutation will cauſe a " Relaxation.——

" We proceed now by Counſel and mature deliberation, " how and when to work upon the Duke's [Buckingham's] " jealouſy and revenge; and in this we give the ho- " nour to thoſe that merit it, which are the Church Ca- " tholicks.

" There is another matter of conſequence which we " muſt take much into our conſideration and tender care,

" which

" which is to ſtave off Puritans, that they hang not in the " Duke's ears: They are an impudent ſubtile people, and " it is to be feared leſt they ſhould negotiate a reconcilia- " tion between the Duke and the Parliament at Oxford " and Weſtminſter; but now we aſſure ourſelves, that we " have ſo handled the matter, that both the Duke and Par- " liament are irreconcileable. King Charles I. 1628.

" For the better prevention of the Puritans, the Armi- " nians have already lock'd up the Duke's ears, and we " have thoſe of our own Religion that ſtand continually at " the Duke's Chamber to ſee who goes in and out. We " cannot be too circumſpect and careful in this regard. " I cannot chooſe but laugh to ſee how ſome of our own " Coat have accoutred themſelves; and 'tis admirable how " in Speech and Geſture they act the Puritans. The " Cambridge Scholars, to their woful experience ſhall ſee, " we can act the Puritans a little better than they have " done the Jeſuits. They have abuſed our ſacred Patron " in jeſt, but we will make them ſmart for it in earneſt.

" But to return to the main fabrick, our Foundation is " Arminianiſm; the Arminians and Projectors affect mu- " tation; this we ſecond and enforce by probable argu- " ments. We ſhew how the King may free himſelf of " his Ward, and raiſe a vaſt Revenue without being be- " holden to his Subjects, which is by way of Exciſe. Then " our Church Catholicks ſhew the means how to ſettle the " exciſe, which muſt be by a mercenary army of foreigners " and Germans; sheir Horſe will eat up the country " where they come, though they be well paid, much more " if they be not paid. The Army is to conſiſt of twenty " thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; ſo that if the " Country riſe upon ſettling the Exciſe, as probably they " will, the Army will conquer them, and pay themſelves " out of the confiſcation. Our deſign is to work the Pro- " teſtants as well as Catholicks to welcome in a conqueror. " We hope to diſſolve Trade, to hinder the building of " Shipping, and to take away the Merchant Ships, that " they may not eaſily light upon the Weſt-India Fleet, &c."

It appears from this Letter, that Puritaniſm was the only bulwark of the Conſtitution, and of the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the inroads of Popery and arbitrary power.

4. To go on with the Parliament's Remonſtrance, which complains further of the miſerable condition of Ireland, where the popiſh Religion is openly profeſſed, and their eccleſiaſtical State of Religion in Ireland.

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eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline avowed, Monaſteries, Nunneries, and other Religious Houſes re-edified, and filled with men and women of ſeveral orders, even in the City of Dublin itſelf.

The Anſwer ſays, That the Proteſtant Religion is not in a worſe condition than Queen Elizabeth left it; and adds, that it is a diſparagement to the King's Government to report the building of religious Houſes in Dublin, and other places, when the King himſelf had no account of it.

But it ſeems the Parliament knew more of the affairs of Ireland than Biſhop Laud; the Agents for that Kingdom had repreſented the Proteſtant Religion in great danger, by the ſuſpending all proceedings againſt them ever ſince the King came to the Crowo; by this means they were become ſo bold, that when Lord Falkland ſummoned their Chiefs to meet at Dublin, 1626. in order to a general contribution for defence of the Kingdom againſt a foreign Invaſion, they declared roundly, That they would contribute nothing without a toleration, and liberty to build religious Houſes; upon which the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed. This awakened the Proteſtant Biſhops, who met together, and ſigned the following Proteſtation, Novemb. 26, 1626.

Proteſtation of the Iriſh Biſhops againſt a Toleration of Popery.

"THE Religion of Papiſts is ſuperſtitious and idolatrous, and their Church apoſtatical; to give them therefore a Toleration is a grievous ſin, becauſe it makes ourſelves acceſſary to all the abominations of Popery, and to the perdition of thoſe ſouls that periſh thereby; and becauſe granting a toleration in reſpect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to ſet Religion to ſale, and with it the Souls that Chriſt has redeemed with his Blood. We therefore beſeech the God of Truth, to make thoſe who are in authority zealous for God's Glory, and reſolute againſt all Popery, Superſtition and Idolatry."

Signed by Archbiſhop Uſher, and eleven of of his Brethren.

But notwithſtanding this proteſtation, the Papiſts gained their point, and in the fourth year of the King's Reign had a Toleration granted them, in conſideration of the ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds to be paid in three years.

With

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With regard to the building religious Houſes, 'tis wonderful that neither the King nor his prime Miniſter ſhould know any thing of it, when the Lord Deputy Falkland had this very Summer iſſued out a Proclamation with this preamble, "Foraſmuch as we cannot but take notice, that the "late intermiſſion of the legal proceedings againſt popiſh "pretended, or titular Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, "Deans, Vicars-General, and others of that ſort, that "derive their authority and orders from Rome, hath bred "ſuch an extraordinary inſolence and preſumption in them, "as that they have dared of late, not only to aſſemble "themſelves in publick places, but alſo "have erected "Houſes and Buildings, called publick Oratories, Colleges, "Maſs-Houſes, and Convents of Friars, Monks and "Nuns, in the Eye and open view of the State, and elſe-"where," and do frequently exerciſe juriſdiction againſt "his Majeſty's Subjects, by authority derived from Rome, "and by colour of teaching Schools in their pretended Mo-"naſteries, to train up youth in their ſuperſtitious Religion, "contrary to the laws and Eccleſiaſtical Government of "this Kingdom: We therefore will and require them, to "forbear to exerciſe their juriſdiction within this Kingdom, "and to relinquiſh and break up their Convents and religi-"ous Houſes, &c."———Could ſuch a Proclamation be printed and diſperſed over the Kingdom of Ireland, without being known to the Engliſh Court?

Proclamation of the Lord Deputy Falkland againſt them.

But further to ſhew that Biſhop Laud himſelf could not be ignorant of the dangerous increaſe of Popery in Ireland, the Biſhop elect of Kilmore, Dr. Bedell ſent him the following account about this time: "The popiſh Clergy are "more numerous than thoſe of the Church of England; "they have their Officials and Vicars-General for Eccleſi-"aſtical Juriſdiction, and are ſo hardy as to excommunicate "thoſe who appear at the Courts of the Proteſtant Biſhops. "Almoſt every pariſh has a Prieſt of the Romiſh Commu-"nion; Maſſes are ſometimes ſaid in Churches, and ex-"cepting a few Britiſh Planters, not amounting to the "tenth part of the people, the reſt are all declared Recu-"ſants. In each Dioceſe there are about ſeven or eight "of the reformed Clergy well qualified, but theſe not "underſtanding the language of the Natives, cannot per-"form divine Service, nor converſe with their Pariſhion-"ers to advantage, and conſequently are in no capacity to "put a ſtop to ſuperſtition."

Biſhop Bedell's Account of their Numbers. Prynne's Introd. p. 101, 102. Collyer's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 750.

Let

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Remarks.

Let the Reader now judge, whether the "Anſwer to "the Remonſtrance" be not very evaſive? could this great Stateſman be ignorant of ſo many notorious facts? was the growth of Arminianiſm and arbitrary power a dream? was any wrong done to himſelf, or his brother of Wincheſter, by ſaying, they countenanced theſe principles? was not the increaſe of Popery both in England and Ireland notorious, by ſuſpending the penal Laws, ever ſince the King came to the Crown, and granting the Papiſts a Toleration for a Sum of Money? where then was the policy of lulling the Nation aſleep, while the enemy were encreaſing their numbers, and whetting their Swords for a general Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, which they accompliſhed in Ireland about twelve years afterwards.

Laud made Biſhop of London.

The Biſhop obſerves in his Diary, that this Parliament laboured his ruin, becauſe they charged him with "unſoundneſs of opinion;" but his Lordſhip had ſuch an influence over the the King as render'd all their attempts fruitleſs; for the See of London becoming vacant this Summer, Laud was tranſlated to it July 15th, and the Duke of Buckingham being ſtabbed at Portſmouth by Felton, Aug. 23d following, this ambitious Prelate became prime Miniſter in all affairs both of Church and State.

King's Declaration before the Thirty nine Articles. Bib. Reg. Sect. 3. No. IV.

One of the Biſhop's firſt attempts, after his tranſlation to London, was to ſtifle the "Predeſtinarian Controverſy," for which purpoſe he procured the Thirty nine Articles to be reprinted, with the following Declaration at the head of them.

By the King.

"BEING by God's Ordinance, and our juſt Title, "Defender of the Faith, &c. within theſe Dominions, we hold it agreeable to our Kingly Office, for the "preſervation of unity, and peace, not to ſuffer any unneceſſary diſputations which may nouriſh faction in the "Church or Commonwealth: We therefore, with the "advice of our Biſhops declare, that the Articles of "the Church of England, which the Clergy generally have ſubſcribed, do contain the true Doctrine "of the Church of England, agreeable to God's Word, "which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all "our loving Subjects to continue in the uniform profeſſion "thereof, and prohibiting the leaſt difference from the ſaid "Articles.——We take comfort in this, that all Clergy-"men within our Realm have always moſt willingly ſubſcribed the Articles, which is an argument, that they all

"agree

" agree in the true, uſual, literal meaning of them; and
" that in thoſe curious points, in which the preſent diffe-
" rences lie, Men of all ſorts take the Articles to be for
" them, which is an argument again, that none of them
" intend any deſertion of the Articles eſtabliſhed: Where-
" fore we will, that all curious ſearch into theſe things be
" laid aſide, and theſe diſputes be ſhut up in God's pro-
" miſes, as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scrip-
" tures, and the general meaning of the Articles according
" to them; and that no man hereafter preach or print to
" draw the Article aſide any way, but ſhall ſubmit to it,
" in the plain and full manner thereof, and ſhall not put
" his own ſenſe or Comment to the meaning of the Arti-
" cle, but ſhall take it in the literal and grammatical
" ſenſe: That if any publick Reader in the Univerſities,
" or any other perſon, ſhall affix any new ſenſe to any Ar-
" ticle, or ſhall publickly read, or hold diſputation on ei-
" ther ſide; or if any Divine in the Univerſities ſhall
" preach, or print any thing either way, they ſhall be li-
" able to cenſure in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and we
" will ſee there ſhall be due Execution upon them."

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Surely there never was ſuch a confuſed unintelligible Declaration ever printed; but the Calviniſt Divines underſtood the King's intention, and complained in a petition of " the
" reſtraints they were laid under by his Majeſty's forbidding
" them to preach the ſaving Doctrines of God's free Grace
" in Election, and Predeſtination to eternal Life, accord-
" ing to the ſeventeenth Article of the Church. That this
" had brought them under a very uncomfortable Dilemma,
" either of falling under the divine diſpleaſure, if they did
" not execute their Commiſſion in declaring the whole
" Counſel of God, or of being cenſured for oppoſition to
" his Majeſty's authority, in caſe they preached the re-
" ceived Doctrines of the Church, and attacked the Pela-
" gian and Arminian Hereſies boldly publiſhed from Pulpit
" and Preſs, though cenſured by King James as arrogant
" and atheiſtical; and thoſe who avow them to be agree-
" able to the Church of England are called groſs Liars.
" Therefore they humbly intreat, that his Majeſty would
" be pleaſed to take the forementioned Evils and Grie-
" vances into his princely conſideration, and as a wiſe Phy-
" ſician, apply ſuch ſpeedy Remedies as may both cure the
" preſent diſtemper, and preſerve the Church and State
" from

Petition of the Calviniſts againſt it. Prynne, p. 165.

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" from thoſe plagues with which their Neighbours had not " been a little diſtreſſed." But this Addreſs was ſtopt in its progreſs, and never reach'd the King's Ears.

In purſuance of his Majeſty's Declaration all Books relating to the Arminian Controverſy were called in by proclamation and ſuppreſſed, and among others Montague's and Manwaring's, which was only a feint to cover a more deadly blow to be reached at the Puritans; for at the ſame time Montague and Manwaring received the Royal Pardon, and were preferr'd to ſome of the beſt Livings in the Kingdom (as has been obſerved) while the anſwers to their Books, by Dr. Featly, Dr. Goad, Mr. Burton, Ward, Yates and Rouſe, were not only ſuppreſſed, but the publiſhers queſtion'd in the Star Chamber.

The King put on the ſame thin diſguiſe with regard to Papiſts; a Proclamation was iſſued out againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits, and particularly againſt the Biſhop of Chalcedon; orders were alſo ſent to the Lord Mayor of London, to make ſearch after them and commit them to priſon, but at the ſame time his Majeſty appointed Commiſſioners to compound with them for their Recuſancy; ſo that inſtead of being ſuppreſſed, they became a branch of the Revenue, and Sir Richard Weſton, a notorious Papiſt, was created Earl of Portland, and made Lord High Treaſurer of England.

Proceedings of Parliament.

When the Parliament met according to Prorogation, January 20th, they began again with Grievances of Religion: Oliver Cromwell, Eſq; being of the Committee, reported to the Houſe the Countenance that was given by Dr. Neile Biſhop of Wincheſter, to Divines that preached Arminian and Popiſh Doctrine; he mentioned the Favours that had been beſtowed upon Montague and Manwaring who had been cenſured the laſt Seſſions of Parliament; and added, " If this be the way to Church Preferment, " what may we expect?" upon debating the King's late Declaration, the Houſe voted, " That the main End of " that Declaration was to ſuppreſs the Puritan Party, and " to give liberty to the contrary ſide." Several warm Speeches were made againſt the new Ceremonies that began now to be introduced into the Church, as Images of Saints and Angels, Crucifixes, Altars, and lighted Candles, &c.

Speech of Mr. Rouſe. Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 653.

Mr. Rouſe ſtood up and ſaid,——" I deſire it may be " conſidered, what new paintings have been laid upon the " old Face of the Whore of Babylon, to make her " ſhew

" ſhew more lovely. I deſire it may be conſidered, how " the See of Rome doth eat into our Religion, and fret " into the very Banks and Walls of it, and the laws and " Statutes of this Realm.—I deſire we may conſider the " increaſe of Arminianiſm, an error that makes the Grace " of God lackey after the Will of Man.———I deſire we " may look into the Belly and Bowels of this Trojan Horſe, " to ſee if there be not Men in it ready to open the Gates " to Romiſh Tyranny, for an Arminian is the Spawn of a " Papiſt; and if the warmth of favour come upon " him, you ſhall ſee him turn into one of thoſe Frogs " that roſe out of the bottomleſs pit; theſe Men ha- " ving kindled a Fire in our neighbour Country, are now " endeavouring to ſet this Kingdom in a flame."——— King Charles I. 1628. Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 654.

Mr. Pym ſaid, " That by the Articles ſet forth 1562. " by the Catechiſm ſet forth in King Edward VIth's Days, " by the writings of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr; by " the conſtant profeſſions ſealed with the Blood of many " Martyrs, as Cranmer, Ridley, and others; by the Thir- " ty ſix Articles of Queen Elizabeth, and by the Articles " agreed upon at Lambeth as the Doctrine of the Church " of England, which King James ſent to Dort, and to " Ireland, it appears evidently what is the eſtabliſhed Re- " ligion of the Realm. Let us therefore ſhew wherein " theſe late opinions differ from thoſe Truths; and what " Men have been ſince preferr'd who have profeſs'd the " contrary Hereſies; what pardons they have had for " falſe Doctrine; what prohibiting of Books and Wri- " tings againſt their Doctrine, and permitting of ſuch " Books as have been for them. Let us enquire after " the Abettors, and after the pardons granted to them " that preach the contrary truth before his Majeſty. It be- " longs to Parliaments to eſtabliſh true Religion, and to " puniſh falſe. We muſt know what Parliaments have " done formerly in Religion. Our Parliaments have con- " firmed General Councils. In the time of King Henry " VIII. the Earl of Eſſex was condemned [by Parliament] " for countenancing Books of Hereſy. The Convocation " is but a provincial Synod of Canterbury, and cannot bind " the whole Kingdom. As for York it is diſtant, and can- " not bind us or the Laws; and as for the High Com- " miſſion it is derived from Parliament."——— Of Mr. Pym Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 647.

" Sir John Elliot ſaid, ——— " If there be any diffe- " rence in opinion concerning the interpretation of the " Thirty Of Sir J. Elliot. Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 649.

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" Thirty nine Articles, it is ſaid, the Biſhops and Clergy " in Convocation have power to diſpute it, and to order " which way they pleaſe. A ſlight thing, that the power " of Religion ſhould be left to theſe Men! I honour their " profeſſion; there are among our Biſhops ſuch as are fit " to be made examples for all Ages, who ſhine in virtue, " and are firm for Religion; but the contrary faction I " like not. I remember a character I have ſeen in a Diary " of King Edward VI. where he ſays of the Biſhops, that " ſome for Age, ſome for Ignorance, ſome for Luxury, " and ſome for Popery, were unfit for Diſcipline and Go- " vernment." We ſee there are ſome among our Biſhops " that are not Orthodox, nor ſound in Religion as they " ſhould be, witneſs the two Biſhops complained of the " laſt Meeting of this Parliament; ſhould we be in their " power, I fear our Religion would be overthrown. Some " of theſe are Maſters of Ceremonies, and labour to " introduce new Ceremonies into the Church.— Let us go " to the Ground of our Religion, and lay down a Rule " on which all others may reſt, and then enquire after Of- " fenders."

Of Mr. Sec. Cook.

Mr. Secretary Cook ſaid, " That the Fathers of the " Church were aſleep; but a little to awaken their zeal, it " is fit (ſays he) that they take notice of that Hierarchy " that is already eſtabliſhed, in Competition with their " Lordſhips, for they [the Papiſts] have a Biſhop conſecra- " ted by the Pope; this Biſhop has his ſubaltern Officers " of all Kinds, as Vicars-General, Arch-Deacons, Rural " Deans, Apparitors, &c. neither are theſe Nominal or " Titular Officers only, but they all execute their juriſdic- " tions, and make their ordinary Viſitations throughout " the Kingdom, keep Courts, and determine Eccleſiaſtical " Cauſes; and which is an argument of more Conſequence " they keep ordinary Intelligence by their Agents in Rome, " and hold Coraeſpondence with the Nuncios and Cardi- " nals both at Bruſſels and France. Neither are the Secu- " lars alone grown to this Height, but the Regulars are " more active and dangerous.——Even at this time " they intend to hold a concurrent Aſſembly with this " Parliament."—— After ſome other Speeches of this kind, the Houſe of Commons enter'd into the following Vow.

" WE

King Charles I. 1628.

Proteſtation of the Commons againſt Arminianiſm.

"WE the Commons in Parliament aſſembled do claim, "proteſt, and avow for truth, the Senſe of the Arti- "cles of Religion which were eſtabliſhed by Parliament in "the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which "by the publick Act of the Church of England, and by "the general and current expoſition of the Writers of our "Church have been delivered unto us. And we reject the "Senſe of the Jeſuits and Arminians, and all others that "differ from us."

Remarks upon Biſhop Laud's Anſwer.

Biſhop Laud, in his anſwer to this Proteſtation, has ſeveral Remarks. "Is there by this Act (ſays his Lordſhip) "any interpretation of the Articles or not? if none, to "what end is the Act? if a ſenſe or interpretation be de- "clared, what authority have Laymen to make it? for in- "terpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have "power to make it." To which it might be anſwer'd, that the Commons made no new interpretation of the Articles, but avowed for truth the current ſenſe of Expoſitors before that time, in oppoſition to the modern interpretation of Jeſuits and Arminians. "But what authority have Lay- "men to make it?" Anſwer, The ſame that they had in the 13th of Elizabeth, to eſtabliſh them, as the Doctrine of the Church of England; unleſs we will ſay, with Mr. Collyer, that neither the ſenſe of the Articles, nor the Articles themſelves, were eſtabliſhed in that Parliament, or in any other. If ſo, they are no part of the legal Conſtitution, and Men may ſubſcribe the Words without putting any ſenſe upon them at all; an admirable way to prevent diverſity of opinions in matters of Faith! but his Lordſhip adds, "That it is againſt the King's Declaration, which ſays, we "muſt take the general Meaning of them, and not draw "them aſide any way, but take them in the literal and "grammatical Senſe." Has the King then a power, without Convocation or Parliament, to interpret and determine the ſenſe of the Articles for the whole Body of the Clergy? by the general Meaning of the Articles, the Declaration ſeems to underſtand no one detetmined ſenſe at all. Strange! that ſo learned and wiſe a Body of Clergy and Laity, in Convocation and Parliament, ſhould eſtabliſh a number of Articles with this Title, "For the avoiding of Diverſity "of Opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touch- "ing true Religion," without any one determined Senſe!

Ec. Hiſt. p. 747.

Prynne Cant. Doom. p. 164.

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The Biſhop goes on, and "excepts againſt the current "Senſe of Expoſitors, becauſe they may, and perhaps "do, go againſt the literal Senſe." Will his Lordſhip then abide by the literal and grammatical Senſe? No, but "if an Article bear more ſenſes than one, a Man may "chooſe what Senſe his Judgment directs him to, provi-"ded it be a Senſe, according to the Analogy of Faith, "till the Church determine a [particular] Senſe; but 'tis "the Wiſdom of the Church to require Conſent to Arti-"cles in general as much as may be, and not require Aſſent "to Particulars." His Lordſhip had better have ſpoken out, and ſaid, that it would be the Wiſdom of the Church to require no Subſcriptions at all. What ſhifts are Men put to, to comply with the Laws, when their Sentiments happen to differ from the literal and grammatical Senſe of the Articles of the Church? Mr. Collyer ſays, "they have "no eſtabliſhed Senſe;" King Charles in his Declaration, that they are to be underſtood in a general Senſe, but not to be drawn aſide to a particular determined Senſe. Biſhop Laud thinks, that if the Words will bear more Senſes than one, a man may chooſe what Senſe his Judgment directs him to, provided it be a Senſe, according to the Analogy of Faith, and all this to avoid diverſity of opinions: but I am afraid this Reaſoning is too wonderful for the Reader!

Arbitrary proceedings of the Court with the Parliament.

While the Parliament were expreſſing their zeal againſt Arminianiſm and Popery, a new Controverſy aroſe, which provoked his Majeſty to diſſolve them, and to reſolve to govern without Parliaments for the future; for though the King had ſo lately ſigned the "Petition of Right" in full Parliament, he went on with levying Money by his Royal Prerogative. A Bill was depending in the Houſe to grant his Majeſty the duties of Tonnage and Poundage; but before it was paſs'd, the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers ſeized the Goods of three eminent Merchants, Mr. Rolls, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Vaſſal, for Non-payment. Mr. Chambers was fined two thouſand Pounds, beſides the loſs of his Goods, and ſuffered ſix years impriſonment: Mr. Roll's Warehouſes were locked up, and himſelf taken out of the Houſe of Commons and impriſoned. This occaſioned ſome warm Speeches againſt the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers and Farmers of the Revenues; but the King took all upon himſelf, and ſent the Houſe Word, that what the Officers had done, was by his ſpecial Direction and Command, that it was not ſo much their Act as his own. This was a new way

of

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of covering the unwarrantable proceedings of corrupt Miniſters, and was ſaid to be the advice of the Biſhops Laud and Neile; a contrivance that laid the foundation of his Majeſty's ruin. It had been a maxim in law, that "The King "can do no wrong," and that all male-adminiſtrations were chargeable upon his Miniſters; but now, in order to ſcreen his ſervants, his Majeſty will take all upon himſelf: So that if the Parliament will defend their rights and properties, they muſt charge the King, who in his own opinion, "was "above law, and accountable for his actions to none but "God." It was moved in the Houſe, that notwithſtanding the King's anſwer, the Officers of the Cuſtoms ſhould be proceeded againſt, by ſeparating their intereſts from the King's: But when the Speaker, Sir John Finch, was deſir'd to put the Queſtion, he refuſed, ſaying, the King had commanded the contrary. Upon which, the Houſe immediately adjourned to January 25. and then were adjourned by the King's order, to March 2. when they met, and requiring the Speaker to put the former queſtion, he refuſed again, and ſaid he had the King's order to adjourn them to March 16. but they detained him in the Chair, not without ſome tumult and confuſion, till they made the following Proteſtation.

They keep the Speaker in the Chair till they make a Proteſtation.

1. "Whoſoever ſhall, by favour or countenance, ſeem "to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianiſm, ſhall be "reputed a capital enemy of the kingdom.

2. "Whoſoever ſhall adviſe the levying the ſubſidies of "Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parlia-"ment, ſhall be reputed a capital enemy.

3. "If any Merchant ſhall voluntarily pay thoſe duties "he ſhall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of Eng-"land, and an enemy of the ſame.

Several Members taken into Cuſtody.

But the next day warrants were directed to Denzil Hollis, Sir John Elliot, William Coriton, Benjamin Valentine, John Selden, Eſqrs. and four more of the principal Members of the Houſe, to appear before the Council on the morrow: Four of them appeared accordingly, (viz.) Mr. Hollis, Elliot, Coriton, and Valentine; but refuſing to anſwer out of Parliament for what was ſaid in the Houſe, they were committed cloſe priſoners to the Tower. The Studies of the reſt were ordered to be ſealed up, and a Proclamation was iſſued out for apprehending them; though the Parliament not being diſſolved, they were actually members of the

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House. On the 10th of March, the King came to the House of Lords, and, without sending for the Commons, or passing one single Act, dissolved the Parliament, with a very angry speech against the leading Members of the lower House, whom he called Vipers, that cast a mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes: "And as those Vipers "(says his Majesty) must look for their reward of punish- "ment; so you, my Lords, must justly expect from me "that favour that a good King oweth to his loving and "faithful Nobility."

King's Speech at the Dissolution of the Parliament.

Remarks.

The undutifulness of the Commons was only their keeping the Speaker in the Chair, after he had notified that the King had adjourned them, which his Majesty had no power to do; for no King before King James I. pretended to adjourn Parliaments, and it was then complained of, as a breach of privilege. It is one thing to prorogue or dissolve a Parliament, and another to adjourn it; the consequences of this last might be very fatal; for if the King may adjourn the House in the midst of their debates, or forbid the Speaker to put the question when required, 'tis easy to foresee the whole business of Parliament must be under his direction. The Members abovementioned were sentenced to be imprison'd during the Kings pleasure; and were accordingly kept under close confinement many years, where Sir John Elliot died a Martyr for the liberties of his country. Mr. Hollis was also fined a housand marks, Sir John Elliot two thousand pounds, Valentine five hundred pounds, and Long two thousand marks.

Rapin, p. 218.

Libels against the Ministers. Rushw. Vol. I. p. 662.

Great were the murmurings of the people upon this occasion; Libels were dispersed against the Prime Minister Laud; one of which says, "Laud, look to thy self, be "assured thy life is sought. As thou art the fountain of "wickedness, repent of thy monstrous sins before thou be "taken out of this world; and assure thy self, neither God "nor the world can endure such a vile Counsellor or Whis- "perer to live." But to justify these proceedings to the world, his Majesty published a declaration of the causes of dissolving the last Parliament.

King's declaration of his Reasons for dissolving the last Parliament.

The Declaration vindicates the King's taking the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, from the examples of some of his predecessors, and as agreeable to his kingly honour. It justifies the silencing the predestinarian controversy, and lays the blame of not executing the laws against Papists upon subordinate Officers and Ministers in the Country: "We profess (says his Majesty) that as it is our duty, so it shall

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" ſhall be our care to command and direct well; but it is " the part of others to perform the miniſterial office; and " when we have done our Office, we ſhall account our- " ſelf, and all charitable men will account us innocent, " both to God and men; and thoſe that are negligent, we " will eſteem culpable both to God and us." The Declaration concludes with a profeſſion that " the King will " maintain the true Religion of the Church of England, " without conniving at Popery or Schiſm: That he will " maintain the rights and liberties of his ſubjects, provided " they do not miſuſe their liberty, by turning it to licenti- " ouſneſs, wantonly and frowardly reſiſting our lawful and " neceſſary Authority; for we do expect our ſubjects ſhould " yield as much ſubmiſſion to our royal prerogative, and " as ready obedience to our authority and command- " ments, as has been performed to the greateſt of our prede- " ceſſors. We will not have our Miniſters terrified by harſh " proceedings againſt them; for as we expect our Miniſters " ſhould obey us, they ſhall aſſure themſelves we will pro- " tect them."

A proclamation againſt preſcribing a time for calling parliaments for the future. Ruſhw. Vol. II. p. 3.

This declaration not quieting the people, was followed by a proclamation, which put an end to all proſpects of recovering the conſtitution for the future. The proclamation declares his Majeſty's Royal pleaſure, " That ſpreaders of " falſe reports ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed; that ſuch as " chearfully go on with their trades, ſhall have all good en- " couragement; That he will not overcharge his ſubjects " with any new burdens, but will ſatisfy himſelf with the " duties received by his Royal Father, which he neither " can, nor will diſpenſe with. And whereas, for ſeveral ill " ends, the calling of another Parliament is divulged, his " Majeſty declares, that the late abuſe having for the pre- " ſent driven his Majeſty unwillingly out of that courſe, he " ſhall account it preſumption for any to preſcribe any " time to his Majeſty for Parliaments, the calling, continu- " ing, and diſſolving of which, is always in the King's own " power."——Here was an end of the old Engliſh Government by King, Lords and Commons for twelve years. England was now an abſolute Monarchy; the King's Proclamations and Orders of Council were the Laws of the land; and the Miniſters of State ſported themſelves in the moſt wanton acts of arbitrary power; and the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our Country lay proſtrate, being ſwallowed up by an inundation of Popery and Oppreſſion.

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Death and Character of Dr. Preſton.

Clark's Life of Dr. Preſton.

This year died the Reverend Dr. John Preſton, deſcended of the family of the Preſtons in Lancaſhire. He was born at Heyford in Northamptonſhire, in the pariſh of Bugbrook, 1587, and was admitted of King's College, Cambridge, 1604, from whence he was afterwards removed to Queen's College, and admitted Fellow in the year 1609. He was an ambitious and aſpiring youth, till having received ſome religious impreſſions from Mr. Cotton, in a ſermon preached by him at St. Mary's Church, he became remarkably ſerious, and bent all his Studies to the Service of Chriſt in the Miniſtry. When the King came to Cambridge, Mr. Preſton was appointed to diſpute before him: The queſtion was, "Whether Brutes had Reaſon, or could "make Syllogiſms?" Mr. Preſton maintained the affirmative; and inſtanced in a Hound, who coming to a place where three ways meet, ſmells one way and the other; but not finding the Scent, runs down the third with full Cry, concluding that the Hare not being gone either of the two firſt ways, muſt neceſſarily be gone the third. The Argument had a wonderful effect on the audience, and would have open'd a door for Mr Preſton's preferment, had not his inclinations to Puritaniſm been a bar in the way. He therefore reſolved upon an accademical life, and took upon him the care of pupils, for which he was qualified beyond moſt in the Univerſity. Many Gentlemen and others committed their ſons to his care, who trained them up in the ſentiments of the firſt Reformers; for he affected the very Stile and Language of Calvin. When it came to his turn to be Catechiſt, he went through a whole Body of Divinity with ſuch a general acceptance, that the outſide Chapel was uſually crouded with Strangers before the Fellows came in, which created him envy. Complaint was made to the Vice-Chancellor of his unuſual way of catechiſing, and that it was not ſafe to ſuffer Dr. Preſton to be thus adored, unleſs they had a mind to ſet up Puritaniſm, which would in a ſhort time pull down the Hierarchy; it was therefore agreed in the Convocation Houſe, that no Stranger, neither Townſman nor Scholar, ſhould upon any pretence come to thoſe Lectures which were only for the Members of the College.

There was little preaching in the Univerſity at this time, except at St. Mary's, the Lectures at Trinity and St. Andrews being prohibited; Mr. Preſton therefore, at the requeſt of the Townſmen and Scholars of other Colleges, attempted to ſet up an Evening Sermon at St. Buttolph's, be-

belonging to Queen's College; but when Dr. Newcomb, Commiſſary to the Biſhop of Ely heard of it, he came to the Church and forbid the Sermon, and commanded that Evening Prayers only ſhould be read: There was a vaſt croud, and earneſt entreaty, that Mr. Preſton might preach, at leaſt for that time, but the Commiſſary was inexorable, and to prevent further Importunities, went home with his Family; after he was gone Mr. Preſton was prevailed with to preach; and becauſe much time had been ſpent in debates, they adventured for that time to omit the ſervice that the Scholars might be preſent at their College Prayers. Next day the Commiſſary went to New-market, and complained both to the Biſhop and King; he repreſented the danger of the Hierarchy, and the progreſs of Non-conformity among the Scholars, and aſſured them, that Mr. Preſton was in ſuch high eſteem, that he would carry all before him if he was not thoroughly dealt with. Being called before his Superiors, he made a plain narrative of the fact; and added, that he had no deſign to affront the Biſhop or his Commiſſary. The Biſhop ſaid, the King was informed that he was an enemy to "Forms of Prayer," which Mr. Preſton denying, he was ordered to declare his Judgment upon that head, in a Sermon at St. Buttolph Church, and ſo was diſmiſſed. King Charles I. 1628.

Some time after, King James being at New-market Mr. Preſton was appointed to preach before him, which he performed with great applauſe, having a fluent Speech, a commanding voice, and a ſtrong memory to deliver what he had prepared without the aſſiſtance of his Notes. The King ſpake familiarly to him; and though his Majeſty expreſſed a diſlike to ſome of his Puritan Notions, he commended his oppoſing the Arminians. And the Duke of Buckingham not knowing what friends he might want among the populace, perſwaded the King to admit him one of the Prince's Chaplains in ordinary, and to wait two months in the year, which he did. Soon after this he was choſen Preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, and upon the reſignation of Dr. Chadderton, Maſter of Emanuel College, in the year 1622, when he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. The Doctor was a fine Gentleman, a Complete Courtier, and in high eſteem with the Duke of Buckingham, who thought by his means to ingratiate himſelf with the Puritans, whoſe power was growing very formidable in Parliament. The Duke offered him the Biſhoprick of Glouceſter, but the Doctor refuſed, and choſe rather the Lectureſhip of Trinity

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nity Church, which he kept to his death. By his intereſt in the Duke and the Prince he did conſiderable ſervice for many ſilenced Miniſters; he was in waiting when King James died, and came up with the young King and Duke in a cloſe coach to London. But ſome time after, the Duke having changed meaſures, and finding that he could neither gain over the Puritans to his arbitrary deſigns, nor ſeparate the Doctor from their intereſts, he reſolved to ſhake hands with his Chaplain. The Doctor foreſaw the Storm, and was content to retire quietly to his College, where it is thought he would have felt ſome further effects of the Duke's diſpleaſure, if God in his Providence had not cut him out work of a different nature, which took up all his time and thoughts to his death.

Dr. Preſton lived a ſingle life, being never married; nor had he ever a Cure of Souls in the Church. He had a ſtrong conſtitution, but wore it out in his Study and in the Pulpit. His diſtemper was a conſumption in the Lungs, for which, by the advice of Phyſicians, he changed the air ſeveral times; but the failure of his appetite, with other ſymptoms of a general decay, prevailed with him, at length, to leave off all Phyſick, and reſign himſelf to the Will of God. And being deſirous of dying in his native Country, and among his old friends, he retired into Northamptonſhire, where he departed this life in a moſt pious and devout manner, in the forty firſt year of his age, and was buried in Fawſley Church, old Mr. Dod Miniſter of that place, preaching his Funeral Sermon to a numerous Auditory, July 20th, 1628. Mr. Fuller ſays, "He was an "excellent Preacher, a ſubtle Diſputant, and great Poli- "tician; ſo that his foes muſt confeſs, that (if not having "too little of the Dove) he had enough of the Serpent. Some "will not ſtick to ſay, he had parts ſufficient to manage the "Broad Seal, which was offered him, but the conditions "did not pleaſe. He might have been the Duke's Right "Hand, but his Grace finding that he could not bring him "nor his party off to his ſide, he would uſe him no longer;" which ſhews him to be an honeſt Man. His practical Works and Sermons were printed by his own order after his death.

B. XI. p. 131.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the Diſſolution of the third Parliament of King Charles I. to the Death of Archbiſhop Abbot.

THE ancient and legal Government of England, by King, Lords, and Commons, being now ſuſpended by the Royal Will and Pleaſure, his Majeſty reſolved to ſupply the neceſſities of his Government by ſuch other methods as his Council ſhould adviſe, who gave a looſe to their actions, as being no longer afraid of a Parliamentary Inquiſition, and being above the reach of ordinary Juſtice. Inſtead of the laws of the land, all publick affairs were directed by Proclamations of the King and Council, which had the force of ſo many laws, and were bound upon the Subject under the ſevereſt penalties. They collected duties of tonnage and poundage without Act of Parliament, and laid what other Impoſts they thought proper upon merchandize, which they let out to farm to private perſons; the number of monopolies was incredible; there was no branch of the Subjects property that the Government could diſpoſe of, but was bought and ſold. They raiſed above a Million a year by the Impoſts on Soap, Salt, Candles, Wine, Cards, Pins, Leather, Coals, &c. even to the ſole gathering of Rags. Grants were given out for weighing Hay and Straw within three miles of London; for gageing red Herring Barrels, and Butter Caſks; for marking Iron and ſealing Lace, with a great many others; which being purchaſed of the Crown muſt be paid for by the Subject. His Majeſty claimed a right in Caſes of Neceſſity (of which Neceſſity himſelf was the ſole Judge) to raiſe money by Ship Writs, or Royal Mandates directed to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, to levy on the Subjects the ſeveral Sums of Money therein demanded, for the maintenance and ſupport of the Royal Navy. The like was demanded for the Royal Army, by the name of "Coat and Conduct "Money," when they were to march; and when they were in quarters, they were billeted upon private houſes. Many were put to death by martial Law, who ought to have been tried by the Laws of the Land; and others by the ſame martial Law were exempted from the puniſhment which by Law they deſerved. Large Sums of Money were raiſed by Commiſſions under the Great Seal, to compound for "Depopulations, for nuſances in build-

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King Charles I. 1629.

Arbitrary methods of Government in the State.

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" ing between high and low Water Mark; for pretended " encoachments on the Foreſts, &c." beſide the exorbitant Fines of the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion Court; and the extraordinary methods of raiſing money by Loans, Benevolences, and Free-Gifts. Such was the calamity of the times, that no Man could call any thing his own any longer than the King pleaſed; nor might any Man ſpeak or write againſt theſe arbitrary proceedings, without the utmoſt hazard of his Liberty and Eſtate.

Biſhop Laud's ſcheme for governing the Church.

The Church was governed by the like arbitrary and illegal methods; Dr. Laud Biſhop of London being prime Miniſter, purſued his imaginary ſcheme of " Uniting the two " Churches of England and Rome," without the leaſt regard to the rights of Conſcience, or the Laws of the Land, and very ſeldom to the Canons of the Church, but bore down all that oppoſed him with unrelenting ſeverity and rigor. To make way for the Union, the Churches were not only to be repaired, but beautified with pictures, paintings, images, altar pieces, &c. the " Forms of publick " Worſhip" were to be ſet off with a number of pompous Rites and Ceremonies, in imitation of the Church of Rome; and the Puritans, who were the profeſſed enemies of every thing that looked like Popery, were to be ſuppreſſed or driven out of the Land. To accompliſh the latter his Lordſhip preſented the King with certain conſiderations for ſettling the Church, which were ſoon after publiſhed with ſome little variation, under the title of " Inſtructions " to the two Archbiſhops, concerning certain orders to be " obſerved, and put in execution by ſeveral Biſhops."

Here his Majeſty commands them to ſee, that his declaration for ſilencing the Predeſtinarian controverſy be ſtrictly obſerved; and that ſpecial care be taken of the Lectures, or Afternoon Sermons in their ſeveral Dioceſes, concerning which he is pleaſed to give the following Inſtructions.

King's Inſtructions about Lecturers.

1. " That in all Pariſhes the afternoon Sermons be turned into catechizing by Queſtion and Anſwer, where there " is not ſome great cauſe to break this ancient and profitable order.

2. " That every Lecturer read Divine Service before " Lecture in his Surplice and Hood.

3. " That where there are Lectures in Market Towns, " they be read by grave and orthodox Divines; and that " they preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many " do uſe.

4. " That

4. " That no Lecturer be admitted, that is not ready " and willing to take upon him a living with the cure of " ſouls. King Charles I. 1629.

" 5. " That the Biſhops take order, that the Sermons of " the Lecturers be obſerved.

6. " That none under Noblemen, and men qualified by " law, keep a private Chaplain.

7. " That care be taken, that the Prayers and Catechi- " ſings be frequented, as well as Sermons." Of all which his Majeſty requires an account once a year.

By virtue of theſe inſtructions the Biſhop of London ſummoned before him all Miniſters and Lecturers in and about the city, and in a ſolemn ſpeech inſiſted on their obedience. He alſo ſent letters to his Archdeacons, requiring them to ſend him liſts of the ſeveral Lecturers within their Archdeaconry, as well in places exempt as not exempt, with the places where they preached, and their quality or degree; as alſo, the names of ſuch gentlemen, as being not qualified, kept Chaplains in their houſes. His Lordſhip required them further, to leave a copy of the King's inſtructions concerning lecturers with the parſon of every pariſh, and to ſee that they were duly obſerved.

Character of the Lecturers.

Theſe Lecturers were chiefly Puritans, who not being ſatisfied with a full conformity, ſo as to take upon them a Cure of Souls, only preached in the afternoons, being choſen and maintained by the people. They were ſtrict Calviniſts, warm and affectionate preachers, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a religious obſervation of the Lord's Day, by a bold oppoſition to Popery and the new Ceremonies, and by an uncommon ſeverity of life. Their manner of preaching gave the Biſhop a diſtaſte to ſermons, who was already of opinion that they did more harm than good, in ſo much, that on a faſt day for the Plague then in London, prayers were ordered to be read in all Churches, but not a ſermon to be preached, leſt the people ſhould wander from their own pariſhes. The Lecturers had very popular talents, and drew great numbers of people after them. Biſhop Laud would often ſay, " They were the moſt dangerous enemies " of the State, becauſe by their prayers and ſermons they " awakened the people's diſaffection, and therefore muſt " be ſuppreſſed."

Proceedings againſt them. Prynne's Introd. p. 94, 361, 373.

Good old Archbiſhop Abbot was of another ſpirit, but the reins were taken out of his hands. He had a good opinion of the Lecturers, as men that had the Proteſtant Religion at

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at heart, and would fortify their hearers againſt the return of Popery. When Mr. Palmer, Lecturer of St. Alphage in Canterbury, was commanded to deſiſt from preaching by the Archdeacon, becauſe he drew great numbers of factious people after him, and did not wear the ſurplice, the Archbiſhop authorized him to continue: The like he did by Mr. Udnay of Aſhford, for which he was complained of, as not enforcing the King's inſtructions, whereby the Commiſſioners (as they ſay) were made a ſcorn to the factious, and the Archdeacon's juriſdiction inhibited. But in the diocese of London Biſhop Laud proceeded with great ſeverity. Many Lecturers were ſuppreſſed, and ſuch as preached againſt Arminianiſm or the new Ceremonies were ſuſpended and ſilenced; among theſe were the Reverend Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, Mr. Daniel Rogers of Wethersfield, Mr. Hooker of Chelmsford, Mr. White of Knightsbridge, Mr. Archer, Mr. William Martin, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Jones, Mr. Dod, Mr. Hilderſham, Mr. Ward, Mr. Saunders, Mr. James Gardiner, Mr. Foxley, and many others.

Mr. Bernard's Sufferings. Ruſhw. p. 32, 34. Prynne, p. 365, 367.

The Reverend Mr. Bernard, Lecturer of St. Sepulchres, London, having uſed this expreſſion in his prayer before ſermon, "Lord open the eyes of the Queen's Majeſty, that "ſhe may ſee Jeſus Chriſt, whom ſhe has pierced with her "infidelity, ſuperſtition and idolatry," was convened before the High Commiſſion, January 28th. and upon his humble ſubmiſſion was diſmiſſed; but ſome time after, in his ſermon at St. Mary's in Cambridge, having ſpoke ſome offenſive words againſt Arminianiſm and the new Ceremonies, Biſhop Laud ſent for a copy of his ſermon, and having cited him before the High Commiſſion, required him to make an open recantation of what he had ſaid, which his conſcience not ſuffering him to do, he was ſuſpended from his Miniſtry, excommunicated, fined one thouſand pounds, condemned in coſts of ſuit, and committed to New Priſon, where he lay ſundry months, being cruelly uſed, and almoſt ſtarved for want of neceſſaries, of which he complained to the Biſhop in ſundry letters, but could get no relief unleſs he would recant. Mr. Bernard offered to confeſs his ſorrow and penitence for any overſights, or unbecoming expreſſions in his ſermons, but that would not be accepted; ſo that in concluſion he was utterly ruined.

Mr. Chauncey's.

Mr. Charles Chauncey, Miniſter of Ware, having ſaid in a ſermon, "That the preaching of the Goſpel would be "ſuppreſſed, and that there was much Atheiſm, Popery,

"Arminianiſm

"Arminianiſm and Hereſy, crept into the Church," was queſtioned for it in the High Commiſſion, and not diſmiſſed till he had made an open recantation, which we ſhall meet with hereafter. King Charles I. 1629.

Mr. Peter Smart, one of the Prebendaries of Durham, and Miniſter in that city, was impriſoned by the High Commiſſion of York this ſummer, for a ſermon preached from thoſe words, "I hate all thoſe that love ſuperſtitious vanities, but thy Law do I love:" In which he took occaſion to ſpeak againſt images and pictures, and the late pompous innovations. He was confined four months before the Commiſſioners exhibited any articles againſt him, and five more before any proctor was allowed him. From York he was carried up to Lambeth, and from thence back again to York, where he was deprived of his Prebendary, degraded, excommunicated, fined five hundred pounds, and committed cloſe priſoner, where he continued eleven years, till he was ſet at liberty by the Long Parliament in 1640. He was a perſon of a grave and reverend aſpect, but died ſoon after his releaſe: The ſeverity of a long impriſonment having contributed to the ſhortning his days. Mr. Peter Smart's.

The King's inſtructions, and the ſevere principles of the prime Miniſter in Church affairs, brought a great deal of buſineſs into the Spiritual Courts; one or other of the Puritan Miniſters was every week ſuſpended or deprived, and their families ſent a begging; nor was there any proſpect of relief, the clouds gathering every day thicker over their heads, and threatning a violent ſtorm. This put them upon projecting a further Settlement in New England, where they might be delivered from the hands of their oppreſſors, and enjoy the free liberty of their conſciences; which gave birth to the ſecond grand Colony, commonly known by the name of the Maſſachuſets Bay. Several perſons of quality and ſubſtance about the City of London engaged in the deſign, and obtained a Charter, dated March 4. 1628-9. wherein the gentlemen and merchants therein named, and all that ſhould hereafter join with them, were made a body corporate and politick, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Maſſachuſets Bay in New England. They were empowered to elect their own governor, deputy-governor and magiſtrates, and to make ſuch laws as they ſhould think fit for the good of the Plantation, not repugnant to the Laws of England. Free liberty of Conſcience was likewiſe granted to all that ſhould ſettle in thoſe parts, to worſhip God in their own way. The new Planters being Riſe of the Maſſachuſets Bay Colony in New England. Mather's Hiſtory of New England.

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all Puritans made their application to the Reverend Mr. Higginſon, a ſilenced Miniſter in Leiceſterſhire, and to Mr. Skelton another ſilenced Miniſter of Lincolnſhire, to be their Chaplains, deſiring them to engage as many of their friends as were willing to embark with them. The little Fleet that went upon this Expedition conſiſted of ſix ſail of tranſports, from four to twenty guns, with about three hundred and fifty paſſengers, men, women, and children. They carried with them one hundred and fifteen head of neat cattle, as horſes, mares, cows, &c. forty one goats, ſix pieces of cannon for a fort, with muſkets, pikes, drums, colours, and a large quantity of ammunition and proviſion. The fleet ſailed May 11. 1629. and arrived the 24th of June following at a place called by the natives Neumkeak, but by the new planters Salem, which in the Hebrew language ſignifies Peace.

Religion being the chief motive of their coming into theſe parts, that was ſettled in the firſt place, Auguſt the 6th being appointed for the ſolemnity of forming themſelves into a religious Society, the day was ſpent in faſting and prayer; and thirty perſons who deſired to be of the Communion, ſeverally, before the whole congregation, declared their conſent to a Confeſſion of Faith which Mr. Higginſon had drawn up, and ſigned the following Covenant with their hands.

Their Ch. Covenant. Hiſt. New England, p. 126.

"We covenant with our Lord, and one with another. "We bind ourſelves in the preſence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleaſed to reveal himſelf to us in his bleſſed word of Truth, and do profeſs to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

"We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourſelves to be his People, in the truth and ſimplicity of our ſpirits.

"We give ourſelves to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Word of his Grace, for the teaching, ruling, and ſanctifying us, in matters of worſhip and converſation, reſolving to reject all canons and conſtitutions of men in worſhip.

"We promiſe to walk with our brethren with all watchfulneſs and tenderneſs, avoiding jealouſies, ſuſpicions, backbitings, cenſurings, provokings, ſecret riſings of ſpirit againſt them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he has taught us.

"In

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" In publick or private we will willingly do nothing to " the offence of the Church, but will be willing to take " advice for ourſelves and ours, as occaſion ſhall be pre- " ſented.

" We will not in the Congregation be forward, either " to ſhew our own gifts and parts in ſpeaking, or ſcrupling, " or in diſcovering the weakneſſes or failings of our bre- " thren, but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing " how much the Lord may be diſhonoured, and his Goſ- " pel, and the profeſſion of it, ſlighted by our diſtempers, " and weakneſſes in publick.

" We bind ourſelves to ſtudy the advancement of the " Goſpel in all truth and peace, both in regard of thoſe " that are within or without, no way ſlighting our ſiſter " Churches, but uſing their counſel as need ſhall be; not " laying a ſtumbling block before any, no not the Indians, " whoſe good we deſire to promote, and ſo to converſe, as " we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

" We do hereby promiſe to carry ourſelves in all lawful " obedience to thoſe that are over us in Church or Com- " monwealth, knowing how well-pleaſing it will be to the " Lord, that they ſhould have encouragement in their places " by our not grieving their ſpirits by our irregularities.

" We reſolve to approve ourſelves to the Lord in our " particular callings, ſhunning idleneſs, as the bane of any " State; nor will we deal hardly or oppreſſingly with any, " wherein we are the Lord's Stewards.

" Promiſing alſo, to the beſt of our ability, to teach " our children and ſervants the knowledge of God, and of " his Will, that they may ſerve him alſo. And all this " not by any ſtrength of our own, but by the Lord Jeſus " Chriſt, whoſe blood we deſire may ſprinkle this our Co- " venant made in his Name."

The hardſhips they underwent. Mather's Hiſt. N. E. B. III. p. 74, 76.

After this they choſe Mr. Skelton their Paſtor, Mr. Higginſon their Teacher, and Mr. Houghton their Ruling Elder, who were ſeparated to their ſeveral offices by the impoſition of the hands of ſome of the brethren appointed by the Church to that work. The firſt Winter proved a fatal one to the infant Colony, for it carried off above one hundred of their company, and among the reſt Mr. Houghton their elder, and Mr. Higginſon their teacher, who not being capable of undergoing the fatigues of a new ſettlement, fell into a hectick, and died in the forty third year

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of his age. Mr. Higginſon had been educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, where he preceded M. A. he was afterwards Parſon of one of the five Churches in Leiceſter, where he continued for ſome years, till he was deprived for Non-conformity; but ſuch were his talents for the pulpit, that after his ſuſpenſion the town obtained liberty from Biſhop Williams to have him for their Lecturer, and maintained him by their voluntary contribution, till Laud being at the head of Church affairs, he was articled againſt in the High Commiſſion, and expected every Hour a ſentence of perpetual impriſonment: This induced him to accept of an invitation to remove to New England, which coſt him his life. Mr. Skelton the other Miniſter was alſo a Lincolnſhire Divine, who being ſilenced for Non-conformity, accepted of a like invitation, and died of the hardſhips of the country, Aug. 2. 1634. From this ſmall beginning is the Maſſachuſet Province grown to the figure it now makes in the American World.

Their farewel requeſt to the Ch. of England.

Next Summer, the Governor went over with a freſh recruit of two hundred Miniſters, Gentlemen, and others. who were forced out of their native country by the heat of the Laudæan Perſecution. Upon their embarkation they left behind them a paper, which was ſoon after publiſhed, entitled, "The humble requeſt of his Majeſty's "loyal ſubjects, the Governor and Company lately gone "for New England, to the reſt of their brethren in, and "of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their "prayers, and removal of ſuſpicions and miſconſtructions "of their intentions." Wherein they entreat the reverend Fathers and Brethren of the Church of England, to recommend them to the mercies of God in their conſtant prayers, as a new Church now ſpringing out of their bowels; "For you are not ignorant (ſay they) that the Spirit of "God ſtirred up the Apoſtle Paul to make a continual "mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a Co-"lony from Rome. Let the ſame ſpirit, we beſeech "you, put you in mind that are the Lord's Remem-"brancers, to pray for us without ceaſing; and what "goodneſs you ſhall extend to us in this, or any other "chriſtian kindneſs, we, your brethren in Chriſt, ſhall la-"bour to repay in what duty we are, or ſhall be able to "perform, promiſing, ſo far as God ſhall enable us, to "give him no reſt on your behalf, wiſhing our heads and "hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlaſting "welfare,

" welfare, when we ſhall be in our poor cottages in the " wilderneſs, overſhadowed with the ſpirit of ſupplication, " through the manifold neceſſities and tribulations which " may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unpro- " fitably befal us." King Charles I. 1629.

When it appeared that the Planters could ſubſiſt in their new Settlement, great numbers of their friends with their families flocked after them every ſummer. In the following twelve years of Archbiſhop Laud's government there went over about 4000 Planters, who laid the foundation of ſeveral little towns and villages up and down the country, and carried over with them in materials, money, and cattle, &c. not leſs than to the value of one hundred and ninety two thouſand Pounds, beſides the merchandize that was ſent over with them to traffick with the Indians. Upon the whole, it has been computed, that the four Settlements of New England, viz. Plimouth, the Maſſachuſets Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, all which were accompliſhed before the beginning of the Civil Wars, drained England of four or five hundred thouſand pounds in money, a very great ſum in thoſe days; and if the perſecution of the Puritans had continued twelve years longer, 'tis thought that a fourth part of the riches of the Kingdom would have been carried out of it. Numbers of Planters that went over the firſt 12 years. Mather's Hiſt. N. E. B. I. p. 17, 23.

The chief leaders of the people into theſe parts were the Puritan Miniſters, who being ſilenced, and hunted from one dioceſe to another, at laſt choſe this wilderneſs for their retreat, which the wiſe providence of God has ſince overruled for the great benefit of the trade of this Kingdom. I have before me a liſt of ſeventy ſeven Divines, who became Paſtors of ſundry little Churches and Congregations in that country before the year 1640. all of whom were in orders in the Church of England. The reader will meet with an account of ſome of them in the courſe of this Hiſtory; and I muſt ſay, though they were not all of the firſt rank and quality for deep and profound learning, yet they had a better ſhare of it than moſt of their neighbouring Clergy at that time; and which is of greater conſequence, they were men of ſtrict ſobriety and virtue; plain, ſerious, and affectionate Preachers, exactly conformable to the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and took a great deal of pains to promote chriſtian knowledge, and a reformation of manners in their ſeveral pariſhes.

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Bp. Davenant cenſured for preaching upon Predeſtination. Fuller, B. XI. p. 138.

To return to England; though Dr. Davenant, the learned Biſhop of Saliſbury, had declared for the doctrine of Univerſal Redemption at the Synod of Dort, he was this year brought into trouble for touching upon the point of Predeſtination, in his Lent Sermon before the King on Romans vi. 23. "The gift of God is eternal life, through "Jeſus Chriſt our Lord." This was conſtrued as a contempt of the King's Injunctions, for which his Lordſhip was two days after ſummoned before the Privy Council, where he preſented himſelf upon his knees, and ſo had continued, for any favour he received from any of his own function then preſent; but the temporal Lords bid him riſe and ſtand to his defence. The accuſation was managed by Dr. Harſenet, Archbiſhop of York; Laud, walking by all the while in ſilence, ſpoke not a word. Harſenet put him in mind of his obligations to King James; of the piety of his preſent Majeſty's Inſtructions; and then aggravated his contempt of them with great vehemency and acrimony. Biſhop Davenant replied with mildneſs, that he was ſorry that an eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Church ſhould be ſo diſtaſted; that he had preached nothing but what was expreſly contained in the ſeventeenth Article, and was ready to juſtify the truth of it. It was replied, that the doctrine was not gainſaid, but the King had commanded theſe queſtions ſhould not be debated, and therefore his Majeſty took it more offenſively that any ſhould do it in his own hearing. The Biſhop replied, that he never underſtood that his Majeſty had forbid the handling any doctrine compriſed in the Articles of the Church, but only the raiſing new queſtions, or putting a new ſenſe upon them, which he never ſhould do: That in the King's Declaration all the Thirty nine Articles are confirmed, among which the ſeventeenth of Predeſtination is one. All Miniſters are obliged to ſubſcribe to the truth of this Article, and to continue in the true profeſſion of that as well as the reſt; the Biſhop deſired it might be ſhewn wherein he had tranſgreſſed his Majeſty's commands, when he had kept himſelf within the bounds of the article, and had moved no new nor curious queſtions; to which it was replied, that it was the King's pleaſure, that for the peace of the Church theſe high queſtions might be forborn. The Biſhop then ſaid, he was ſorry he underſtood not his Majeſty's intention, and that for time to come he would conform to his Majeſty's commands. Upon this he was diſmiſſed without further trouble, and was after ſome time admitted

Prynne, p. 173, 166.

admitted to kiſs the King's Hand, who did not fail to remind him that the Doctrine of Predeſtination was too big for the People's underſtanding, and therefore he was reſolved not to give leave for diſcuſſing that controverſy in the Pulpit. Upon this the Biſhop retired, but was never afterwards in favour at Court. King Charles I. 1630.

Soon after Mr. Madye, Lecturer of Chriſt Church, London, was cited before the High Commiſſion, and [March 10, 1630.] was, by Act of Court, prohibited to preach any more within the Dioceſe of London, becauſe he had diſobeyed the King's Declaration, by preaching on Predeſtination. Dr. Cornelius Burges, Mr. White, the famous Dr. Prideaux, Mr. Hobbes of Trinity College, and Mr. Cook of Brazen Noſe, with others, ſuffered on the ſame account. Mr. Madye and others.

But Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scots Divine, and Father of the famous Prelate of that name, ſo highly commended by Biſhop Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his life and times, met with ſeverer uſage in the Star Chamber, for venturing to write againſt the Hierarchy of the Church. This Divine had publiſhed, during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, "An "Appeal to the Parliament; or, Zion's Plea againſt Pre-"lacy," in which he had ſpoken not only with freedom, but with very great rudeneſs and indecency againſt Biſhops; calling them "Men of Blood," and ſaying, that we do not read of a greater perſecution and higher indignities done towards God's People in any nation than in this, ſince the death of Queen Elizabeth. He calls the Prelacy of the Church Antichriſtian. He ſpeaks vehemently againſt the Canons and againſt the Ceremonies; and adds, that the Church has her laws from the Scripture, and that no King may make laws for the Houſe of God. He calls the Queen a Daughter of Heth, and concludes with ſaying what pity it is that ſo ingenuous and tractable a King ſhould be ſo monſtrouſly abuſed by the Biſhops, to the undoing of himſelf and his Subjects. Now though the warmth of theſe expreſſions is not to be juſtified, yet let the Reader conſider whether they bear any proportion to the Sentence of the Court. The cauſe was tried June 4, 1630. The Defendant, in his Anſwer, owned the writing of the Book, but with no ill intention; his deſign being only to lay theſe things before the next Parliament for their conſideration. Nevertheleſs, the Court decreed unanimouſly, that for this offence "the Doctor ſhould be committed to the priſon of the Fleet "for life, and pay a fine of ten thouſand Pounds; that Dr. Leighton writes againſt the Biſhops. Ruſhw. p. 55. His Sentence.

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" the High Commiſſion ſhould degrade him from his Mi-
" niſtry; and that then he ſhould be brought to the pillory
" at Weſtminiſter, while the Court was ſitting, and be
" whipt; after whipping, be ſet upon the pillory a conve-
" nient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one ſide of
" his noſe ſlit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S.
" for a Sower of Sedition: That then he ſhould be carried
" back to priſon, and after a few days be pillory'd a ſecond
" time in Cheapſide, and be there likewiſe whipt, and have
" the other ſide of his noſe ſlit, and his other ear cut off,
" and then be ſhut up in cloſe priſon for the remainder of
" his Life." Biſhop Laud pulled off his Cap while this mercileſs Sentence was pronouncing, and gave God Thanks for it.

His Sufferings and Character.

Between paſſing the Sentence and Execution, the Doctor made his eſcape out of priſon, but was retaken in Bedfordſhire, and brought back to the Fleet. On Friday November 6. part of the Sentence was executed upon him (ſays Biſhop Laud in his Diary) after this manner. " He was
" ſeverely whipt before he was put in the pillory. 2. Be-
" ing ſet in the pillory, he had one of his Ears cut off.
" 3. One ſide of his Noſe ſlit. 4. Branded on the Cheek
" with a red-hot Iron with the Letters S. S. On that day
" ſeven-night, his ſores upon his Back, Ear, Noſe, and
" Face, being not yet cured, he was whipt again at the
" pillory in Cheapſide, and had the remainder of his Sen-
" tence executed upon him, by cutting off the other Ear,
" ſlitting the other ſide of the Noſe, and branding the
" other Cheek." He was then carried back to priſon, where he continued in cloſe confinement for ten years, till he was releaſed by the Long Parliament. The Doctor was between forty and fifty years of age, of a low Stature, a fair complexion, and well known for his learning and other abilities: But his long and cloſe confinement had ſo impaired his health, that when he was releaſed he could hardly walk, ſee, or hear. The Sufferings of this learned Man moved the people's compaſſion; and, I believe, the Records of the Inquiſition can hardly furniſh an example of equal ſeverity.

Peirce, p. 179, 181.

Innovations introduced.

To make the Diſtance between the Church and the Puritans yet wider, and the Terms of Conformity more difficult, Biſhop Laud introduced ſundry pompous innovations in imitation of Popery, that had no foundation in the Laws of the Realm, or the Canons of the Church. Theſe were inforced both upon Clergy and Laity, with all the terrors of the

the High Commiſſion, to the ruin of many families, and the raiſing very great diſturbances in all parts of the Kingdom. King Charles I. 1630.

The Church of St. Catherine Creed Church being lately repaired, was ſuſpended from all divine Service till it was conſecrated again; the formality of which being very extraordinary, may give us an Idea of the ſuperſtition of this Prelate. On Sunday January 16, 1630. Biſhop Laud came thither about nine in the morning, attended with ſeveral of the High Commiſſion, and ſome Civilians: At his approach to the weſt door of the Church, which was ſhut and guarded by Halberdeers, ſome that were appointed for that purpoſe, cried with a loud voice, "Open, open, "ye everlaſting Doors, that the King of Glory may come "in;" and preſently the doors being opened, the Biſhop, with ſome Doctors and principal Men, entered. As ſoon as they were come within the place, his Lordſhip fell down upon his knees, and, with eyes lifted up, and his arms ſpread abroad, ſaid; "This place is holy; the ground is holy: In the "Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I pronounce "it holy." Then walking up the middle Iſle towards the Chancel, he took up ſome of the duſt, and threw it into the air ſeveral times. When he approached near the rail of the Communion Table, he bowed towards it five or ſix times, and returning, went round the Church with his attendants in proceſſion, ſaying firſt the hundreth, and then the nineteenth Pſalm, as preſcribed in the Roman Pontificale. He then read ſeveral collects, in one of which he "prays God "to accept of that beautiful building;" and concludes thus: "We conſecrate this Church, and ſeparate it unto thee as "holy Ground, not to be prophaned any more to common "uſe." In another he prays, "that all that ſhould hereaf- "ter be buried within the circuit of this holy and ſacred "place, may reſt in their Sepulchres in peace, till Chriſt's "coming to Judgment, and may then riſe to eternal Life "and Happineſs." After this, the Biſhop ſetting under a cloth of State in the Iſle of the Chancel, near the Communion Table, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curſes upon thoſe that ſhould hereafter profane that holy Place by muſters of Soldiers, or keeping profane Law-courts, or carrying burdens thro' it; and at the end of every curſe, he bowed to the Eaſt, and ſaid, "Let all the people ſay, Amen." When the curſes were ended, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like number of bleſſings upon all that had any hand in framing and building of that ſacred

Biſhop Laud's Conſecration of Creed Church. Ruſhw. p. 77.

Prynne's compleat Hiſtory, p. 114.

King Charles I. 1630.

and beautiful Church, and on thoſe that had given, or ſhould hereafter give, any Chalices, Plate, Ornaments, or other Utenſils; and at the end of every bleſſing he bowed to the Eaſt, and ſaid, "Let all the people ſay, "Amen." After this followed the Sermon, and then the Sacrament, which the Biſhop conſecrated and adminiſtred after this manner:

His conſecration of the Sacrament.

As he approached the Altar, he made five or ſix low bows, and coming up to the ſide of it, where the Bread and Wine were covered, he bowed ſeven times; then, after reading many prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently lifting up the corner of the Napkin, beheld it, and immediately letting fall the Napkin, he retreated haſtily a ſtep or two, and made three low obeyſances. His Lordſhip then advanced, and having uncovered the Bread, bowed three times as before; then he laid his hand upon the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a cover upon it, which having let go, he ſtep'd back, and bowed three times towards it; then he came near again, retired back, and bowed as before: Then the Elements were conſecrated, and the Biſhop having firſt received, gave it to ſome principal Men in their Surplices, Hoods, and Tippets; after which, many prayers being ſaid, the ſolemnity of the Conſecration ended.

Of St. Giles's Church, and others. Prynne, Cant. Doom. p. 117.

Next day he conſecarted St. Giles's Church in the ſame manner, which had been repaired, and part of it new built in his predeceſſor Biſhop Mountain's time. Divine Service had been performed, and the Sacraments adminiſtred in it for three or four years ſince that time without exception; but as ſoon as Laud was advanced to the Biſhoprick of London, he interdicted the Church, and ſhut up the Doors, till it ſhould be reconſecrated, which is more than even the Canon Law requires. Sundry other Chapels and Churches, which had been built long ſince, were, by the Biſhop's Direction, ſhut up till they were conſecrated in this manner; as Immanual Chapel in Cambridge, built 1584. Sidney College Chapel, built 1596. and ſeveral others.

Remarks.

This method of conſecrating Churches was new to the People of England, and was, in the opinion of the firſt Reformers, ſuperſtitious and abſurd; for though it is reaſonable that there ſhould be publick Buildings reſerved and ſet apart for publick Worſhip, and that at the firſt opening them, Prayers ſhould be offered up for a Divine Bleſſing on the Ordinances of Chriſt, that may

that may at any time be adminiſter'd in them; yet have we not the leaſt ground to believe that Biſhops, or any other Dignitaries of the Church, can, by their Declaration, or Forms of Prayer, hallow the Building, or make the Ground holy, or introduce a divine Preſence or Glory into the place, as was in the Temple of old: Where is their Commiſſion? or what example have they of this kind in the new Teſtament? the Synagogues of the Jews were not conſecrated in this manner; nor was the Temple of Solomon conſecrated by a Prieſt, but by a King. Our Saviour tells his Diſciples, that whereſoever two or three of them ſhould be gathered together in his name, he would be in the midſt of them; and the Woman of Samaria, that the hour was coming, when neither at that Mountain, nor at Jeruſalem, they ſhould worſhip the Father. Beſides, the Revolutions which time and other accidents make in Towns and Cities, render it impoſſible to prevent the Alienation or Profanation of the holy Ground; for to look no farther than the City of London, would it not be very hard if all the Curſes that Biſhop Laud pronounced in Creed Church, ſhould reſt upon them who live in the Houſes that are built by Act of Parliament in places where there were conſecrated Churches, or Church-yards, before the Fire of London? Archbiſhop Parker therefore, in his "Antiquitates "Eccleſiæ Britan." p. 85, 86. condemns this practice as ſuperſtitious; nor was there any form for it in the publick Offices of the Church. But this being objected to Archbiſhop Laud at his Trial, as an Evidence of his inclination to Popery; we ſhall there ſee his Grace's Defence, with the learned Reply of the Houſe of Commons, concerning the antiquity of conſecrating Churches.

King Charles I. 1630.

A Proclamation had been publiſhed laſt year, "com- "manding the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to take ſpecial "care that the Pariſh Churches in their ſeveral Dioceſes, "being places conſecrated to the Worſhip of God, be kept "in decent repair, and to make uſe of the power of the "Eccleſiaſtical Court to oblige the Pariſhioners to this part "of their Duty." The Judges were alſo required not to interrupt this good Work, by too eaſily granting Prohibitions from the Spiritual Courts. It ſeems, ſundry Churches ſince the Reformation were fallen to decay; and ſome that had been defaced by the pulling down of Images, and other ſuperſtitious Relicks, had not been decently repaired, the expence having been too great for the poorer Country Pariſhes;

Proclamation for repairing Churches. Ruſhw. p. 28.

King Charles I. 1630.

riſhes; it was therefore thought neceſſary to oblige them to their Duty; but, under colour of this Proclamation, Laud introduced almoſt all the ſuperſtitious Decorations of Popery, and puniſhed thoſe Miniſters in the High Commiſſion Court that ventured to write or preach againſt them.

1631. Cathedral of St. Paul's repaired.

His Lordſhip began with his own Cathedral of St. Paul's, for repairing and beautifying of which a Subſcription and Contribution was appointed over the whole Kingdom. Several Houſes and Shops adjoining to the Cathedral were, by an injunction of Council, ordered to be pulled down, and the owners to accept of a reaſonable Satisfaction: But if they would not comply, the Sheriff of London was required to ſee them demoliſhed. The Church of St Gregory's was pulled down, and the inhabitants aſſigned to Chriſt's Church, where they were to aſſemble for the future. The Biſhop's heart was in this Work, and to ſupport the expence, gave way to many oppreſſions and unjuſtifiable methods of raiſing Money, by Compoſitions with Recuſants, Commutations of Penance, exorbitant fines in the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion, inſomuch that it became a Proverb, "that St. Paul's was repaired with the Sins of "the people." Before the year 1640. above one hundred and thirteen thouſand Pounds was laid out upon it, with which the body of the Church was finiſhed, and the Steeple ſcaffolded. There was alſo a ſtately Portico built at the Weſt End, ſupported with Pillars of the Corinthian order, and embelliſhed with the Statues of King James and King Charles; but the rebuilding the Spire, and the inſide Decorations, miſcarried, by the breaking out of the Civil War.

Collyer, Eccl. Hiſt. p. 751.

Decorations and Paintings of Cathedrals and other Churches.

What theſe Decorations and Ornaments of Paintings, Carvings, Altars, Crucifixes, Candleſticks, Images, Veſtments, &c. would have been, can only be gueſſed by the Faſhion of the Times, and by the Scheme that was now formed to recover and repair the broken Relicks of Superſtition and Idolatry which the Reformation had left, or to ſet up others in imitation of them; for though the Reformation of Queen Elizabeth had deſtroy'd a great many Monuments of this kind; yet ſome were left entire, and others but very little defaced. In the Cathedral of Canterbury, over the Door of the Choir, were left thirteen Images, or Statues of Stone; twelve of them repreſenting the twelve Apoſtles, and the thirteenth in the middle of them our Saviour Chriſt. Over theſe were twelve

Parl. Chron. p. 101.

twelve other Images of Popiſh Saints. In the ſeveral Windows of the Cathedral were painted the picture of St. Auſtin the Monk, the firſt Biſhop of that See, and ſeven large pictures of the Virgin Mary, with Angels lifting her up to Heaven, with this inſcription, "Gaude Maria ſponſa Dei." Under the Virgin Mary's Feet were the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and in the bottom of the Window this inſcription, "In laudem & honorem beatiſſimæ Virginis." Beſides theſe, were many pictures of God the Father, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and of our Saviour lying in a Manger, beſides a large Image of Thomas Becket, and others; all which were taken away by the Long Parliament.

King Charles I. 1631. Cathedral of Canterbury.

In the Cathedral of Durham, there was an Altar of Marble Stone ſet upon Columns, with many Cherubims, Pictures and Images about it, which coſt above two thouſand Pounds. There were three Statues of Stone in the Church; one ſtanding in the midſt, repreſenting Chriſt with a golden Beard, a blue Cap and Sun Rays upon his Head, as the Record of Parliament ſays; (though Dr. Coſins, in his vindication, ſays, it was miſtaken for the top of Biſhop Hatfield's Tomb.) There was alſo an image of "God the Father," and many other carved images, pictures, &c. which the preſent Dignitaries of the Cathedral had in great admiration; and, to keep up the pomp, they bought copes of Maſs Prieſts, with crucifixes and images of the Trinity embroidered upon them. They had conſecrated knives to cut the ſacramental Bread, and great numbers of lighted candles upon the Altars on Sundays and Saints Days. On Candlemas-day there were no leſs than two hundred, whereof ſixty upon and about the Altar; all which were reckoned among the "Beauties of the Sanctuary." "But "theſe fopperies (ſays Biſhop Kennet) did not perhaps "gain over one Papiſt, but loſt both the King and Biſhops "the hearts and affections of the Proteſtant part of the "Nation, and were (as his Lordſhip obſerves) contrary to "Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, 1559. which appoint, "that all candleſticks, trentals, rolls of wax, pictures, "paintings, &c. be remov'd out of Churches."

Of Durham.

However, Biſhop Laud was peculiarly fond of them, and, as ſoon as he was tranſlated to Lambeth, repaired the paintings in the windows of that Chapel; in one pane of which, had been the picture of "Chriſt crucified, with "a Scull and dead Mens Bones under it; a Baſket full of "Tools and Nails, with the High Prieſt and his Officers "on Horſeback, and the two Thieves on Foot. In the "next

Of Lambeth Chapel. Cant. Doom. p. 59, 60, 61.

King Charles I. 1631.

" next were the two Thieves on Croſſes; ——Abraham " offering up his Son Iſaac, and the brazen Serpent on a " Pole.—— In other Panes were the pictures of Chriſt ri- " ſing out of the Grave, and aſcending up into Heaven, " with his Diſciples kneeling about him.——The deſcent of " the Holy Ghoſt on the Apoſtles, in the ſhape of cloven " Tongues.———God's giving the law upon Mount Sinai; " his coming down from Heaven at the Prayer of Eliſha; " ——Chriſt and his twelve Apoſtles ſitting in Judgment " on the World."———In other parts of the Church was painted the Virgin Mary, " with the Babe Chriſt ſucking " at her Breaſt;———The wiſe Men from the Eaſt com- " ing to adore him;——The Hiſtory of the Annunciation, " with the picture of the Virgin Mary, and of the Holy " Ghoſt overſhadowing her, together with the birth of " Chriſt;" all which having been defaced at the Reformation, were now reſtored, according to the Roman Miſſale, and beautified at the Archbiſhop's coſt. The like reparations of paintings, pictures, and crucifixes, were made in the King's Chapel at Whitehall, Weſtminſter-Abbey, and both the Univerſities, as was objected to the Archbiſhop at his trial, where the reader will meet with his Grace's defence of the lawfulneſs and antiquity of Church paintings. The Puritans apprehended theſe paintings and decorations of Churches tended to Image Worſhip, and were directly contrary to the Homily, " Of the peril of " Idolatry;" their Miniſters therefore preached and writ againſt them, and in ſome places removed them; for which they were ſeverely handled in the High Commiſſion.

Puritan Preachers expell'd the Univerſity, for preaching againſt Arminianiſm. Book XI. p. 141.

Biſhop Laud had been choſen Chancellor of Oxford laſt year, [April the 12th,] where the Puritans ſoon gave him ſome diſturbance. Mr. Hill of Hart Hall, Mr. Ford of Magdalene Hall, Mr. Giles Thorne of Baliol College, and Mr. Giles Hodges of Exeter College, were charged with preaching againſt Arminianiſm and the new Ceremonies in their Sermons at St. Mary's. Hill made a publick Recantation, and was quickly releaſed; but the very Texts of the others (ſays Mr. Fuller) gave offence: One preached on Numbers xiv. 4. " Let us make a Captain, and let us re- " turn into Egypt: And another on 1 Kings xiii. 2. " And " he cried againſt the Altar in the Word of the Lord, and " ſaid, O Altar, Altar, &c." Theſe Divines being convened before the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Smith, as offenders againſt the King's inſtructions, appealed from the Vice-Chancellor to the Proctors, who received their appeal. Upon this, the

Ruſhw. Part II. p. 110.

Chancellor

Chancellor complained to the King, and procured the cauſe to be heard before his Majeſty at Woodſtock, Auguſt 23d. when the following ſentence was paſſed upon them: "That "Mr. Ford, Thorn, and Hodges, be expelled the Univer- "ſity; that both the Proctors be deprived of their places "for accepting the appeal; and that Dr. Prideaux, Rec- "tor of Exeter College, and Dr. Wilkinſon, Principal "of Magdalen Hall, receive a ſharp admonition for their "miſbehaviour in this buſineſs." Mr. Thorn and Hodges, after a year's deprivation, deſiring to be reſtored, preached a Recantation Sermon, and read a written ſubmiſſion in the Convocation Houſe on their bended knees, before the Doctors and Regents; but Mr. Ford making no addreſs to be reſtored, returned to his Friends in Devonſhire; and being like to be choſe Lecturer or Vicar of Plymouth, the inhabitants were required not to chooſe him, upon pain of his Majeſty's high diſpleaſure; and in caſe he was choſen, the Biſhop of Exeter was commanded not to admit him.

King Charles I. 1631.

Prynne, Cant. Doom. p. 175.

Mr. Crowder, Vicar of Vell near Nonſuch, was about this time, committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate for ſixteen weeks, and then deprived by the High Commiſſion, without any Articles exhibited againſt him, or proof of any crime. It was pretended that matters againſt him were ſo foul, that they were not fit to be read in Court; but then they ought to have been notified to him, that he might have had an opportunity to diſprove or confeſs them, which could not be obtained. Mr. Crowder was a pious Man, and preached twice a day, which was an unpardonable crime ſo near the Court.

Hardſhips of Mr. Crowder.

Sundry eminent Divines removed to New England this year; and among others the famous Mr. Elliot, the Apoſtle of the Indians, who not being allowed to teach ſchool in his native Country, retired to America, and ſpent a long and uſeful Life in converting the Natives, whoſe language he learn'd, and with indefatigable pains tranſlated the Bible into it.

Mr. Elliot removes to New England.

Two very conſiderable Puritan Divines were alſo removed into the other World by Death, (viz.) Mr. Arthur Hilderſham, born at Stetchworth, Cambridgeſhire, October the 6th, 1563. and educated in Chriſt's College, Cambridge, of an ancient and honourable Family; his Mother Anne Poole being Niece to the Cardinal of that Name. His Father educated him in the popiſh Religion; and becauſe he would not go to Rome at fourteen or fifteen years of age, he diſinherited him: But the Earl of Huntingdon,

Death of Mr. Arthur Hilderſham.

is

King Charles I. 1631.

his near Kinſman, provided for him, and ſent him to Cambridge, where he proceeded M. A. and enter'd into holy Orders. In the year 1587. he was placed, by his honourable Kinſman above-mentioned, at Aſhby de la Zouch in Leiceſterſhire, and inducted into the living ſome time after. But here he was ſilenced ſeveral times for Non-conformity, as in the year 1590. in the year 1605. and again in the year 1611. under which laſt ſuſpenſion he continued many years. In the year 1613. he was enjoined by the High Commiſſion not to preach, or exerciſe any part of the miniſterial function, till he ſhould be reſtored. In the year 1615. he was committed to the Fleet by the High Commiſſion, for refuſing the oath Ex Officio, where he continued three Months, and was then releaſed upon bond. In November 1616. the High Commiſſion proceeded againſt him, and pronounced him refractory and diſobedient to the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church; and becauſe he refuſed to conform, they prouounced him a Schiſmatick, fined him two thouſand Pounds, excommunicated him, and ordered him to be attached and committed to priſon, that he might be degraded of his Miniſtry: But Mr. Hilderſham wiſely abſconded, and kept out of the way. In the year 1625. he was reſtored to his Living; but when Laud had the aſcendant, he was ſilenced again for not reading divine Service in the Surplice and Hood, and was not reſtored till a few Months before his Death. Though he was a Non-conformiſt to his Death, as appears by his laſt Will and Teſtament; yet was he a perſon of great temper and moderation: He loved and reſpected all good Men, and oppoſed the ſeparation of the Browniſts, and the Semi-ſeparation of Mr. Jacob. His Lectures on the 51ſt Pſalm, and his other printed Works, as well as the encomiums of Dr. Willet and Dr. Preſton, ſhew him to have been a moſt excellent Divine: What pity was it, that his uſefulneſs in the Church ſhould be ſo long interrupted! he died March 4, 1631. in the ſixty ninth year of his age, having been Miniſter of Aſhby de la Zouch (as the times would ſuffer him) above forty three years.

Clark's Life of Hilderſham.

And of Mr. Robert Bolton.

Mr. Robert Bolton, born at Blackbourn in Lancaſhire, 1572. educated firſt in Lincoln College, and afterwards in Brazen Noſe College, Oxford, of which he was Fellow. Here he became famous for his Lectures in moral and natural Philoſophy, being an excellent Grecian, and well verſed in School Divinity, though at preſent a profane wicked Man. While he was at College, he contracted an acquaintance

tance with one Anderton, a Popiſh Prieſt, who taking advantage of his mean circumſtances, would have perſuaded him to reconcile himſelf to the Church of Rome, and go over to one of the Engliſh Seminaries in Flanders. Mr. Bolton accepted the motion, and appointed a place of meeting to conclude the affair: But Anderton diſappointing him, he returned to the College, and fell under ſtrong troubles for his former miſpent life; ſo that he could neither eat nor ſleep, nor enjoy any peace of mind for ſeveral months; but at length, by prayer and humiliation, he received comfort. Upon this, he reſolved to enter into the Miniſtry, in the thirty fifth year of his age. About two years after, he was preſented to the living of Broughton in Northamptonſhire, where he continued till his death. He was a moſt awakening and authoritative Preacher, having the moſt ſtrong maſculine and oratorical Stile of any of the Age in which he lived. He preached twice every Lord's Day, beſides catechizing. Upon every Holy Day, and every Friday before the Sacrament, he expounded a Chapter: His conſtant courſe was to pray ſix times a Day, twice in private, twice with his Family, and twice with his Wife, beſides many days of private humiliation that he kept for the Proteſtant Churches in Germany. He was of a comely grave preſence, that commanded reſpect in all companies; zealous in the cauſe of Religion, and yet ſo prudent as to eſcape being called in Queſtion all the while he lived in Northamptonſhire. At length he was ſeized with a Tertian Ague, which, after fifteen Weeks, put a period to his valuable and uſeful Life, December 17th, 1631. in the ſixtieth year of his age. He made a moſt devout and Chriſtian End, praying heartily for all his Friends that came to ſee him; bidding them make ſure of Heaven, and bear in mind what he had formerly told them in his Miniſtry, proteſting that what he had preached to them for twenty years, was the truth of God, as he ſhould anſwer it at the tribunal of Chriſt. He then retired within himſelf, and ſaid, "Hold out Faith and Patience, your Work will ſpeedily be "at an End." The Oxford Hiſtorian calls him a moſt religious and learned Puritan, a painful and conſtant Preacher, a perſon of great zeal towards God, charitable and bountiful; but above all, an excellent Caſuiſt for afflicted conſciences: His eloquent and uſeful works will recommend his memory to lateſt poſterity.

King Charles I. 1631.

About

King Charles I. 1632.

Feoffees cenſured in the Star-chamber, and their impropriations confiſcated.

About the year 1627. there was a ſcheme formed by ſeveral Gentlemen and Miniſters, to promote preaching in the Country, by ſetting up Lectures in the ſeveral Market Towns of England; and to ſupport the expence a ſum of money was raiſed by voluntary contibution, for the purchaſing ſuch impropriations as were in the hands of the Laity, the profits of which were to be parcel'd out into Salaries of forty or fifty Pounds per Annum, for the ſubſiſtence of their Lecturers; the Money was lodged in the hands of the following Miniſters, and Gentlemen, in truſt for the aboveſaid purpoſes, under the name and character of Feoffees, viz. Dr. William Gouge, Dr. Sibbs, Dr. Offspring, and Mr. Davenport, of the Clergy; Ralph Eyre and Simon Brown, Eſqs. of Lincoln's Inn, C. Sherman of Gray's Inn, and John White, of the Middle Temple, Lawyers; Mr. John Gearing, Mr. Richard Davis, Mr. G. Harwood, and Mr. Francis Bridges, Citizens of London. There were at this time three thouſand eight hundred and forty five Pariſh Churches appropriated to Cathedrals, or to Colleges, or impropriated as Lay Fees to private perſons, having formerly belonged to Abbies. The Gentlemen abovementioned dealt only in the latter, and had already bought in thirteen impropriations, which coſt between five and ſix thouſand Pounds. Moſt people thought this a very commendable deſign, and wiſhed the Feoffees good ſucceſs; but Biſhop Laud looked upon them with an evil eye, and repreſented them to the King as in a conſpiracy againſt the Church, becauſe they did not reſtore the impropriations they purchaſed to the ſeveral Livings, but kept them in their own hands for the encouragement of factious and ſeditious Lecturers, who were to depend upon their patrons, as being liable to be turned out if they neglected their duty. He added further, that the Feoffees preferr'd chiefly Non-Conformiſt Miniſters, and placed them in the moſt popular market Towns, where they did a great deal of miſchief to the Hierarchy of the Church. For theſe reaſons an information was brought againſt them in the Exchequer by Mr. Attorney General Noy, as an unlawful Society, formed into a body corporate without a grant from the King for the purchaſing Rectories, Tithes, Prebendaries, &c. which were regiſter'd in a Book, and the profits not employed as by law they ought.

Fuller, B. XI. p. 136. Appeal, p. 13. Prynne, p. 379, 385. Ruſhw. Part II. p. 150.

The defendants appeared, and in their anſwer declared, that they apprehended impropriations in the hands of Laymen, and not employed for the maintenance of Preachers, were a damage to the Church; that the purchaſing of them

for

for the purpoſes of Religion, was a pious work, and not contrary to Law, it being notorious, that Impropriations are frequently bought and ſold by private perſons; that the donors of this money, gave it for this and ſuch other good uſes as the defendants ſhould think meet, and not for the endowment of perpetual Vicars, that they had not converted any of the money to their own uſe, nor erected themſelves into a body corporate; and that to their knowledge they had never preſented any to a Church, or place in their diſpoſal, who was not conformable to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England, and approved of by the Ordinary of the place. But notwithſtanding all they could ſay, the Court was of opinion, that their proceedings were contrary to Law, and decreed, That their Feoffments ſhould be cancell'd; that the Impropriations they had purchaſed ſhould be confiſcated to the King, and the Feoffees themſelves fined in the Star-Chamber; but the proſecution was dropt as too invidious, it appearing in Court by the receipts and diſburſements, that the Feoffees were out of pocked already above one thouſand pounds. The odium of this proſecution fell upon Laud, whoſe Chancellor told him upon this occaſion, that he was miſerably cenſured by the Separatiſts; upon which he made this reflection in his Diary, "Pray God give me patience and forgive them." King Charles I. 1632.

But his Lordſhip had very little patience with thoſe that oppoſed his proceedings. We have ſeen his Zeal for Pictures and paintings in Churches, which ſome of the Puritans venturing to cenſure in their Sermons and Writings, were expoſed to the ſevereſt puniſhments: Among theſe were the Reverend Mr. John Hayden of Devonſhire, who being forced to abſcond, was apprehended in the Dioceſe of Norwich by Biſhop Harſnet, who after he had taken from him his horſe and money, and all his papers, cauſed him to be ſhut up in cloſe priſon for thirteen weeks; after which, when the Juſtices would have bailed him at the Quarter Seſſions, his Lordſhip ſent him up to the High Commiſſion, who deprived him of his Miniſtry and Orders, and ſet a fine upon him for preaching againſt Decorations and Images in Churches. In the year 1634, Mr. Hayden venturing to preach occaſionally, without being reſtored, was apprehended again and ſent to the Gate-Houſe by Archbiſhop Laud, and from thence to Bridewell, where he was whipt and kept to hard labour; here he was confined in a cold dark dungeon for a whole winter, being chained to a poſt in the middle of a room, with Irons on his hands and feet, having

Sufferings of divers Miniſters for preaching againſt Ch. Ornaments, &c. Mr. Hayden's ſufferings.

Uſurp. Prel. p. 161.

King Charles I. 1632.

no other food but bread and water, and a pad of ſtraw to lie upon. Before his releaſe he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, that he would preach no more, but depart the kingdom in a month and not return. But Biſhop Harſenet did not live to ſee the execution of this part of the ſentence, tho' for his zeal againſt the Puritans he was promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of York, and made a Privy Counſellor. Some time before his death this prelate not only perſecuted the Non-Conformiſts, but complained of the Conformable Puritans, as he called them, becauſe they complyed out of policy, but not in judgment. How hard is the caſe, when men ſhall be puniſhed for not conforming, and be complained of if they conform! Queen Elizabeth uſed to ſay, ſhe would never trouble herſelf about the Conſciences of her ſubjects, if they did but outwardly comply with the laws; but this prelate would ranſack the very heart.

Fuller B. XI. p. 144.

Henry Sherfield Eſq; Ruſbw. Part. 2d. p. 155.

Henry Sherfield, Eſq; a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and Recorder of the city of Sarum, was tried in the Star-Chamber, May 20th, 1632, for taking down ſome painted Glaſs out of one of the windows of St. Edmund's Church in Saliſbury, in which were ſeven Pictures of God the Father, in form of a little old Man in a blue and red coat, with a pouch by his ſide: One repreſents him creating the Sun and Moon with a pair of Compaſſes, others as working on the buſineſs of the ſix days Creation, and at laſt he ſits in an elbow chair at reſt. Many ſimple people, at their going in and out of Church, did reverence to this window (as they ſaid) becauſe the Lord their God was there. This gave ſuch offence to the Recorder, who was alſo a Juſtice of Peace, that he moved the Pariſh at a Veſtry for leave to take it down, and ſet up a new Window of white Glaſs in the place, which was accordingly granted, ſix Juſtices of the Peace being preſent. Some time after Mr. Sherfield broke with his ſtaff the pictures of God the Father, in order to new glaze the Window; an account of which being ſent to London, an information was exhibited againſt him in the Star-Chamber, Feb. 8. 1632-3. The information ſets forth, "That being evil affected to the diſcipline of "the Church, he, with certain confederates, without con-"ſent of the Biſhops, had defaced and pulled down a fair "and coſtly window in the Church, containing the Hiſtory "of the Creation, which had ſtood there ſome hundred "years, and was a great ornament to it; which profane "act

Prynnes's Cant. Doom, p. 102.

" act might give encouragement to other ſchiſmatical Per- King Charles I. 1632.
" ſons to commit the like Outrages."

Mr. Sherfield in his Defence ſays, That the Church of St. Edmund's was a Lay Fee, and exempted from the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of the dioceſe; that the Defendant, with the reſt of the Pariſhioners, had lawful power to take down the glaſs; and that it was agreed by a Veſtry that the glaſs ſhould be changed, and the window made new; and that accordingly he took down a quarry or two in a quiet and peaceable manner; but he avers. that the true Hiſtory of the Creation was not contained in that window, but a falſe and impious one: God the Father was painted like an old Man with a blue Coat, and a pair of Compaſſes, to ſignify his compaſſing the Heavens and the Earth. In the fourth day's work there were Fowls of the Air, flying up from God their Maker, which ſhould have been the fifth day. In the fifth day's Work a naked Man is lying upon the Earth aſleep, with ſo much as from the knees upward growing out of his Side, which ſhould have been the ſixth Day; ſo that the Hiſtory is falſe. His Defence.

Further, this Defendant holds it to be impious, to make an Image or Picture of God the Father, which he undertakes to prove from Scripture, from Canons and Councils, from the mandates and decrees of ſundry Emperors, from the opinions of ancient Doctors of the Church, and of our moſt judicious Divines ſince the Reformation. He adds, That his Belief is agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England, and to the Homilies, which ſay, That Pictures of God are monuments of ſuperſtition, and ought to be deſtroyed; and to Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, which command, " That all Pictures and Monuments of Idolatry ſhould be " removed out of Churches, that no memory of them might " remain in Walls, Glaſs Windows, or elſewhere: " Which injunction is confirmed by the Canons of the 13th of Elizabeth. Mr. Sherfield concludes his defence with denying, that he was diſaffected to the diſcipline of the Church of England, or had encouraged any to oppoſe the Government of it under the Reverend Biſhops.

Though it is hard to make a tolerable Reply to this Defence, yet Biſhop Laud ſtood up and ſpake in excuſe of the Painter, ſaying God the Father was called in Scripture the " Ancient of Days; " but added, that for his own part, he did not ſo well approve of pictures of things inviſible; but be the Paintings better or worſe, he inſiſted ſtrongly, That Mr. Sherfield had taken them down in contempt of the Epiſ- Sentence of the Court.

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copal authority, for which he moved, that he might be fined a thouſand Pounds, and removed from his Recorderſhip of the City of Sarum, that he be committed cloſe Priſoner to the Fleet, till he pay his fine, and then be bound to his good behaviour. To all which the Court agreed, except to the fine, which the Court reduced to five hundred Pounds.

Mr. Workman's Sufferings. Prynne, p. 107, 109.

The Reverend Mr. John Workman, Lecturer of St. Stephen's Church, Glouceſter, in one of his Sermons ſaid, That Pictures or Images were no ornaments to Churches; "that it was unlawful to ſet up images of Chriſt or Saints, "in our Houſes, becauſe it tended to Idolatry, according to "the homily." For which he was ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion, excommunicated, and obliged to an open Recantation in the Court at Lambeth, in the Cathedral of Glouceſter, and in the Church of St. Michael's; he was alſo condemned in coſts of ſuit and impriſoned. Mr. Workman was a Divine of great piety, wiſdom and moderation, and had ſerved the Church of St. Stephen's fifteen years; in conſideration whereof, and of his numerous family, the City of Glouceſter had given him an annuity of 20l. per Annum, under their common Seal, a little before his troubles; but for this act of charity the Mayor, Town Clerk, and ſeveral of the Aldermen were cited before the High Commiſſion, and put to one hundred pounds charges, and the annuity was cancell'd. After this Mr. Workman ſet up a little School, of which Archbiſhop Laud being informed, inhibited him, as he would anſwer the contrary at his peril. He then fell upon the practice of Phyſick, which the Archbiſhop likewiſe abſolutely forbid; ſo that being deprived of all methods of ſubſiſtence he fell into a melancholy diſorder and died.

Bp. Laud's care of the Preſs.

Our Biſhop was no leſs watchful over the Preſs than the Pulpit, commanding his Chaplains to expunge out of all books that came to be licenſed, ſuch paſſages as diſallowed of "Paintings, Carvings, Drawings, Gildings; erecting, bow-"ing, or praying before Images and Pictures;" as appeared by the evidence of Dr. Featly, and others, at his Trial.

Regulations of the Engliſh factories in Holland. Collyer's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 752. Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 389.

The length of this great Prelate's Arm would have reached not only the Puritans in England, but the factories beyond Sea, if it had been in his power. The Engliſh Church at Hamburgh managed their affairs according to the Geneva Diſcipline, by Elders and Deacons. In Holland they conformed to the diſcipline of the States, and met them in their ſynods and aſſemblies, with the conſent of King James, and of his preſent Majeſty, till Secretary Windebank,

Windebank, at the inſtance of this Prelate, offered ſome propoſals to the Privy Council for their better regulation: The Propoſals conſiſted of ten Articles, "1. That all Chaplains of Engliſh regiments in the Low Countries ſhall be exactly conformable to the Church of England. 2. That the merchants reſiding there ſhall admit of no Miniſter to preach among them, but one qualified as before. 3. That if any one after his ſettlement among them proves a Non-conformiſt, he ſhall be diſcharged in three months. 4. That the Scots factories ſhall be obliged to the ſame conformity. 5. That no Miniſter abroad ſhall ſpeak, preach, or print any thing to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh diſcipline and ceremonies. 6. That no conformiſt Miniſter ſhall ſubſtitute a non-conformiſt to preach for him in the factories. 7. That the King's agents ſhall ſee the ſervice of the Church of England exactly performed in the factories. The laſt Articles forbid the Engliſh Miniſters in Holland to hold any claſſical aſſemblies, and eſpecially, not to ordain Miniſters, becauſe by ſo doing they would maintain a ſtanding nurſery for Non-conformity and Schiſm." Theſe propoſals were ſent over to the factories, and the Biſhops writ in particular to Delf, That it was his Majeſty's expreſs command that their Miniſters ſhould conform themſelves in all things to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England, and to all the orders preſcribed in the Canons, Rubrick and Liturgy; and that the names of ſuch as were refractory ſhould be ſent over to him. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed in the attempt, becauſe moſt of the Engliſh congregations being ſupported by the States, muſt have run the hazard of loſing their maintenance, and of being diſſolved, as was repreſented to the King by a petition in the name of all the Engliſh Miniſters in the Low Countries. However, though the Biſhop could not accompliſh his deſigns abroad, we ſhall find him hereafter retaliating his diſappointment upon the French and Dutch Churches at home.

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His Lordſhip met with better ſucceſs in Scotland for the preſent, as being a part of his Majeſty's own dominions. He had poſſeſſed the King with vaſt notions of glory in bringing the Kirk of Scotland to an exact conformity with England; a work which his father had attempted but left imperfect. The King readily fell in with the Biſhop's motion, and determined to run all hazards for the accompliſhing it, as having no leſs a veneration for the ceremonies

1633. King's progreſs into Scotland.

King Charles I. 1633.

the Church of England than the Biſhop himſelf. There had been Biſhops in Scotland for ſome years, but they had little more than the name, being upon the matter ſubject to an Aſſembly that was purely Preſbyterian. To advance their juriſdiction the King had already renewed the High Commiſſion, and aboliſhed all general aſſemblies of the Kirk, not one having been held in his reign; but ſtill (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) there was no form of Religion, no Liturgy, nor the leaſt appearance of any Beauty of Holineſs. To redreſs thoſe grievances, as well as to ſhew the Scots Nation the pomp and grandeur of the Engliſh Hierarchy, his Majeſty reſolves upon a progreſs into his native country to be crowned, and accordingly ſet out from London May 13th, attended by ſeveral noblemen and perſons of quality; and among others by Biſhop Laud. June 18th. his Majeſty was crowned at Edinburgh, the ceremony being managed by the direction of the Biſhop of London, who thruſt away the Biſhop of Glaſcow from his place, becauſe he appeared without the coat of his order, which being an embroidered one, he ſcrupled to wear, being a moderate churchman.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 81.

Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 182.

His uſage of the Scots Parliament.

On the 20th of June the Parliament met, and gave the King a large ſum of money. After which his Majeſty propoſed to them two Acts relating to Religion; one was "Concerning his Royal Prerogative, and the Apparel of Kirkmen." The other, a Bill for "the Ratification of former Acts touching Religion." It being the cuſtom in Scotland for King, Lords and Commons, to ſit in one houſe, when the queſtion was put for the firſt Bill his Majeſty took a paper out of his pocket, and ſaid, "Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I'll know who will do me ſervice, and who will not, this day." Nevertheleſs, it was carried in the negative; thirteen Lords, and the majority of the Commons voting againſt it. The Lords ſaid, they agreed to the Act ſo far as related to his Majeſty's Prerogative, but diſſented from that part of it which referred to the Apparel of Kirkmen, fearing, that under that cover the Surplice might be introduced. But his Majeſty ſaid, he would have no diſtinction, but commanded them to ſay, Yes, or No, to the whole Bill. The King marked every man's vote, and upon caſting them up, the clerk declared it was carried in the affirmative: which ſome of the members denying, his Majeſty ſaid, the Clerk's declaration muſt ſtand, unleſs any one would go to the bar and accuſe him of falſifying the Record of Parliament, at the peril of his life.

Ib. p. 183.

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This manner of treating the whole repreſentative body of the Nation diſguſted all ranks and orders of people. A writing was immediately diſperſed abroad, ſetting forth, How grievous it was for a King to overawe and threaten his Parliament in that manner; and, that the ſame was a breach of privilege; that Parliaments were but a meer pageantry, if the clerk might declare the votes as he pleaſed, and no ſcrutiny be allowed. Lord Balmerino, in whoſe cuſtody this Libel was found, was condemned to loſe his head for it, but was afterwards pardoned. King Charles I. 1633.

After eight days the Parliament was diſſolved, but the King would not look upon the diſſenting Lords, nor admit them to kiſs his hand. The Act concerning the Apparel of Miniſters ſays, that "Whereas it was agreed in the Parliament of 1606. that what order ſoever his Majeſty's Father, of bleſſed memory, ſhould preſcribe for the apparel of Kirkmen, and ſend in Writ to his Clerk of Regiſter, ſhould be a ſufficient warrant for inſerting the ſame in the books of Parliament, to have the ſtrength of any act thereof; the preſent Parliament agrees, that the ſame power ſhall remain with our Sovereign Lord that now is, and his Succeſſors." The bill touching Religion ratifies and approves all Acts and Statutes made before, about the liberty and freedom of the true Kirk of God, and the Religion at preſent profeſſed within this Kingdom, and ordains the ſame to ſtand in full force as if they were particularly mentioned and ſet down. Acts paſſed.

The King left his native country July 16th. but loſt a great deal of ground in the affections of his people, by the contempt he poured upon the Scots Clergy, and his high behaviour in favour of the Engliſh Ceremonies. His Majeſty was attended throughout his whole progreſs by Laud, Biſhop of London, which ſervice his Lordſhip was not obliged to, and no doubt would have been excuſed from, if the deſign of introducing the Engliſh Liturgy into Scotland had not been in view. He preached before the King in the Royal Chapel at Edinburgh, which ſcarce any Engliſh-man had ever done before, and principally upon the benefit of the Ceremonies of the Church, which he himſelf obſerved to the height. It went againſt him to own the Scots Preſbyters for Miniſters of Chriſt; and he took all occaſions to affront their character, which created a high diſguſt in that Nation, and laid the foundation of thoſe reſentments that they expreſſed againſt the Biſhop under his ſufferings. Bp. Laud's behaviour in Scotland. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 81, 82.

King Charles I. 1633.

His regulation of the King's chapel in Edinburgh. Rushw. Part 2d. p. 205, 206.

When the King left Scotland, he erected a new Bishoprick at Edinburgh; and, about two months after, Laud being then newly advanced to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, framed Articles for the reformatiun of his Majesty's Royal Chapel in that city, which were sent into Scotland under his Majesty's own hand, with a Declaration, that they were intended as a pattern for all Cathedrals, Chapels, and Parish Churches in that Kingdom. The Articles appoint, "That Prayers be read twice a day in the "Choir, according to the English Liturgy, till some course "be taken to make one that may fit the custom and con-"stitution of that Church. That all that receive the Sa-"crament in the chapel do it Kneeling. That the Dean "of the chapel always come to church in his Whites, and "preach in them. That the Copes which are consecrated "to our Use be carefully kept, and used at the celebration "of the Sacrament; and that all his Majesty's officers and "Ministers of State be obliged, at least once a year, to "receive the Sacrament at the Royal Chapel kneeling, "for an example to the rest of the people." Thus the liberties of the Kirk of Scotland began to be invaded by an English Bishop, under the wings of the Supremacy, without consent of Parliament or general Assembly. The Scots Ministers in the pulpits preached against the English Hierarchy, and warned the people against surrendering up the liberties of their Kirk into the hands of a neighbouring Nation that was undermining their Discipline; so that when the new Liturgy came to be introduced about four years after, all the people as one man rose up against it.

Death and character of Archbishop Abbot.

The King was no sooner returned from Scotland, but Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury died. He was born at Guildford in Surry, 1562. and educated in Baliol College, Oxford, where he was a celebrated Preacher. In the year 1597. he proceeded Doctor in Divinity, and was elected Master of University College: Two years after he was made Dean of Winchester, and was one of those Divines appointed by King James to translate the New Testament into English. In the year 1609. he was consecrated Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, from thence he was translated to London, and upon the death of Archbishop Bancroft to Canterbury, April 9th. 1611. having never been rector, vicar, or incumbent, in any parish church in England. Lord Clarendon has lessened the character of this excellent Prelate, contrary to almost all other historians, by saying, that

that "He was a Man of very moroſe manners, and of a "very ſowr aſpect, which in that time was called gravi- "ty; that he neither underſtood nor regarded the Conſti- "tution of the Church; that he knew very little of anci- "ent Divinity, but adhered ſtiffly to the Doctrine of Cal- "vin, and did not think ſo ill of his Diſcipline as he ought "to have done; but if Men prudently forbore a publick re- "viling and railing at the Hierarchy, let their private "practice be as it would, he would give them no diſtur- "bance; that his houſe was a Sanctuary to diſaffected per- "ſons, and that he licenſed their writings, by which means "his Succeſſor [Laud] had a very difficult taſk to reduce "things to order." The Oxford Hiſtorian, who was no friend to our Archbiſhop's principles, confeſſes that he was a pious, grave perſon, exemplary in his Life and converſation, a plauſible Preacher, and that the many things that he has written ſhew him to be a Man of parts, learning, and vigilance; an able Stateſman, and of unwearied Study, though overwhelmed with buſineſs. Fuller ſays, he was an excellent Preacher, and that his ſeverity towards the Clergy was only to prevent their being puniſhed by Lay-Judges, to their greater ſhame. Mr. Coke and Dr. Welwood add, That he was a Prelate of primitive ſanctity, who followed the true intreſts of his Country, and of the reformed Churches at home and abroad; that he was a Divine of good Learning, great Hoſpitality, and wonderful moderation, ſhewing upon all occaſions an unwillingneſs to ſtretch the King's Prerogative, or the Act of Uniformity, beyond what was conſiſtent with law, or neceſſary for the peace of the Church: This brought him into all his troubles, and has provoked the writers for the Prerogative to leave a blot upon his memory; but for this all true lovers of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country, will reverence it; and if the Court had followed his wiſe and prudent Counſels, the miſchiefs that befel the Crown and Church ſome years after his death, would have been prevented. We have mentioned his caſual Homicide in the year 1621. for which he kept an annual Faſt as long as he lived, and maintained the widow; notwithſtanding which, if he would have betrayed the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of his Country, he might have continued in high favour to his death; but for his ſteady oppoſition to the arbitrary meaſures of Buckingham and Laud, and for not licenſing Sibthrop's Sermon,

King Charles I. 1633.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 88.

Ath. Ox. p. 584.

Ruſhw. p. 450.

Sermon, he was ſuſpended from his Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction [1628.] after which he retired to Croydon, having no more intereſt at Court, nor influence in the Government of the Church; here he died, in his Archiepiſcopal Palace, Auguſt 4th, 1633. aged ſeventy one, and was buried in Trinity Church in Guilford, the place of his Nativity, where he had erected and endowed an hoſpital for Men and Women. There is a fine Monument over his grave, with his Effigies in full proportion, ſupported by ſix pillars of the Dorick Order of black marble, ſtanding on ſix Pedeſtals of piled Books, with a large Inſcription thereon to his Memory.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Archbiſhop Abbot to the beginning of the Commotions in Scotland, in the year 1637.

King Charles I. 1633.

Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

DR. Laud was now at the height of his Preferment, being advanced to the See of Canterbury two days after Archbiſhop Abbot's death. His Grace was alſo Chancellor of the Univerſities of Oxford and Dublin, Privy Counſellor for England and Scotland, firſt Commiſſioner of the Exchequer, and one of the Committee for trade, and for the King's Revenues: He was alſo offered a Cardinal's Cap, [Aug. 17.] but declined it, (as he ſays) becauſe "There was ſomething dwelt within him which "would not ſuffer it, till Rome was otherwiſe than it "was." We are now to ſee how he moved in this high ſphere. Lord Clarendon admits, "That the Archbiſhop "had all his Life eminently oppoſed Calvin's Doctrine, "for which reaſon he was called a Papiſt; and it may be "(ſays his Lordſhip) the Puritans found the more ſevere "and rigorous uſage for propagating the calumny. He "alſo intended, that the Diſcipline of the Church ſhould "be felt as well as ſpoken of." The truth of which obſervation had appeared in part already, and will receive ſtronger evidence from the following ſeven years of his Government.

The Archbiſhop's antipathy to Calviniſm, and zeal for the external beauty of the Church, carried him to ſome very imprudent and unjuſtifiable extremes; for if the Puritans were too ſtrict in "keeping Holy the Sabbath," his Grace was two large in his indulgence, by encouraging Revels, May-games and Sports, on that ſacred day.

Com-

King Charles I. 1633.

Wakes and Revels on the Lord's Day countenanced. Prynne's Cant. Doom. p. 153.

Complaint having been made to the Lord Chief Juſtice Richardſon, and Baron Denham, in their Weſtern Circuit, of great Inconveniencies ariſing from Revels, Church Ales, and Clerk Ales on the Lord's Days, the two Judges made an order at the Aſſizes for ſuppreſſing them, and appointed the Clerk to leave copies of the Order with every Pariſh Miniſter, who was to give a Note under his hand, to publiſh it in his Church yearly, the firſt Sunday in February, and the two Sundays before Eaſter. Upon the return of the Circuit of the Judges required an account of the execution of their order, and puniſhed ſome perſons for the breach of it; upon which the Archbiſhop complained to the King of their invading the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and prevailed with his Majeſty to ſummons them before the Council. When they appeared, Richardſon pleaded that the Order was made at the requeſt of the Juſtices of the Peace, and with the unanimous conſent of the whole Bench, and juſtified it from the following precedents: Sept. 10. Eliz. 38th, the Juſtices aſſembled at Bridgewater ordered, That no Church Ale, Clerk Ale, or Bid Ale, be ſuffered; ſigned by Popham, Lord Chief Juſtice, and ten others. The ſame order was repeated 1599. and 41ſt of Eliz. and again at Exeter, 1615. and 13th of Jac. and even in the preſent King's Reign, 1627. with an order for the Miniſter of every Pariſh Church to publiſh it yearly. But notwithſtanding all the Chief Juſtice could ſay, he received a ſharp reprimand, and a preremptory Injunction to revoke his order at the next Aſſizes; which he did in ſuch manner as loſt him his credit at Court for the future; for he then declared to the Juſtices, "That he thought he "had done God, the King, and his Country good Service, "by that good Order that he and his Brother Denham "had made, for ſuppreſſing unruly Wakes and Revels, "but that it had been miſreported to his Majeſty, who "expreſly charged him to reverſe it; accordingly (ſays he) "I do, as much as in me lies, reverſe it, declaring the "ſame to be null and void, and that all perſons may uſe "their recreations at ſuch meetings as before." This reprimand and injunction almoſt broke the Judge's Heart, for when he came out of the Council Chamber, he told the Earl of Dorſet with tears in his eyes, that he had been miſerably ſhaken by the Archbiſhop, and was like to be choaked with his Lawn Sleeves.

Archbiſhop Laud's letter about them.

Laud having thus humbled the Judge, and recovered the Epiſcopal Authority from neglect, took the affair into his

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his own hand, and writ to the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Oct. 4th, for a fuller information. In his letter he takes notice, That there had been of late ſome noiſe in Somerſetſhire about the Wakes; that the Judges had prohibited them under pretence of ſome diſorders, by which argument (ſays he) any thing that is abuſed may be quite taken away; but that his Majeſty was diſpleaſed with Richardſon's Behaviour at the two laſt Aſſizes, and eſpecially the laſt; being of opinion, that the Feaſts ought to be kept for the recreation of the people, of which he would not have them debarred under any frivolous pretences, to the gratifying of the Humouriſts, which were very numerous in thoſe parts, and united in crying down the Feaſts; his Grace therefore requires the Biſhop to give him a ſpeedy account how theſe Feaſts had been ordered.

Biſhop of Bath and Well's Anſwer. Cant. Doom, p. 142.

Pierce, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in anſwer to this letter acquaints the Archbiſhop, "That the late ſuppreſſion "of the Revels was very unacceptable, and that the reſtitu- "tion of them would be very grateful to the Gentry, Cler- "gy and Common People; for proof of which he had "procured the hands of ſeventy two of his Clergy, in whoſe "Pariſhes theſe Feaſts are kept; and he believes, that if "he had ſent for one hundred more, he ſhould have had "the ſame anſwer from them all; but theſe ſeventy two "(ſays his Lordſhip) are like the ſeventy two Interpre- "ters, that agreed ſo ſoon in the Tranſlation of the Old "Teſtament into the Greek." He then proceeds to explain the nature of theſe Feaſts. "There are (ſays he) "in Somerſetſhire, not only Feaſts of Dedication [or "Revel Days] but alſo Church Ales, Clerk Ales, and Bid "Ales.

Their Original and uſe.

Feaſts of Dedication.

"The Feaſts of Dedication are in the Memory of the "Dedication of their ſeveral Churches; thoſe Churches "which are dedicated to the Holy Trinity have their "Feaſts on Trinity Sunday; and ſo all the Feaſts are kept "upon the Sunday before or after the Saint's Day to "whom the Churches are dedicated, becauſe the peo- "ple have not leiſure to obſerve them on the week days; "this, ſays his Lordſhip, is acceptable to the people, "who otherwiſe go into Tipling-houſes, or elſe to Conven- "ticles.

Church Ales.

"Church Ales are when the People go from afternoon "Prayers on Sundays to their lawful Sports and Paſtimes "in the Church Yard, or in the Neighbourhood, in ſome "publick Houſe, where they drink and make mer-

ry.

" ry. By the Benevolence of the People at theſe Paſ- King Charles I. 1633.
" times many poor Pariſhes have caſt their Bells, and beau-
" tified their Churches, and raiſed ſtocks for the poor; and
" there has not been obſerved ſo much diſorder at them as
" commonly at Fairs or Markets.

" Clerk Ales [or leſſer Church Ales] are ſo called, becauſe Clerk Ales.
" they were for the better maintenance of the Pariſh
" Clerk; and there is great reaſon for them (ſays his Lord-
" ſhip) for in poor Country Pariſhes, where the wages of
" the Clerk are but ſmall, the people thinking it unfit that
" the Clerk ſhould duly attended at Church and not gain
" by his office; ſend him in Proviſion, and then come on
" Sundays and feaſt with him, by which means he ſells
" more Ale, and taſtes more of the Liberality of the peo-
" ple, than their Quarterly Payments would amount to in
" many years; and ſince theſe have have been put down
" many Miniſters have complained to me (ſays his Lord-
" ſhip) that they are afraid they ſhall have no Pariſh
" Clerks.

" A Bid Ale is, when a poor Man decayed in his ſub- Bid Ales.
" ſtance, is ſet up again by the liberal Benevolence and Con-
" tribution of his friends at a Sunday's Feaſt."

The people were fond of theſe recreations, and the Biſhop recommends them, as bringing the people more willingly to Church; as tending to civilize them, and to compoſe differences among them; and as ſerving to encreaſe love and unity, for as much as they were in the nature of Feaſts of Charity, the richer ſort keeping in a manner open houſe; for which, and ſome other reaſons, his Lordſhip thinks them fit to be retained.

But the Juſtices of the Peace were of another mind, and ſigned an humble Petition to the King, in which they declare, that theſe Revels had not only introduced a great profanation of the Lord's Day, but riotous tipling, contempt of Authority, Quarrels, Murders, &c. and were very prejudicial to the Peace, Plenty, and good Government of the Country, and therefore they pray, that they may be ſuppreſſed. Here is the Laity petitioning for the religious obſervation of the Lord's Day, and the Biſhop with his Clergy pleading for the profanation of it.

To ſupport theſe diſorderly Aſſemblies more effectually, Archbiſhop Laud put the King upon republiſhing his Father's Declaration of the year 1618. " Concerning lawful " Sports to be uſed on Sundays after Divine Service;" Declaration for Sports on the Lord's Day.

which

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which was done accordingly, Oct. 18th. with this remarkable addition. After a recital of the Words of King James's Declaration his Majesty adds,

"Out of a like pious care for the Service of God, "and for suppressing of those Humours that oppose truth, "and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his Ma- "jesty's well deserving people, he doth ratify his blessed "Father's Declaration, the rather, because of late in "some Counties of this Kingdom his Majesty finds, that "under pretence of taking away an Abuse, there hath "been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meet- "ings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Church- "es, commonly called Wakes; it is therefore his Ma- "jesty's express Will and Pleasure, that these Feasts with "others shall be observed, and that all Neighbourhood "and Freedom, with Man-like and lawful Exercises be "used; and the Justices of Peace are commanded not "to molest any in their Recreations, having first done their "Duty to God, and continuing in obedience to his Ma- "jesty's Laws. And he does further will, that publication "of this his command be made by order from the Bi- "shops, through all the Parish Churches of their several "Dioceses respectively."

Of the Morality of the Sabbath.

This Declaration revived the Controversy of the morality of the Sabbath, which had slept for many years; Mr. Theophilus Bradbourne, a Suffolk Minister, had published in the year 1628. "A Defence of the most ancient "and sacred Ordinance of God, the Sabbath Day," and dedicated it to the King. But Fuller observes, "That "the poor Man fell into the ambush of the High Com- "mission, whose well tempered severity so prevailed with "him, that he became a Convert, and conformed quiet- "ly to the Church of England." Francis White, Bishop of Ely, was commanded by the King to confute Bradbourne; after him appeared Dr. Pocklington, with his Sunday no Sabbath; and after him Heylin the Archbishop's Chaplain, and others. These Divines instead of softening some Excesses in Bradbourne's Sabbatarian strictness, ran into the contrary extreme, denying all manner of Divine Right or moral Obligation to the observance of the whole, or any part of the Lord's Day, making it depend entirely upon Ecclesiastical Authority, and to oblige no further than to the few Hours of publick Service; and that in the Intervals, not only walking

B. XI. p. 144.

(which

(which the Sabbatarians admitted) but mixed dancing, maſques, interludes, revels, &c. were lawful and expedient. King Charles I. 1633.

But inſtead of convincing the ſober part of the Nation, it ſtruck them with a kind of horror, to ſee themſelves invited by the authority of the King and Church, to that which looked ſo like a contradiction to the command of God. It was certainly out of character, for Biſhops and Clergymen, who ſhould be the ſupport of Religion, to draw men off from the practice of it in their families and cloſets, by enticing them to publick recreations. People are forward enough of themſelves to go into theſe liberties, and need a check rather than a ſpur; but the wiſdom of theſe times was different. The Court had their balls, maſquerades, and plays on the Sunday evenings, while the youth of the Country were at their revels, morrice dances, may-games, church and clerk ales, and all kinds of recreations. Remarks.

The revival of this declaration was charged upon Archbiſhop Laud at his trial, but his Grace would not take it upon himſelf, though he confeſſed his judgment was for it. It was to be publiſhed in all Pariſh Churches, but whether by the Miniſter, or any other perſon, was left to the direction of the Biſhop, and therefore the putting this hardſhip on the Clergy was their Act and Deed; but Laud knew it would diſtreſs the Puritans, and purge the Church of a ſet of Men, for whom he had a perfect averſion. The reaſon given for putting it upon them was, becauſe the two Judges had enjoined the Miniſters to read their order againſt revels in the Churches; and therefore it was proper to have it reverſed by the ſame perſons and in the ſame place. Fuller, p. 148.

The ſevere preſſing this declaration made ſad havock among the Puritans for ſeven years. Many poor Clergymen ſtrained their conſciences to read it. Some when they had read it immediately read the fourth Commandment to the people, "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy; "adding, This is the Law of God; the other, the in-"junction of Man." Some put it upon their Curates, but great numbers refuſed to comply upon any terms. Fuller ſays, "That the Archbiſhop's moderation in his own Dio-"ceſe was remarkable, ſilencing but three, in whom alſo "was a concurrence of other Non-conformities; but that "his adverſaries imputed it not to his charity but policy. Fox "like, preying fartheſt from his own Den, and inſtigating "other Biſhops to do more than he would appear in him-"ſelf." Hardſhips of the Puritans with relation to the Declaration. B. XI. p. 148.

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"ſelf." Sir Nath. Brent, his Grace's Vicar-General, atteſted upon oath, at the Archbiſhop's Trial, that he gave him a ſpecial charge to convene all Miniſters before him who would not read the Book of Sports on the Lord's Day, and to ſuſpend them for it; and that he gave particular order to ſuſpend the three following Kentiſh Miniſters by name, (viz.) Mr. Player, Mr. Hieron, and Mr. Culmur. Whereupon he did, againſt his Judgment, ſuſpend them all, "Ab Officio & Beneficio," though the King's Declaration (as has been obſerved) does not oblige the Miniſter to read it, nor authorize the Biſhops to inflict any puniſhment on the refuſers. When the ſuſpended Miniſters repaired to Lambeth, and petitioned to be reſtored, the Archbiſhop told them, "If they did not know how to obey, he did not "know how to grant their Petition." So their ſuſpenſion continued till the beginning of the commotions in Scotland, to the ruin of their poor Families; Mr. Culmer having a Wife and ſeven Children to provide for.

Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 149.

Sufferings of Mr. Wilſon and others for not reading it.

Several Clergymen of other Dioceſes were alſo ſilenced, and deprived on the ſame account; as, Mr. Thomas Wilſon of Otham, who being ſent for to Lambeth, and aſked, whether he had read the Book of Sports in his Church, anſwered no; whereupon the Archbiſhop replied immediately, "I ſuſpend you for ever from your Office and Be-"nefice till you read it;" and ſo he continued four years, being cited into the High Commiſſion, and articled againſt for the ſame crime. Mr. Wrath and Mr. Erbery were brought up from Wales, Mr. William Jones from Glouceſterſhire, with divers others, and cenſured by the High Commiſſion (of which the Archbiſhop was chief) for not reading the Declaration. To theſe may be added Mr. Whitfield of Ockly, Mr. Grath of Woverſh, Mr. Ward of Pepper Harrow, Mr. Farrol of Purbright, and Mr. Pegges of Wexford, to whom the Archbiſhop ſaid, that he ſuſpended him "Ex nunc prout ex tunc," in caſe he did not read the King's Declaration for Sports, on the Sunday ſeven-night following.

Ib. p. 151.

Sufferings of Mr. Snelling, and his Reaſons for not reading the Book of Sports.

The Reverend and learned Mr. Lawrence Snelling, Rector of Paul's Cray, was not only ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion at Lambeth for four years, but deprived and excommunicated for not reading the Declaration. He pleaded in his own defence, the laws of God and of the Realm, and the authority of Councils and Fathers; he added, that the King's Declaration did not enjoin Miniſters to read it, nor authorize the Biſhops or High Commiſſioners

to

to ſuſpend or puniſh Miniſters for not reading it; that it being a meer Civil, not an Eccleſiaſtical Declaration enjoined by any Canons or Authority of the Church, no Eccleſiaſtical Court could take cognizance of it. All which Mr. Snelling offered to the Commiſſioners in writing, but the Archbiſhop would not admit it, but ſaid in open Court, that "whoſoever ſhould make ſuch a defence, "it ſhould be burnt before his Face, and he laid by the "Heels." Upon this he was perſonally and judicially admoniſhed to read the Declaration within three weeks, which he refuſing, was ſuſpended "Ab Officio & Beneſi-"cio. About four Months after he was judicially admoniſhed again, and refuſing to comply, was excommunicated, and told, that unleſs he conformed before the ſecond Day of next Term, he ſhould be deprived; which was accordingly done, and he continued under the ſentence many years, to his unſpeakable damage.

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"It were endleſs to go into more particulars; how many "hundred godly Miniſters, in this and other Dioceſes (ſays "Mr. Prynne) have been ſuſpended from their Miniſtry, "ſequeſter'd, driven from their Livings, excommunicated, "proſecuted in the High Commiſſion, and forced to leave "the Kingdom for not publiſhing this Declaration, is ex-"perimentally known to all Men." Dr. Wren, Biſhop of Norwich, ſays, that great numbers in his Dioceſe had declined it, and were ſuſpended; that ſome had ſince complied, but that ſtill there were thirty that peremptorily refuſed and were excommunicated. This the Biſhop thinks a ſmall number, but if there were as many in other Dioceſes, the whole would amount to near eight hundred.

Ib. p. 153.

To render the Common Prayer Book more unexceptionable to the Papiſts, and more diſtant from Puritaniſm, the Archbiſhop made ſundry Alterations in the later Editions, without the Sanction of Convocation or Parliament. In the Collect for the Royal Family, "the Princeſs Elizabeth, and "her children were left out," and theſe words were expunged, "O God, who art the Father of thine Elect, and "of their ſeed;" as tending towards particular Election or Predeſtination. In the prayer for the 5th of November were theſe words, "Root out that Antichriſtian and Baby-"loniſh Sect, which ſay of Jeruſalem, down with it even "to the Ground. Cut off thoſe workers of iniquity, whoſe "religion is rebellion, whoſe faith is faction, whoſe practice "is murdering both ſoul and body;" which in the laſt Edi-

Alterations in the Service Book. Cant. Doom, p. 111, 112

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tion are thus changed, "Root out the Antichriſtian and "Babyloniſh Sect of Them, which ſay of Jeruſalem, "Down with it—Cut off thoſe workers of iniquity, who turn Religion into rebellion, &c." The deſign of which alteration was to relieve the Papiſts, and to turn the Prayer againſt the Puritans, upon whom the Popiſh Plot was to have been father'd. In the Epiſtle for Palm Sunday, inſtead of "In the Name of Jeſus," as it was heretofore, 'tis now, according to the laſt Tranſlation, "At the Name of Jeſus "every Knee ſhall bow. But it was certainly very high preſumption, for a ſingle Clergyman, or any number of them, to alter a Service Book eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, and impoſe thoſe alterations upon the whole body of the Clergy.

Bowing at the Name of Jeſus.

The Puritans always excepted againſt bowing at the Name of Jeſus; it appeared to them very ſuperſtitious, as if Worſhip was to be paid to a Name, or to the Name of Jeſus, more than to that of Chriſt or Immanuel. Nevertheleſs it was enjoin'd by the eighteenth Canon, and in compliance with that injunction, our laſt Tranſlators inſerted it into their text, by rendring ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, "In the Name of "Jeſus," as it was before, both in the Bible and Common Prayer Book, "At the Name of Jeſus," as it now ſtands; but no penalty was annexed to the neglect of this Ceremony, nor did any ſuffer for it, till Biſhop Laud was at the Head of the Church, who preſſed it equally with the reſt, and cauſed above twenty Miniſters to be fined, cenſured, and put by their Livings, "for not bowing at the Name of "Jeſus, or for preaching againſt it."

Uſurp. of Prelates.

Communion Tables turned into Altars.

On the third of November was debated before his Majeſty in Council, the queſtion about removing the Communion Table in St. Gregory's Church near St. Paul's, from the middle of the Chancel to the upper end of it, and placing it there in form of an Altar. This being enjoined upon the Church-Wardens by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, without conſent of the Pariſhioners, they oppoſed it, and appealed to the Court of Arches, alledging, that the Book of Common Prayer, and eighty ſecond Canon, gave liberty to place the Communion Table where it might ſtand with moſt convenience. His Majeſty being informed of the appeal, and acquainted by the Archbiſhop, that it would be a leading caſe all over England, was pleaſed to order it to be debated before himſelf in Council, and after hearing the arguments on both ſides, declared, that the liberty given by the eighty ſecond Canon was not to be underſtood ſo, as if it

it were to be left to the diſcretion of the pariſh, much leſs to the fancies of a few humorous perſons, but the judgment of the ordinary [or Biſhop] to whoſe place it properly belong'd to determine theſe points; he therefore confirm'd the Act of the ordinary, and gave commandment, that if the Pariſhioners went on with their appeal, the Dean of the Arches, who was then attending at the hearing of the cauſe, ſhould confirm the order of the Dean and Chapter. This was a ſovereign manner of putting an end to a Controverſy, but very agreeable to the Archbiſhop. King Charles I. 1633. Ruſhw. Part 2d, p. 207.

When the Sacrament was adminiſter'd in Pariſh Churches, the Communion Table was uſually placed in the middle of the Chancel, and the people received round it, or in their ſeveral places there about; but now all Communion Tables were ordered to be fixed under the Eaſt Wall of the Chancel with the ends North and South in form of an Altar; they were to be raiſed two or three ſteps above the floor, and encompaſſed with rails. Archbiſhop Laud ordered his Vicar General to ſee this alteration made in all the Churches and Chapels of his Province; to accompliſh which, it was neceſſary to take down the galleries in ſome Churches, and to remove ancient Monuments. This was reſented by ſome conſiderable families, and complained of as an injury to the Dead, and ſuch an expence to the living, as ſome Country Pariſhes could not bear; but yet thoſe who refuſed to pay the rates directed by the Archbiſhop for this purpoſe, were fined in the Spiritual Courts, contrary to law. It is incredible to imagine, what a ferment the making this alteration at once raiſed among the common people all over England. Many Miniſters and Church Wardens were excommunicated, fined, and obliged to do penance, for neglecting the Biſhops injunctions. Great numbers refuſed to come up to the rails and receive the Sacrament, for which ſome were fined, and others excommunicated, to the number of ſome hundreds, ſays the Committee of the Houſe of Commons at the Archbiſhop's Trial. Miſchiefs that attended it. Prynne's Cant: Doom. p. 100, 101.

Books were writ for and againſt this new practice, with the ſame earneſtneſs and contention for victory as if the life of Religion was at Stake. Dr. Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, publiſhed two treatiſes againſt it, one intituled, "A letter to the Vicar of Grantham; the other, The "Holy Table, Name and thing;" filled with ſo much learning, and that learning ſo cloſely and ſolidly applied, (ſays Lord Clarendon) as ſhewed he had ſpent his time Agreements for and againſt it.

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in his retirement with his Books very profitably. Dr. Heylin, who anſwered the Biſhop, argued from the words of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, 1559; from the orders and Advertiſements of 1562, and 1565. from the practice of the King's Chapels and Cathedrals; and finally, from the preſent King's Declaration, recommending a conformity of the Pariſh Churches to their Cathedrals. The Biſhop, and with him all the Puritans, inſiſted upon the practice of primitive antiquity, and upon the 82d Canon of 1603. which ſays, "We appoint, that the Table for the Celebration of "the holy Communion ſhall be covered with a fair "linen cloth at the time of Adminiſtration, and ſhall then "be placed in ſo good ſort within the Church or Chancel, "as thereby the Miniſter may more conveniently be heard "of the communicants in his prayer, and the communi-"cants may more conveniently, and in more numbers "communicate." They urged the Rubrick in the Common-prayer-book; that Altars in Churches were a popiſh invention, of no greater antiquity in the chriſtian Church than the ſacrifice of the Maſs; and inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on the diſcontinuance of them ſince the Reformation. But the Archbiſhop being determined to carry his point, proſecuted the affair with unjuſtifiable rigor all over the Kingdom, puniſhing thoſe that oppoſed him with great ſeverity, and without regard to the laws of the Land. This occaſioned a ſort of Schiſm among the Biſhops, and a great deal of uncharitableneſs among the inferior Clergy; for thoſe Biſhops who had not been beholden to Laud for their preferments, nor had any farther expectations, were very cool in this affair, while the Archbiſhop's creatures, in many places, took upon them to make theſe alterations by their own authority, without the injunctions or directions of their Dioceſans, which occaſioned many Law-ſuits. Thoſe that oppoſed the alterations were called Doctrinal Puritans, and the promoters of them Doctrinal Papiſts.

Of bowing towards the Altar.

The Court Clergy were of the latter ſort, and were vehemently ſuſpected of an inclination to Popery, becauſe of their ſuperſtitious bowing to the altar, not only in time of divine ſervice, but at their going in and out of Church. This was a practice unknown to the laiety of the Church of England before this time, but Archbiſhop Laud introduced it into the Royal Chapel at Whitehall, and recommended it to all the Clergy by his example, for when he went in and out of Chapel, a lane was always made for him to ſee the Altar, and do reverence towards it. All his Majeſty's

jeſty's Chaplains, and even the common people, were enjoined the ſame practice. In the new body of Statutes for the Cathedral of Canterbury, drawn up by his Grace, and confirmed under the Great Seal, the Dean and Prebendaries are obliged by oath, to bow to the Altar at coming in and going out of Church; which could ariſe from nothing but a belief of the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, or Altar; or from a ſuperſtitious imitation of the Pagans worſhipping towards the Eaſt.

King. Charles I. 1633.

Collyer's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 762.

To make the adoration more ſignificant, the Altars in Cathedrals were adorned with the moſt pompous furniture, and all the veſſels had a ſolemn conſecration. The Cathedral of Canterbury was furniſhed, according to Biſhop Andrews's model, who took it from the Roman Miſſal, with two Candleſticks, Tapers, a Baſin for oblations, a Cuſhion for the ſervice-book, a Silver gilt Caniſter for the wafers, like a wicker baſket, lined with cambrick lace, the Tonne on a cradle; a Chalice with the image of Chriſt and the loſt ſheep, and of the wiſe men and ſtar, engraved on the ſides and on the cover. The Chalice was covered with a linen napkin, called the Aire, embroidered with coloured Silk; two Patins, the Tricanale being a round ball with a ſcrew cover, out of which iſſued three pipes, for the water of mixture; a Credentia, or ſide table, with a baſin and ewer on napkins, and a towel, to waſh before the conſecration; three kneeling Stools covered and ſtuffed, the Foot Pace with three Aſcents, covered with a Turkey carpet; three Chairs uſed at ordinations, and the Septum or Rail with two aſcents. Upon ſome Altars there was a pot, called the Incenſe pot, and a Knife, to cut the ſacramental bread.

Furniture of the Altar of the Cathedral of Canterbury.

The conſecration of this furniture was after this manner; the Archbiſhop in his cope, with two Chaplains in their ſurplices, having bowed ſeveral times towards the altar, read a portion of Scripture; then the veſſels to be conſecrated were delivered into the hands of the Archbiſhop, who after he had placed them upon the altar, read a form of prayer, deſiring God to bleſs and accept of theſe veſſels, which he ſeverally touched and elevated, offering them up to God, after which they were not to be put to common uſe. We have ſeen already the manner of his Grace's conſecrating the ſacramental elements at Creed Church; there was a little more ceremony in Cathedrals, where the wafers and wine being firſt placed with great ſolemnity on the Credentia, or ſide Table, were to be removed from thence by one of the Archbiſhop's Chaplains, who, as ſoon as he turns

Conſecration of the Furniture.

King Charles I. 1633.

his face about to the Altar with the elements in his hands, bows three times, and again when he comes to the foot of it, where he preſents them upon his knees, and lays them upon the Altar for conſecration. How far the bringing theſe inventions of men into the worſhip of God, is chargeable with ſuperſtition, and with a departing from the ſimplicity of the chriſtian Inſtitution, I leave with the reader; but ſurely, the impoſing them upon others under ſevere penalties, without the ſanction of Convocation, Parliament, or Royal Injunction, was not to be juſtified.

Injunctions againſt Lecturers. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 214.

The Lecturers, or afternoon Preachers, giving his Grace ſome diſturbance, notwithſtanding the attempts already made to ſuppreſs them, the King ſent the following injunctions to the Biſhops of his Province; "1. That "they ordain no Clergyman without a preſentation to ſome "living. Or, 2. Without a Certificate that he is pro-"vided of ſome void Church. Or, 3. Without ſome "place in a cathedral or collegiate Church. Or, 4. Un-"leſs he be a Fellow of ſome College. Or, 5. A Maſter "of Arts of five years ſtanding, living at his own charge. "Or, 6. Without the intention of the Biſhop to provide "for him." By virtue of theſe injunctions no chaplainſhip to a nobleman's family, nor any invitation to a lecture, could qualify a perſon for ordination, without a living.

Laud's account of the ſtate of his Province.

In the annual account the Archbiſhop gave the King of the State of his Province this year, we may obſerve, how much the ſuppreſſing of theſe popular Preachers lay upon his mind. "The Biſhop of Bath and Wells (ſays "his Grace) has taken a great deal of pains in his late "viſitation, to have all the King's Inſtructions obſerved, "and particularly he has put down ſeveral Lecturers in "market towns who were beneficed in other dioceſes, be-"cauſe he found, when they had preached factious ſer-"mons, they retired without the reach of his juriſdic-"tion.

"And whereas his Majeſty's Inſtructions require, That "Lecturers ſhould turn their afternoon ſermons into cate-"chiſings, ſome Parſons or Vicars object againſt their "being included, becauſe Lecturers are only mentioned; "but the Biſhops will take care to clear their doubts, and "ſettle their practice.

"The Biſhop of Peterborough had ſuppreſſed a ſedi-"tious Lecture at Repon, and put down ſeveral Monthly

"Lectures,

" Lectures, kept with a faſt, and managed by a moderator. He had alſo ſuppreſſed a meeting called the Running Lecture, becauſe the lecture went from village to village. King Charles I. 1633.

" The Biſhop of St. Aſaph ſays, That his Dioceſe is without exception, abating the increaſe of Romiſh Recuſants in ſome places, by their ſuperſtitious concourſe to St. Winifred's Well.

" The Biſhop of Landaff certifies, That he has not one ſtubborn Non-conformiſt, or ſchiſmatical Miniſter within his Dioceſe, and but two Lecturers.

" All the Biſhops declare, that they take ſpecial care of that branch of his Majeſty's Inſtructions relating to Calviniſm, or preaching upon the predeſtinarian points; and the Archbiſhop prays his Majeſty, that no layman whatſoever, and leaſt of all the Companies of the city of London, or Corporations, ſhould under any pretence have power to put in, or turn out any Lecturer, or other Miniſter."

In this account the reader will obſerve but little complaint of the growth of Popery, which we ſhall ſee preſently was at prodigious height; but all the Archbiſhop's artillery is pointed againſt the Puritan Clergy, who were the moſt determined and reſolved Proteſtants in the Nation.

Towards the cloſe of this year came on the famous trial of William Prynne, Eſq; Barriſter of Lincoln's Inn, for his Hiſtriomaſtix, a book written againſt Plays, Maſques, Dancing, &c. The information ſays, That though the author knew, that the Queen and Lords of the Council were frequently preſent at thoſe diverſions, yet he had railed againſt theſe and ſeveral others, as May-poles, Chriſtmas-keeping, dreſſing Houſes with Ivy, Feſtivals, &c. that he had aſperſed the Queen, and commended factious perſons; which things are of dangerous conſequence to the Realm and State. The cauſe was heard in the Star Chamber, Feb. 7th. The Council for Mr. Prynne were Mr. Atkyns, afterwards Judge of the Common Pleas, Mr. Jenkins, Holbourne, Herne, and Lightfoot. For the King was Mr. Attorney General Noy. The Council for the Defendant pleaded, that he had handled the argument of Stage-Plays in a learned manner, without deſigning to reflect on his ſuperiors; that the book had been licenſed according to law; and, that if any paſſages may be conſtrued

Mr. Prynne's ſentence in the Star Chamber. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 221.

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ſtrued to reflect on his Majeſty, or any branch of his government, he humbly begs pardon. But Mr. Attorney aggravated the charge in very ſevere language, and pronounced it a malicious and dangerous libel. After a full hearing he was ſentenced "To have his Book burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to be put from the Bar, and to be for ever "incapable of his profeſſion, to be turned out of the Society of "Lincoln'sInn, to be degraded at Oxford, to ſtand in the pillory, at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, to loſe both his ears, one "in each place, to pay a fine of five thouſand Pounds, and to "ſuffer perpetual impriſonment." Remarkable was the Speech of the Earl of Dorſet on this occaſion; Mr. "Prynne "(ſays he) I declare you to be a Schiſm-Maker in the "Church, a Sedition-Sower in the Commonwealth, a wolf "in ſheeps clothing; in a word, Omnium malorum "nequiſſimus. I ſhall fine him ten thouſand Pounds, "which is more than he is worth, yet leſs than he deſerves. "I will not ſet him at liberty no more than a plagued man, "or a mad dog, who, though he can't bite will foam: He "is ſo far from being a ſocial Soul, that he is not a rational "Soul. He is fit to live in dens with ſuch beaſts of prey, as "wolves, and tygers, like himſelf! therefore I condemn "him to perpetual impriſonment; and for corporal puniſh-"ment I would have him branded in the forehead, ſlit in "the noſe, and have his ears chopt off." A Speech more fit for an American Savage than an Engliſh Nobleman!

Ruſhw. p. 233, 240.

Dr. Baſtwick's.

A few months after Dr. Baſtwick, a Phyſician at Colcheſter, having writ a Book, intitled, "Elenchus Religionis "Papiſticæ," with an Appendix, called "Flagellum Pon-"tificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium," which gave offence to the Engliſh Biſhops, becauſe it denied the divine right of the order of Biſhops above Preſbyters, was cited before the High Commiſſion, who diſcarded him from his Profeſſion [1634] excommunicated him, fined him one thouſand pounds, and impriſonment till he recanted.

Mr. Burton's

Mr. Burton, B. D. Miniſter of Friday Street, having publiſhed two exceptionable Sermons from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. intitled, "For God and the King," againſt the late Innovations, had his houſe and ſtudy broke open by a Serjeant at Arms, and himſelf committed cloſe priſoner to the Gate-Houſe, where he was confined ſeveral years.

Theſe terrible proceedings of the Commiſſioners made many conſcientious Non-Conformiſts retire with their families to Holland and New England, for fear of falling into the hands of men, "whoſe tender mercies were cruelty."

Among

King Charles I. 1633.

Among others that went over this Year was the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Cotton, B. D. Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and Miniſter of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, where he was in ſuch repute, that Dr. Preſton and others from Cambridge frequently viſited him; he was an admired Preacher, and of a moſt meek and gentle diſpoſition: He became a Non-Conformiſt upon this principle, "That no Church had power to impoſe indifferent "ceremonies, not commanded by Chriſt, on the conſcien-"ces of men." He therefore omitted ſome of the ceremonies, and adminiſter'd the Sacrament to ſuch as deſired it, without kneeling; for which he was informed againſt in the High Commiſſion; and Laud being now at the Head of affairs, the Biſhop of Lincoln his dioceſan, could not protect him. Mr. Cotton applied to the Earl of Dorſet for his intereſt with the Archbiſhop, but the Earl ſent him word, "that if he had been guilty of drunkenneſs, uncleanneſs, "or any ſuch leſſer fault, he could have got his pardon, but "the ſin of Puritaniſm and Non-Conformity" (ſays his "Lordſhip) is unpardonable, and therefore you muſt fly for "your ſafety." Upon this he travell'd to London in diſguiſe, and took paſſage for new England, where he arrived Sept. 3. 1633. and ſpent the remainder of his days, to the Year 1652.

Rev. Mr. Cotton removes to New England. Mather's Hiſt. N. E. B. III. p. 18 &c.

Mr. John Davenport, B. D. and Vicar of Coleman Street, London, reſigned his living, and retired to Holland this ſummer. He fell under the reſentments of his Dioceſan, Biſhop Laud, for being concerned in the Feoffments, which, together with ſome notices he received of being proſecuted for non-conformity, induced him to embark for Amſterdam, where he continued about three years, and then returning to England, he ſhipped himſelf with ſome other families for New England, where he began the ſettlement of New Haven in the year 1637. He was a good Scholar, and an admired Preacher, but underwent great hardſhips in the infant colony, with whom he continued till about the year 1670. when he died.

And Mr. Davenport. Ib. B. III. p. 52.

The Reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and Lecturer of Chelmsford in Eſſex, after four years exerciſe of his Miniſtry was obliged to lay it down for non-conformity, though forty ſeven conformable Miniſters in the neighbourhood ſubſcribed a petition to the Biſhop [Laud] in which they declare, that Mr. "Hooker "was for Doctrine Orthodox, for life and converſation ho-"neſt, for diſpoſition peaceable, and in no wiſe turbulent or factious.

And Mr. Hooker. Mather's Hiſt. N. E. B. III. p. 60.

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factious. Notwithſtanding which he was ſilenced by the Spiritual Court, 1630. and bound in a recognizance of fifty pounds to appear before the High Commiſſion; but by the advice of his friends he forfeited his recognizance and fled to Holland; here he continued about two years fellow-labourer with old Mr. Forbes, a Scots Man at Delf, from whence he was called to aſſiſt Dr. Ames at Rotterdam, but upon his death he returned to England, and being purſued by the Biſhop's Officers from place to place, he embarked this Summer for New England, and ſettled with his friends upon the Banks of Connecticut River, where he died in the Year 1647. He was an awakening Preacher, and a conſiderable practical Writer, as appears by his Books of "Pre-"paration for Chriſt, Contrition, Humiliation, &c.

Dr. Ames's Death and Character.

The Reverend and Learned Dr. William Ames, educated at Cambridge, under the famous Mr. Perkins, fled from the perſecution of Archbiſhop Bancroft, and became Miniſter of the Engliſh Church at the Hague, from whence he was invited by the States of Frieſland to the divinity chair in the Univerſity of Franeker, which he filled with univerſal reputation for twelve years. He was in the Synod of Dort, and informed King James's Ambaſſadors at the Hague, from time to time, of the Debates of that venerable Aſſembly. He writ ſeveral Treatiſes in Latin, againſt the Arminians, which for their conciſeneſs and perſpicuity, were not equalled by any of his time. His other Works are; "Manuductio "Logica, Medulla Theologiæ, Caſes of Conſcience, Ana-"lyſis on the Book of Pſalms, Notes on the firſt and ſecond "Epiſtles of Peter, and upon the Catechiſtical heads." After twelve Years Dr. Ames reſigned his Profeſſorſhip, and accepted of an invitation to the Engliſh Congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too ſharp for him, who was troubled with ſuch a difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every Winter would be his laſt; beſides, he had a deſire to be employed in the delightful work of preaching to his own Countrymen, which he had diſuſed for many Years. Upon his removal to Rotterdam he writ his "Freſh ſuit a-"gainſt Ceremonies;" but his conſtitution was ſo ſhatter'd, that the air of Holland did him no ſervice; upon which he determin'd to remove to New England, but his Aſthma returning at the beginning of the Winter put an end to his Life at Rotterdam, where he was buried, Nov. 14. N. S. 1633. Next Spring his Wife and Children embarked for New England, and carried with them his valuable Library of

Books,

Books, which was a rich treaſure to the Country at that time. The Doctor was a very learned Divine, a ſtrict Calviniſt in Doctrine, and of the Perſuaſion of the Independants, with regard to the ſubordination and power of Claſſes and Synods. King Charles I. 1633.

Archbiſhop Laud being now Chancellor of the Univerſity of Dublin, and having a new Deputy [Wentworth] diſpoſed to ſerve the purpoſes of the Prerogative, turned his thoughts againſt the Calviniſts of that Kingdom, reſolving to bring the Church of Ireland to adopt the Articles of the Church of England. Archbiſhop Uſher, and ſome of his brethren, being informed of the deſign, moved in convocation, that their own Articles ratified by King James in the Year 1615. might be confirmed, but the motion was ſet aſide, becauſe it was ſaid, they were already fortified with all the authority the Church could give them; and that a further confirmation would imply a defect. It was then moved on the other ſide, that for ſilencing the popiſh Objections of a diſagreement among Proteſtants, a Canon ſhould be paſſed for approving the Articles of the Church of England, which was done with but one diſſenting voice; one Calviniſt (ſays Mr. Collyer) having look'd deeper into the matter than the reſt. 1634 Thirty nine Articles received in Ireland.

The Canon was in theſe words; "For the Manifeſtation "of our agreement with the Church of England, in the "Confeſſion of the ſame Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine of the "Sacramenst, we do receive and approve the Book of Articles "of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, "&c. in the Year 1562. for the avoiding diverſity of opi-"nions, and for eſtabliſhing conſent touching true Reli-"ligion; and therefore if any hereafter ſhall affirm, that "any of theſe Articles are in any part ſuperſtitious or erro-"neous, or ſuch as he may not with a good Conſcience "ſubſcribe unto, let him be excommunicated." Bi. b. Reg. Sect. 13. No. XIII.

The Iriſh Biſhops thought they had loſt nothing by this Canon, becauſe "they had ſaved their own Articles," but Laud took advantage of it during the time of his Chancellorſhip; for hereby the Church of Ireland denounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all that affirmed any of the thirty-nine Articles to be ſuperſtitious or erroneous, that is, againſt the whole Body of the Puritans; and Fuller adds, That their own Articles which condemned Arminianiſm, and maintained the morality of the Sabbath, were utterly excluded. Remarks B. XI. P. 140.

This

King Charles I. 1634.

Mr. Sheppard removes to New England.

This Summer the Reverend Mr. Thomas Sheppard, M. A. fled to New England. He had been Lecturer at Earls Coln, in Eſſex, ſeveral years, but when Laud became Biſhop of London, his Lecture was put down, and himſelf ſilenced; he then retired into the family of a private Gentleman, but the Biſhop's Officers following him thither, he travelled into Yorkſhire, where Neile Biſhop of the Dioceſe commanded him to ſubſcribe or depart the Country; upon this he went to Heddon in Northumberland where his labours were proſpered to the converſion of ſome Souls; but the Biſhop of Durham, by the direction of Archbiſhop Laud, forbid his preaching in any part of his Dioceſe, which obliged him to take ſhipping at Yarmouth for New England; here he continued Paſtor of the Church at Cambridge till his death, which happened Aug. 25, 1649. in the forty fourth year of his age. He was a hard Student, an exemplary Chriſtian, and an eminent Practical Writer, as appears by his Sincere Convert, and other Practical Works that go under his name.

And Mr. Norton.

The Reverend Mr. John Norton went over in the ſame Ship with Mr. Sheppard, being driven out of Hertfordſhire, by the ſeverity of the times. He ſettled at Ipſworth in New England, and was afterwards removed to Boſton where he died in the year 1665. Mr. Fuller ſays, he was a Divine of no leſs learning than modeſty, as appears ſufficiently by his numerous writings.

French and Dutch Churches obliged to Conformity.

His Grace of Canterbury having made ſome powerful efforts to bring the Churches of Scotland and Ireland to an uniformity with England, reſolved in his metropolitical Viſitation this Summer to reduce the Dutch and French Churches (which were ten in number, having between five and ſix thouſand Communicants) to the ſame Conformity; for this purpoſe he tendered them theſe three articles of enquiry.

1. "Whether, do you uſe the Dutch or French Liturgy?

2. "Of how many Deſcents are you ſince you came into England?

5. "Do ſuch as are born here in England conform to the "Engliſh Ceremonies?"

The Miniſters and Elders demurred upon the Queſtions, and inſiſted upon the Charter of Privileges granted by King Edward VI. and confirmed no leſs than five times in the reign of King James, and twice by King Charles himſelf, by virtue of which they had been exempt from all Archi-

Archiepiſcopal and Epiſcopal Juriſdiction till this time; but Laud, without any regard to their Charter, ſent them the two following Injunctions by his Vicar-General. King Charles I. 1634.

Laud's Injunctions to them.

1. "That all that were born in England of the Dutch "and Walloon Congregations, ſhould repair to their Pariſh Churches.

2. "That thoſe who were not natives, but came from "abroad, while they remained ſtrangers, might uſe their "own Diſcipline, as formerly."

In this emergency the Dutch and Walloon Churches petitioned for a toleration, and ſhewed the inconveniencies that would ariſe from the Archbiſhop's Injunctions; as, that if all their Children born in England were taken from their Communion, their Churches muſt break up and return home, for as they came into England for the liberty of their Conſciences, they would not continue after it was taken from them. They deſired therefore it might be conſidered, what damages would ariſe to the Kingdom by driving away the Foreigners with their Manufactures, and diſcouraging others from ſettling in their room. The Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury aſſured his Grace, that above twelve hundred of their poor were maintained by the Foreigners, and others interceded with the King in their favour; but his Majeſty anſwered, "We muſt believe our "Archbiſhop of Canterbury," who uſed their Deputies very roughly, calling them a neſt of Schiſmaticks, and telling them it were better to have no foreign Churches, than to indulge their Non-conformity. In concluſion he aſſured them by a letter dated Aug. 19, 1635. that his Majeſty was reſolved his Injunctions ſhould be obſerved, viz. "That "all their children of the ſecond deſcent born in Eng- "land ſhould reſort to their Pariſh Churches," and (ſays his Grace) I do expect all obedience and conformity from you, and if you refuſe, I ſhall proceed againſt the natives according to the Laws and Canons Eccleſiaſtical. Accordingly ſome of their Churches were interdicted, others ſhut up, and the Aſſemblies diſſolved; their Miniſters were ſuſpended, many of their people left the Kingdom, eſpecially in the Dioceſe of Norwich, where Biſhop Wren drove away three thouſand Manufacturers in wool, cloth, &c. ſome of whom employed a hundred poor People at work; to the unſpeakable damage of the Kingdom.

Ruſhw. p. 249.

They are broken up.

As a farther mark of diſregard to the foreign Proteſtants, the King's Ambaſſador in France was forbid to frequent their religious Aſſemblies. "It had been cuſtomary (ſays

Foreign Proteſtant Churches diſowned.

King Charles I. 1634.

" (ſays Lord Clarendon) for the Ambaſſadors employed " in any parts where the reformed Religion was exerci- " ſed, to frequent their Churches, and to hold correſpon- " dence with the moſt powerful perſons of that Religion, " particularly the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris conſtantly " frequented the Church at Charenton; but the contrary " to this was now practiſed, and ſome Advertiſements, if " not inſtructions, given to the Ambaſſador, to forbear any " commerce with the Men of that Religion. Lord Scu- " damore, who was the laſt Ambaſſador before the begin- " ning of the Long Parliament, inſtead of going to Cha- " renton, furniſhed his Chapel after the new faſhion, with " Candles upon the Altar, &c. and took care to publiſh " upon all occaſions, " that the Church of England look- " ed not on the Hugonots as a part of their Communion;" " which was likewiſe induſtriouſly diſcourſed at home. This " made a great many foreign Proteſtants leave the Kingdom, " and tranſport themſelves into foreign parts." The Church of England by this means loſt the eſteem of the Reformed Churches abroad, who could hardly pity her when a few years after ſhe ſunk down into the deepeſt diſtreſs.

Brief for the Palatine Miniſters.

To give another inſtance of the Archbiſhop's diſaffection to the foreign Proteſtants, the Queen of Bohemia, the King's Siſter, ſolicited the King in the moſt preſſing manner, to admit of a publick collection over England for the poor perſecuted Miniſters of the Palatinate, who were baniſhed their Country for their Religion. Accordingly the King granted them a Brief to go through the Kingdom; but when it was brought to the Archbiſhop, he excepted againſt the following clauſe;——" Whoſe caſes are the more " to be deplored, becauſe this extremity is fallen upon " them for their ſincerity and conſtancy in the true Reli- " gion, which we together with them profeſſed, and which " we are all bound in Conſcience to maintain to the utmoſt " of our Powers. Whereas theſe religious and godly Per- " ſons, being involved among others their Countrymen, " might have enjoyed their Eſtates and Fortunes, if with " other backſliders in the time of trial, they would have " ſubmitted themſelves to the Antichriſtian Yoke, and " have renounced or diſſembled the profeſſion of their " Religion." His Grace had two exceptions to this paſſage. 1. The Religion of the Palatine Churches is affirmed to be the ſame with ours, which he denied, becauſe they were Calviniſts, and becauſe their Miniſters had not Epiſcopal

Cyp. Angl. Collyer, P. 765.

Laud's Exceptions to it.

Epiſcopal Ordination. 2. He objected to the Church of Rome's being called an Antichriſtian Yoke, becauſe it would then follow, that ſhe was in no capacity to convey ſacerdotal Power in Ordinations, and conſequently the benefit of the Prieſthood, and the force of Holy Miniſtrations would be loſt in the Engliſh Church, for as much as ſhe has no orders but what ſhe derives from the Church of Rome. Laud having acquainted the King with his exceptions, they were expunged in another draught. But the collection not ſucceeding in this way, Dr. Sibbes, Gouge, and other Divines of the Puritan party, ſigned a private recommendatory letter, deſiring their friends to enlarge their charity, "as to Men of the ſame Faith and Profeſſion with "themſelves," and promiſing to ſee to the right diſtribution of the Money; but as ſoon as Laud heard of it he cited the Divines before the High Commiſſion, and put a ſtop to the collection. King Charles I. 1634.

This year put an end to the Life of the Reverend Mr. Hugh Clarke, born at Burton upon Trent, 1563. and educated partly at Cambridge, and partly at Oxford. He was firſt Miniſter of Oundle in Northamptonſhire, and then of Woolſton in Warwickſhire, from whence he was ſuſpended, and afterwards excommunicated, for expounding upon the Catechiſm. At length he was indicted for High Treaſon, becauſe he prayed, "That God would forgive the "Queen [Elizabeth] her Sins, but was acquitted." He was an awakening Preacher, of a warm Spirit, and a robuſt body, which he wore out with preaching twice every Lord's Day, and frequently on the Week-days. His Miniſtry met with great ſucceſs, even to his death, which happened Nov. 6th, 1634. in the ſeventy ſecond year of his age. Mr. Hugh Clarke's Death and Character.

About the ſame time died the Reverend and pious Mr. John Carter, a Man that feared God from his youth, and was always employed in acts of Devotion and Charity. He was born in Kent, 1554. and educated in Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was firſt Miniſter of Bramford in Suffolk for thirty four years, and then Rector of Belſtead in the ſame County. He was often in trouble for his Non-conformity, but made a ſhift by the aſſiſtance of friends, to maintain his liberty without any ſinful compliance. He was mighty in Prayer, frequent and fervent in preaching, and a reſolute champion againſt Popery, Arminianiſm, and the new Ceremonies. He lived to a good old age, and died ſuddenly, as he was laying down to ſleep, in the eightieth year And Mr. John Carter's.

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year of his age, greatly lamented by all that had a taſte of practical Religion and undiſſembled piety. His funeral Sermon was preached before a vaſt concourſe of people, from thoſe words, "My Father, my Father, the Chariots of "Iſrael, and the Horſemen thereof!"

Sufferers for Non-conformity.

Conformity to the new Ceremonies and the King's Injunctions, was now preſſed with the utmoſt rigor. The Reverend Mr. Crooke, of Brazen Noſe College, and Mr. Hobbes of Trinity College Oxford, were enjoined a publick recantation, for reflecting upon the Arminians.

Ruſhw. p. 283. Prynne, p. 261.

Mr. Samuel Ward, of Ipſwich, having preached againſt the Book of Sports, and bowing at the Name of Jeſus, added, "That the Church of England was ready to ring "changes in Religion; and, that the Goſpel ſtood a tip-toe, "ready to be gone to America." For which he was ſuſpended, and enjoined a publick recantation. Another underwent the ſame cenſure, for ſaying, "It was ſuſpicious "that the night was approaching, becauſe the ſhadows were "ſo much longer than the body, and ceremonies more in "force than the power of Godlineſs."

The Reverend Mr. Chauncey, late Miniſter of Ware, but now of Marſton Lawrence, in the Dioceſe of Peterborough, was impriſoned, condemned in coſts of Suit, and obliged to read the following recantation, for oppoſing the railing in the Communion Table.

Mr. Chauncey's Recantation. Prynne, p. 95, 97. 100. Ruſhw. p. 301, 316.

"WHereas I Charles Chauncey, Clerk, late Vicar of "Ware, ſtand convicted for oppoſing the ſetting up "a rail about the Communion Table, and for ſaying, "it was an innovation, a ſnare to Men's Conſciences, a "breach of the ſecond Commandment, an addition to "God's Worſhip, and that which drove me from the "place; I do now, before this honourable Court, ac"knowledge my great offence, and proteſt I am ready "to declare upon oath, that I am now perſuaded in my "Conſcience, that kneeling at the Communion is a lawful "and commendable geſture; that the rail is a decent and "convenient ornament, and that I was much to blame for "oppoſing it; and do promiſe from henceforth, never by "word or deed, to oppoſe that, or any other laudable rites "and ceremonies uſed in the Church of England.

After this he was judicially admoniſhed, and diſcharged; but the recantation went ſo much againſt his Conſcience, that he could enjoy no peace till he had quitted the Church

Church of England, and retired to New England, where he made an open acknowledgment of his ſin. King Charles I. 1635.

The Church-wardens of Beckington in Somerſetſhire were excommunicated by the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, for refuſing to remove the Communion Table from the middle of the Chancel to the Eaſt end, and not pulling down the ſeats to make room for it. They produced a certificate, that their Communion Table had ſtood time out of mind in the midſt of the Chancel; that the ground on which it was placed, was raiſed a foot, and encloſed with a decent wainſcot border, and that none went within it but the Miniſter, and ſuch as he required. This not availing, they appealed to the Arches, and at laſt to the King; but their appeal was rejected. After they had remained excommunicate for a year, they were caſt into the common jail, where they continued till the year 1637. and were then obliged to do publick penance in the pariſh Church of Beckington, and two others, the ſhame of which broke their hearts: one of them declaring upon his death-bed ſoon after, that the Penance and Submiſſion, ſo much againſt his conſcience, had ſunk his ſpirits, and was one principal cauſe of his death. Sufferings of the Church-wardens of Beckington. Ruſhw. p. 300.

In the Archbiſhop's metropolitical viſitation this ſummer, Mr. Lee, one of the Prebendaries of Lichfield, was ſuſpended, for churching refractory women in private, for being averſe to the good orders of the Church, and for ordering the bell-man to give notice in open market of a ſermon. Mr. Randal of Tuddington near Hampton-Court, Middleſex, was ſuſpended for preaching a ſermon above an hour long on Sunday in the afternoon, though it was a farewel ſermon to the exerciſe of catechiſing. His Grace's account of his Dioceſe this year, gives a farther relation of the ſufferings of the Puritans: He acquaints his Majeſty, that the French and Dutch Churches had not as yet thoroughly complied with his injunctions.—— That in the Dioceſe of London, Dr. Houghton, Rector of Aldermanbury, Mr. Simpſon, Curate and Lecturer of St. Margaret Fiſh-ſtreet, Mr John Goodwin, Vicar of Coleman-ſtreet, and Mr. Viner of St. Lawrence Old-Jury, had been convened for breach of Canons, and had ſubmitted; to whom his Grace might have added Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Gouge, Mr. White of Dorcheſter, and about twenty more; ſome of whom fled into Holland, and others retired into New England.—— The Biſhop of Bath and Wells certified, that he had not one ſingle lecture in any corporation town, and that all afternoon ſermons were Laud's account of his metropolitical Viſitation. Prynne, p. 381. Collyer, p. 765.

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turned into catechizings in all Pariſhes——In the Dioceſe of Norwich were many Puritans, but that Mr. Ward of Yarmouth was in the High Commiſſion.—— From the Dioceſe of Llandaff, Mr. Wroth and Mr. Earbury, noted Schiſmaticks, were brought before the High Commiſſion.—— And that in the Dioceſe of Glouceſter were ſeveral popular and factious Miniſters.

Indiſcreet zeal of the Puritans. Rapin, p. 204.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the zeal of the Puritans was not always well regulated; nor were their Miniſters ſo much on their guard in the pulpit, or converſation, as they ought; conſidering the number of Informers that entered all their Churches, that inſinuated themſelves into all publick converſation, and, like ſo many locuſts, covered the Land. Theſe were ſo numerous and corrupt, that the King was obliged to bring them under certain regulations; for no man was ſafe in publick company, nor even in converſing with his friends and neighbours. Many broke up houſe-keeping, that they might breathe in a freer air; which the Council being informed of, a proclamation was publiſhed, [July 21.] forbidding all perſons, except ſoldiers, mariners, merchants, and their factors, to depart the Kingdom without his Majeſty's licenſe.

Mr. Bulkley removed to New England.

But notwithſtanding this prohibition, many got over to New England this ſummer; and among others the Reverend Mr. Peter Bulkley, B. D. and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. He was ſon of Dr. Edward Bulkley, of Bedfordſhire, and ſucceded him at Woodhil or Odel in that County. Here he continued above twenty years, the Biſhop of Lincoln conniving at his non-conformity: But when Dr. Laud was at the helm of the Church, and the Biſhop of Lincoln in diſgrace, Bulkley was ſilenced by the Vicar-General, Sir Nathaniel Brent; upon which he ſold a very plentiful eſtate, and tranſported himſelf and his effects to New England, where he died in the year 1658-9. and the ſeventy ſeventh of his age. He was a thundering Preacher, and a judicious Divine, as appears by his Treatiſe of the Covenant, which paſt through ſeveral editions, and was one of the firſt books publiſhed in that country.

And Mr. Richard Mather.

Mr. Richard Mather, educated in in Brazen Noſe College, Oxon, and Miniſter of Toxteth near Liverpool for about fifteen years, a diligent and ſucceſsful preacher, was ſuſpended for non-conformity in the year 1633. but by the interceſſion of friends, after ſix months, he was reſtored. Next ſummer the Archbiſhop of York ſending his

his visitors into Lancashire, this good man was again suspended by Dr. Cosins, upon an information that he had not worn the Surplice for fifteen years. After this, no intercessions could obtain the liberty of his ministry; upon which he took shipping at Bristol, and arrived at Boston in New England, Aug. 17, 1635. He settled at Dorchester, and continued with his people, a plain and profitable preacher to the year 1669. when he died. This was the grandfather of the famous Dr. Cotton Mather.

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In Scotland the fire was kindling apace, which in three years time set both Kingdoms in a flame. The restoring Episcopacy by the violent methods already mentioned, did not set easy upon the people; the new Scots Bishops were of Bishop Laud's principles; they spoke favourably of Popery in their Sermons, and cast some invidious reflections on the Reformers: They declared openly for the doctrines of Arminius; for Sports on the Sabbath; and, for the Liturgy of the English Church; which was imagined to be little better than the Mass. This lost them their esteem with the people, who had been trained up in the doctrines and discipline of Calvin, and in the strict observation of the Lord's Day. But the King, to support them, cherished them with expressions of the greatest respect and confidence; he made eleven of them Privy-Counsellors; the Archbishop of St. Andrews was Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop of Ross was in nomination to be Lord High Treasurer; divers of them were of the Exchequer, and had engrossed the best preferments in the Kingdom, which made them the envy of the nobility and gentry of the Nation. The Bishops were so sensible of this, that they advised the King not to trust the intended alterations in religion to Parliaments or general Assemblies, but to introduce them by his regal Authority.

Affairs of Scotland. Burnet's memoirs of D Hamilton.

When the King was last in Scotland it was taken notice of as a great blemish in the Kirk, that it had no Liturgy nor Book of Canons; to supply this defect the King gave orders to the new Bishops to prepare draughts of both, and remit them to London, to be revised by the Bishops Laud, Juxon, and Wren. The book of Canons being first finished, was presented to the King, and by him delivered to Laud and Juxon to examine, alter, and reform at pleasure, and to bring it as near as possible to a conformity with the English Canons. The Bishops having executed their Commission, and prepared it for the press, the King confirmed it under the Great Seal by letters Patents dated

Book of Canons for Scotland.

King Charles I. 1635.

at Greenwich, May 23d. 1635. The inſtrument ſets forth, "That his Majeſty, by his royal and ſupreme Authority "in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, ratifies and confirms the ſaid Ca- "nons, Orders and Conſtitutions, and all and every thing "in them contained, and ſtrictly commands all Archbi- "ſhops, Biſhops, and others exerciſing eccleſiaſtical Ju- "riſdiction, to ſee them punctually obſerved."

To give the reader a ſpecimen of theſe Canons, which were ſubverſive of the whole Scots Conſtitution both in Kirk and State;

1. "The firſt Canon excommunicates all thoſe who "affirm, the power and prerogative of the King not to "be equal with the Jewiſh Kings, that is, abſolute and "unlimited.

2. "The ſecond excommunicates thoſe who ſhall affirm, "the worſhip contained in the book of Common-prayer, "[which was not yet publiſhed] or the government of "the Kirk, by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. to be corrupt, "ſuperſtitious, or unlawful.

3. "The third reſtrains ordinations to the Quatuor "tempora; that is, the firſt weeks of March, June, Sep- "tember and December.

5. "The fifth obliges all Preſbyters to read, or cauſe "to be read, Divine Service, according to the form of the "Book of Scottiſh Common-prayer, and to conform to all "the Offices, Parts, and Rubricks of it [though not yet "publiſhed.]

The book decrees further, "That no aſſembly of the "Clergy ſhall be called but by the King.

"That none ſhall receive the Sacrament but upon their "Knees.

"That every eccleſiaſtical perſon dying without Chil- "dren, ſhall give part of his eſtate to the Church.

"That the Clergy ſhall have no private meetings for "expounding Scripture.

"That no Clergyman ſhall conceive Prayer, but pray "only by the printed Form, to be preſcribed in the book "of Common-prayer.

"That no man ſhall teach School without a licenſe "from the Biſhop; nor no cenſures of the Church be pro- "nounced but by the approbation of the Biſhop.

"That no Preſbyter ſhall reveal any thing in Confeſ- "ſion, except his own Life ſhould by the concealment be "forfeited."

After

After ſundry other Canons of this nature, as appointing Fonts for Baptiſm, Church Ornaments, Communion Tables or Altars, &c. the Book decrees, That no perſon ſhall be admitted to Holy Orders, or to preach or adminiſter the Sacraments, without firſt ſubſcribing the forementioned Canons. King Charles I. 1635.

This Book was no ſooner publiſhed, but the Scots Preſbyters declared peremptorily againſt it; their objections were of two ſorts; they diſlik'd the Matter of the Canons, as inconſiſtent with their Kirk Government, and ſeverer in ſome particulars than thoſe of the Church of England. They proteſted alſo againſt the Manner of impoſing them, without conſent of Parliament or General Aſſembly. It was thought intolerable vaſſalage by a People, that had aſſerted the independent power of the Church to convene Aſſemblies of the Clergy; and had maintained that their Decrees were binding, without the Confirmation of the Crown, to have the King, and a few foreign Biſhops, dictate Canons to them, without ſo much as aſking their advice and conſent. Such an high diſplay of the Supremacy could not but be highly reſented by a Church, that had never yielded it to the King in the ſenſe it was claimed in England. Beſides, it was very prepoſterous to publiſh the Book of Canons before the Book of Common Prayer, and to require ſubmiſſion and ſubſcription to things that had no Being; for who could fortel what might be inſerted in the Common Prayer Book? Or what kind of Service might be impoſed upon the Kirk? This looked too much like pinning the Faith of a whole Nation on the Lawn Sleeves. Remarks. Collyer's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 764.

To return to England: Towards the end of this Year it pleaſed God to remove out of this World the Reverend Dr. Richard Sibbes, one of the moſt celebrated Preachers of his time. He was born at Sudbury, 1579, and educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, where he went through all the Degrees. Having enter'd into the Miniſtry, he was firſt choſen Lecturer of Trinity Church in Cambridge, where his Miniſtry was very ſucceſsful, to the Converſion and Reformation of his Hearers. About the Year 1618. he was appointed Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, London, where he became ſo famous, that beſides the Lawyers of the houſe, many of the Nobility and Gentry frequented his Sermons. In the Year 1625, he was choſen Maſter of Katharine Hall in the Univerſity of Cambridge, the government of which he made a ſhift to continue to his death, though he was Death and Character of Dr. Sibbes.

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turned out of his Fellowſhip and Lecture in the Univerſity for non-conformity, and often cited before the High Commiſſion. He was a Divine of good learning, thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures, a burning and ſhining light, and of a moſt humble, charitable diſpoſition; but all theſe talents could not ſkreen him from the fury of the times. His works diſcover him to have been of an heavenly, evangelical Spirit, the comforts of which he enjoyed at his death, which happen'd the latter end of this Summer, in the fifty ninth Year of his Age.

The Abp. promotes the Buſineſs of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

To aggrandize the Church yet further, the Archbiſhop reſolved to bring part of the buſineſs of Weſtminſter Hall into the eccleſiaſtical Courts. The Civilians had boldly and unwarrantably oppoſed, and proteſted againſt Prohibitions, and other proceedings at Law, on the behalf of their Spiritual Courts, and had procured ſome privileges and orders from the King on the behalf of the Civil Law, even with an excluſion of the other, which made the Gentlemen of that faculty enemies to the Biſhops Courts. But the Archbiſhop now went a ſtep further, and prevailed with the King to direct, that half the Maſters in Chancery ſhould be always Civil Lawyers; and to declare, that no others, of what condition ſoever, ſhould ſerve him as Maſters of Requeſt: Theſe were more akin to the Church than the common Lawyers, their places being in the Biſhops diſpoſal (as Chancellors, Commiſſaries, &c.) and therefore it was ſuppoſed their Perſons would be ſo too; but this was falſe policy (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) becauſe it diſguſted a whole learned Profeſſion, who were more capable of diſſerving the Church in their Eſtates, Inheritances and Stewardſhips, than the Church could hurt them in their practice. Beſides, it was wrong in it ſelf, for I have never yet ſpoken with one Clergyman (ſays his Lordſhip) who hath had experience of both Litigations, that has not ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he had rather, in reſpect of his Trouble, Charge, and Satisfaction to his Underſtanding, have three Suits depending in Weſtminſter Hall, than one in the Arches, or any Eccleſiaſtical Court.

Claren. Vol. II. p. 30.

And holds them in his own Name contrary to Law. Ruſhw. p. 450.

As a farther ſtep towards the Sovereign Power of the Church, his Grace prevailed with the King to allow the Biſhops to hold their Eccleſiaſtical Courts in their own names, and by their own ſeals, without the King's Letters Patents under the Great Seal; the Judges having given it as their opinion, that a Patent under the Great Seal was not

not neceſſary for examinations, ſuſpenſions, and other Church cenſures. This was undoubtedly contrary to Law, for by the Statute 1 Edw. VI. cap 2. it is declared, "That "all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction is immediately from the "Crown; and that all Perſons exerciſing ſuch juriſdiction "ſhall have in their Seals the King's Arms, and ſhall uſe "no other Seal of juriſdiction on pain of impriſonment." This Statute was repealed 1 Mariæ, cap. 2. but was again revived by 1 Jacobi, cap. 25. as has been obſerved. Hereupon in the Parliaments of the 3d and 7th of King James I. the Biſhops were proceeded againſt, and two of them in a manner attainted in a Præmunire by the Houſe of Commons, for making citations, and proceſſes in their own names, and uſing their own Seals contrary to this Statute, and to the common Law, and in derogation of the prerogative. So that by this grant the King diſpenſed with the laws, and yielded away the ancient and undoubted rights of his Crown; and the Biſhops were brought under a Præmunire, for exerciſing ſpiritual juriſdiction without any ſpecial Commiſſion, Patent or Grant, from, by, or under, his Majeſty, whereas all juriſdiction of this kind ought to be exerciſed in the King's Name, right, and authority only, ſignified by Letters Patents under his Majeſty's Seal.

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Uſurp. Prel. p. 92, 115.

The Archbiſhop was no leſs intent upon enlarging his own juriſdiction, claiming a right to viſit the two Univerſities, Jure Metropolitico, which being referr'd to the King and Council, his Majeſty was pleaſed to give judgment againſt himſelf. As Chancellor of Oxford his Grace cauſed a new body of Statutes to be drawn up for that Univerſity, with a Preface, in which are ſome ſevere reflections on good King Edward and his Government; it ſays, That "the "diſcipline of the Univerſity was diſcompoſed, and trou-"bled by that King's injunctions, and the flattering novel-"ty of the Age." It then commends the reign of his Siſter the bloody Queen Mary, and ſays, "That the diſcipline of "the Church revived and flouriſhed again in her days, un-"der Cardinal Pool, when by the much deſired felicity of "thoſe times an inbred candor ſupplied the defect of Sta-"tutes." Was this ſpoken like a Proteſtant Prelate, whoſe predeceſſors in the Sees of London and Canterbury were burnt at Oxford by Queen Mary, in a moſt barbarous manner! Or rather like one, who was aiming at the return of thoſe happy Times!

New Statutes for Oxford.

Biſhops Articles of Viſitation illegal. Uſurp. Prel. p. 229. 240.

The laſt, and moſt extravagant ſtretch of epiſcopal power that I ſhall mention, was, "the Biſhops framing new Arti-

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" Articles of viſitation in their own names, without the " King's Seal and Authority; and adminiſtring an Oath of " inquiry to the Church-Wardens concerning them. This was an outrage upon the Laws, contrary to the Act of ſubmiſſion, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 25. and even to the twelfth canon of 1603. which ſays, " That whoſoever ſhall affirm it " lawful, for any ſort of Miniſters, or Lay-Perſons, to aſſem- " ble together and make rules, orders, and conſtitutions, in " cauſes Eccleſiaſtical," " without the King's Authority," " and ſhall ſubmit themſelves to be ruled and govern'd by " them, let him be excommunicated." Which includes both the Framers of the Orders as well as thoſe that act by them. The adminiſtring an oath to Church-Wardens, without a royal Commiſſion, had no foundation in Law; for by the common Law, no eccleſiaſtical Judge can adminiſter an oath (except in caſes of matrimony and teſtaments) without letters, patents, or a ſpecial commiſſion under his Majeſty's Seal. It was alſo declared contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the land by Sir Edward Coke and the reſt of the Judges, tertio Jacobi, in the caſe of Mr. Wharton, who being Church-Warden of Black Friars, London, was excommunicated and impriſoned on a Capias Excommunicatum, for refuſing to take an Oath, to preſent upon Viſitation Articles; but bringing his Habeas Corpus, he was diſcharged by the whole Court, both from his impriſonment and excommunication, for this reaſon, " becauſe the oath and arti- " cles were againſt the Laws and Statutes of this realm, " and ſo might and ought to be refuſed." Upon the whole, the making the Mitre thus independent upon the Crown, without a prohibition from the Courts of Weſtminſter-Hall, was ſetting up Imperium in Imperio, and going a great way towards re-eſtabliſhing one of the heavieſt grievances of the papacy; but the Biſhops preſumed upon the felicity of the times, and the indulgence of the Crown, which at another time might have involved them in a Præmunire.

Though the Articles of viſitation differed in the ſeveral dioceſes, the church-wardens oath was generally the ſame, (viz.)

Church-Wardens Oath.

" YOU ſhall ſwear, that you, and every of you, ſhall " duly conſider, and diligently enquire of all and " every of theſe Articles given you in charge; and " that, all affection, favour, hope of reward and gain, " or fear of diſpleaſure or malice, ſet aſide, you ſhall " preſent all and every ſuch perſon that now is, or " of late was within your Pariſh, or hath committed " any

" any offence, or made any default mentioned in any of " theſe articles, or which are vehemently ſuſpected, or " defamed of any ſuch offence or default, wherein you ſhall " deal uprightly and fully, neither preſenting nor daring to " preſent any contrary to truth, having in this action God " before your Eyes, with an earneſt zeal to maintain " truth, and to ſuppreſs vice. So help you God, and the " holy Contents of this Book." King Charles I. 1636.

By virtue of this oath, ſome out of conſcience thought themſelves obliged to preſent their Miniſters, their Neighbours, and their near Relations, not for immorality, or neglect of the worſhip of God, but for omitting ſome ſuperſtitious injunction. Others acted from revenge, having an opportunity put into their hands to ruin their conſcientious Neighbours. Many Church-wardens refuſed to take the oath, and were impriſon'd, and forced to do penance. But to prevent this for the future, it was declared, " That " if any Man affirmed, it was not lawful to take the oath " of a Church-Warden; or that it was not lawfully ad- " miniſter'd; or that the oath did not bind; or that the " Church-Wardens need not enquire; or after inquiry need " not anſwer; or might leave out part of their anſwers;" ſuch perſons ſhould be preſented and puniſhed. Viſit. Art. Chap. VI. Sect. IX.

Several of the Biſhops publiſhed their primary articles of viſitation about this time; as the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath and Wells; but the moſt remarkable and curious were Dr. Wren's, Biſhop of Norwich, entitled, " Articles to be enquired of within the " Dioceſe of Norwich, in the firſt Viſitation of Mathew " Lord Biſhop of Norwich." The Book contains one hundred and thirty nine Articles, in which are eight hundred and ninety ſeven queſtions, ſome very inſignificant, others highly ſuperſtitious, and ſeveral impoſſible to be anſwered. To give the Reader a ſpecimen of them:———Have you the Book of Conſtitutions or Canons Eccleſiaſtical, and a Parchment Regiſter Book, Book of Common Prayer, and Book of Homilies? --Is your Communion Table ſo placed within the Chancel as the Canon directs?--Doth your Miniſter read the Canons once every year?—Doth he pray for the King with his whole Title? —Doth he pray for the Archbiſhops and Biſhops?—Doth he obſerve all the Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, preſcribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and adminiſtring the Sacrament?——Doth he receive the Sacra- Abſtract of Biſhop Wren's Articles. Ruſhw. Part 2d. P. 353. Prynne, p. 374. Rapin, p. 270.

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Sacrament kneeling himſelf, and adminiſter to none but ſuch as kneel?——Doth he admit to the Sacrament any notorious Offenders or Schiſmaticks?——Do the ſtrangers of other Pariſhes come often, or frequently to your Church?——Doth your Miniſter baptize with the ſign of the Croſs?——Is your Miniſter licenſed, and by whom?——Doth he wear the Surplice while he is reading Prayers and adminiſtring the Sacraments?——Doth he catechize and inſtruct the youth in the Ten Commandments?—— Doth he ſolemnize marriage without the Bans?——Doth he in Rogation-days uſe the Perambulation round the Pariſh?——Doth he every ſix Months denounce in the Pariſh, [or publickly declare the names of] all ſuch as perſevere in the ſentence of Excommunication, not ſeeking to be abſolved?——Doth he admit any excommunicate perſons into the Church without a certificate of Abſolution?——Is your Miniſter a favourer of Recuſants?——Is he noted to be an incontinent perſon; a frequenter of Taverns, Ale-houſes; a common Gameſter, or player at Dice?——Hath your Miniſter read the Book of Sports in his Church or Chapel?——Doth he read the ſecond Service at the Communion Table?——Doth he uſe conceived Prayers before or after Sermon?——With regard to Church-yards, are they conſecrated?——Are the Graves dug Eaſt and Weſt, and the Bodies buried with their heads to the Weſt?——Do your Pariſhioners, at going in and out of the Church, do reverence towards the Chancel?——Do they kneel at confeſſion, ſtand up at the Creed, and bow at the glorious name of Jeſus? &c. with divers Articles of the like nature.

Cant. Doom, p. 96.

Miſchief of them.

The weight of theſe inquiries fell chiefly upon the Puritans, for within the compaſs of two years and four months, no leſs than fifty able and pious Miniſters were ſuſpended, ſilenced, and otherwiſe cenſured, to the ruin of their poor families, for not obeying one or other of theſe Articles; among whom were the Reverend Mr. John Allen, Mr. John Ward, Mr. William Powell, Mr. John Carter, Mr. Aſhe, Mr. William Bridges, Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr. Greenhill, Mr. Edmund Calamy, Mr. Hudſon, Peck, Raymond, Green, Mott, Kent, Allen, Scott, Beard, Moth, Manning, Warren, Kirrington, and others, in the Dioceſe of Norwich. In other Dioceſes were Mr. Jonathan Burre, Mr. William Leigh, Mr. Matthew Brownrigge, Mr. G. Huntley, Vicars, Proud, Workman, Crowder, Snelling, &c. ſome of whom ſpent their days in ſilence; others departed

parted their Country into the parts beyond Sea; but none were releaſed without a promiſe to conform to the Biſhops injunctions "Editis & edendis, i. e. already publiſhed, or "hereafter to be publiſhed." King Charles I. 1636.

Biſhop Montague, who ſucceeded Wren in the Dioceſe of Norwich, 1638. imitated his ſucceſſor in his viſitation Articles; for it was now faſhionable for every new Biſhop to frame ſeparate Articles of inquiry, for the Viſitation of his own Dioceſe. Montague pointed his inquiries againſt the Puritan Lecturers, of which he obſerves three ſorts. Bp. Montague's Articles of Inquiry concerning ſeveral Sorts of Lectures.

1. Such as were "ſuperinducted in another Man's Cure;" concerning which he enjoins his viſitors to inquire, whether the Lecturer's Sermons in the afternoons are popular or catechiſtical? whether he be admitted with conſent of the Incumbent and Biſhop? whether he read prayers in his Surplice and Hood? of what length his Sermons are, and upon what ſubject? whether he bids prayer, according to the fifty fifth Canon? Prynne, P. 376.

2. The ſecond ſort of Lectures are thoſe of Combination, when the neighbouring Miniſters agreed to preach by turns at an adjoining Market-town on Market-days; inquire who the combiners are, and whether they conform as above?

3. A third ſort are Running Lectures, when neighbouring Chriſtians agree upon ſuch a day to meet at a certain Church in ſome Country Town or Village, and after Sermon and Dinner to meet at the Houſe of one of their Diſciples, to repeat, cenſure, and explain the Sermon; then to diſcourſe of ſome points propoſed at a foregoing meeting by the Moderator of the Aſſembly, derogatory to the doctrine or diſcipline of the Church; and in concluſion to appoint another place for their next meeting. If you have any ſuch Lectures preſent them.

Dr. Pierſe, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, ſuppreſſed all Lectures in Market-towns, and elſewhere, throughout his Dioceſe, alledging, "That he ſaw no ſuch need of preach-"ing now, as was in the Apoſtles Days." He ſuſpended Mr. Deveniſh, Miniſter of Bridgewater, for preaching a Lecture in his own Church on a Market-day, which had continued ever ſince the days of Queen Elizabeth; and afterwards, when he abſolved him, upon his promiſe to preach it no more, he ſaid to him, "Go thy way, ſin no "more, leſt a worſe thing befal thee." His Lordſhip put down all afternoon Sermons on Lord's Days; and ſuſpended Mr. Corniſh for preaching a Funeral Sermon on the evening. Bp. Pierſe of Bath and Wells, his Uſage of the Lecturers. Prynne, P. 377.

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ing. And whereas ſome Miniſters uſed to explain the queſtions and anſwers in the catechiſm, and make a ſhort prayer before and after, the Biſhop reproved them ſharply for it, ſaying, "That was as bad as preaching," and charged them to aſk no queſtions, nor receive any anſwers but ſuch as were in the Book of Common Prayer: And for not complying with this injunction, Mr. Barret, Rector of Barwick, and ſome others, were enjoined publick penance. The Biſhop of Peterborough, and all the new Biſhops, went in the ſame tract; and ſome of them upon this ſad principle, "That afternoon Sermons on Sundays, were an impediment to the Revels in the evening."

The Grandeur of the Church.

The Church was now in the height of its ſplendor, and graſped not only at all ſpiritual juriſdiction, but at the higheſt preferments of State; for this year Dr. Juxon, Biſhop of London, was declared Lord High Treaſurer of England, which is the greateſt office of benefit in the Kingdom, and next in precedence to the Archbiſhop. Juxon's name had hardly been known at Court above two years, for till then he was no more than a private Chaplain to the King, and head of a poor College in Oxford. Beſides, no Churchman had held this poſt ſince the darkeſt times of Popery, in the Reign of King Henry the ſeventh; but Laud valued himſelf upon this nominarion; "Now [ſays he, in "his Diary] if the Church will not hold up themſelves, un"der God, I can do no more." But when the Staff of Treaſurer was put into the hands of Juxon, Lord Clarendon obſerves, "That the nobility were enflamed, and be"gan to look upon the Church as a gulph ready to ſwallow "all the great Offices of State, there being other Church"men in view who were ambitious enough to expect the "reſt. The inferior Clergy took advantage of this ſituation of their affairs, and did not live towards their neigh"bours of Quality, or Patrons, with that civility and good "manners as they uſed to do, which diſpoſed others to "withdraw their countenance and good neighbourhood from "them, eſpecially after they were put into the Commiſſi"ons of Peace, in moſt Counties of England." One of the Members of the Houſe of Commons ſaid, "That the "Clergy were ſo exalted, that a Gentleman might not "come near the Tail of their Mules; and that one of "them had declared openly, that he hoped to ſee the day, "when a Clergyman ſhould be as good a man as any Up"ſtart Jack Gentleman in the Kingdom." 'Tis certain, the favourable aſpect of the Court, had very much exalted their

Pride and Ambition of the Clergy.

their behaviour, and their new notions had made them conceive themſelves an order of men above the rank of the Laity, for as much as they had the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven at their Girdle, and upon their prieſtly Character depended the efficacy of all goſpel Inſtitutions. This made ſome of them remarkably negligent of their cures up and down the Country; others loſt the little learning they had got at the Univerſity, and many became very ſcandalous in their lives; though Lord Clarendon ſays, that there was not one Church-man in any degree of favour or acceptance [at Court] of a ſcandalous inſufficiency in Learning, or of a more ſcandalous condition of Life; but on the contrary, moſt of them, of confeſſed eminent parts in knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemiſhed lives. King Charles I. 1636. Claren. Vol. I. p. 77.

But great numbers of the moſt uſeful and laborious preachers in all parts of the Country were buried in ſilence, and forced to abſcond from the fury of the High Commiſſion; among whom were the famous Mr. John Dod, Mr. Whately, Dr. Harris, Mr. Capel, and Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, one of the moſt awakening preachers of his age, of whom Biſhop Brownrigge uſed to ſay, that he did more good with his wild Notes, than we [the Biſhops] with our ſet Muſick. But his great uſefulneſs could not ſkreen him from thoſe ſuſpenſions and deprivations which were the portion of the Puritans in theſe times. His reſolutions about ſubſcribing, I will relate in his own words: "If I "come into trouble for Non-conformity, I reſolve, by "God's aſſiſtance, to come away with a clear conſcience; "for though the liberty of my Miniſtry be dear to me, I "dare not buy it at ſuch a rate. I am troubled at my for-"mer ſubſcription, but I ſaw men of good gifts, and of "good hearts (as I thought) go before me; and I could "not prove that there was any thing "contrary to the "word of God," though I diſliked the Ceremonies, and "knew them to be unprofitable burdens to the Church of "God; but if I am urged again I will never yield; it was "my weakneſs before, as I now conceive, which I beſeech "God to pardon.—Written in the year 1627." But after this the good Man was overtaken again, and yielded, which almoſt broke his heart; for he adds,---"For this I ſmart-"ed, 1631. If I had read over this [my former reſoluti-"on] it may be I had not done what I did." How ſevere are ſuch trials to a poor Man with a numerous family of children! and how ſore the diſtreſſes of a wounded conſcience! Sufferings of Mr. Rogers of Dedham.

Others

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Others continued to leave their Country, according to our bleſſed Saviour's advice, Matth. x. 23. "When they "perſecute you in this City, flee ye into another." Among theſe were Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, ſon of Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, and ſettled at Aſſington in Suffolk, where he continued five years; but ſeeing the ſtorm that had driven his neighbours from their anchor, and being fearful of his own ſtedfaſtneſs in the hour of temptation, he reſigned his living into the hands of his patron, and forſaking the neighbourhood of his Father, and all proſpects of worldly advantage, caſt himſelf and his young family upon the providence of God, and embarked for New England, where he arrived about the middle of November, 1636. and ſettled with Mr. Norton at Ipſwich, with whom he continued to his death, which happen'd in the year 1655.

Of Mr. Nath. Rogers.

Of Mr. Whiteing.

About the ſame time went over Mr. Lambert Whiteing, M. A. a Lincolnſhire Divine, who continued at Shirbeck near Boſton, unmoleſted, till Biſhop Williams's diſgrace, after which he was ſilenced by the Spiritual Courts, and forced into New England, where he arrived with his Family this Summer, and continued an uſeful preacher to a little flock at Lynne till the year 1679. when he died in the eighty third year of his age.

1637. Second Sufferings of Mr. Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick. Ruſhw. Part 2d. p. 380.

The Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion exceeded all the bounds not only of law and equity, but even of humanity itſelf. We have related the ſufferings of Mr. Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick, in the year 1633. Theſe Gentlemen being ſhut up in priſon, were ſuppoſed to employ their time in writing againſt the Biſhops and their Spiritual Courts: Baſtwick was charged with a Book publiſhed 1636. entitled, "Apologeticus ad Præſules Anglicanos;" and with a Pamphlet called "the new Litany:" The others with two anonymous Books, one entitled, "A Divine "Tragedy, containing a Catalogue of God's Judgments "againſt Sabbath Breakers;" the other, "News from "Ipſwich." Which laſt was a ſatire upon the ſevere proceedings of Dr. Wren, Biſhop of that Dioceſe. For theſe they were cited a ſecond time into the Star Chamber, by virtue of an information laid againſt them by the Attorney General, "for writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmati-"cal, and libellous Books, againſt the Hierarchy of the "Church, and to the ſcandal of the Government." The Defendants prepared their anſwers, but could not get Council to ſign them; upon which they petition'd the Court to receive

receive them from themſelves, which would not be admitted: However, Prynne and Baſtwick having no other remedy, left their anſwers at the Office, ſigned with their own hands, but were nevertheleſs proceeded againſt "Pro "Confeſſo." Burton prevailed with Mr. Holt, a Bencher of Gray's Inn, to ſign his anſwer; but the Court ordered the two chief Juſtices to expunge what they thought unfit to be brought into Court, and they ſtruck out the whole anſwer, except ſix lines at the beginning, and three or four at the end; and becauſe Mr. Burton would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was alſo taken "Pro Confeſſo." King Charles I. 1637.

In Baſtwick's anſwer the Prelates are called "Invaders "of the King's Prerogative, Contemners and Deſpiſers of "the Holy Scriptures, advancers of Popery, Superſtition, "Idolatry and Profaneneſs;" they are charged with "op-"preſſing the King's loyal Subjects, and with great cruel-"ty, tyranny and injuſtice." Mr. Prynne's anſwer reflected upon the Hierarchy, but in more moderate and cautious terms. All the Defendants offered to maintain their ſeveral anſwers, at the peril of their lives; but the Court finding them not fil'd upon Record, would not receive them. The priſoners at the Bar cried aloud for Juſtice, and that their anſwers might be read; but it was peremptorily denied, and the following ſentence paſt upon them; that "Mr. Burton be deprived of his living, and degraded from "his Miniſtry, as Prynne and Baſtwick had been from their "profeſſions of Law and Phyſick; that each of them be "fined five thouſand Pounds; that they ſtand in the Pillo-"ry at Weſtminſter, and have their Ears cut off; and be-"cauſe Mr. Prynne had already loſt his Ears by ſentence of "the Court 1633. it was ordered, that the remainder of "his ſtumps ſhould be cut off, and that he ſhould be ſtig-"matized on both Cheeks with the Letters S. L. and then "all three were to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment in the "remoteſt priſons of the Kingdom." This ſentence was executed upon them June 30th, the Hangman rather ſawing the remainder of Prynne's Ears than cutting them off; after which they were ſent under a ſtrong guard, one to the Caſtle of Launceſton in Cornwal, another to the Caſtle of Lancaſter, and a third to Carnarvan Caſtle in Wales; but theſe priſons not being thought diſtant enough, they were afterwards ſhut up in the remote iſlands of Scilly, Guernſey, and Jerſey, without pen, ink or paper, or the acceſs of friends, where they continued till they were releaſed by the Long Parliament. Their Sentence.

At

King Charles I. 1637.

Archbiſhop Laud's Speech in the Star-chamber.

At paſſing this ſentence Archbiſhop Laud made a laboured Speech to clear himſelf from the charge of Innovations, which the Puritans loaded him with. He begins with retorting the crime upon the Puritans, who were for ſetting aſide the order of Biſhops, whereas in all ages ſince the Apoſtles time the Church had been governed by Biſhops, whoſe calling and order (in his Grace's opinion) was by divine right, the office of Lay Elders having never been heard of before Calvin. He then vindicates the particular Innovations complained of; as, 1. "Bowing towards the Altar, "or at coming into the Church." This, he ſays, was the practice in Jewiſh times, Pſalm xcv. 6. "O come, let us "worſhip, and bow down: Let us kneel before the Lord "our Maker;" and yet the Government is ſo moderate, that no Man is forced to it, but only religiouſly called upon. "For my own part (ſays his Grace) I ſhall always think "my ſelf bound to worſhip with my Body as well as Soul, "in what conſecrated place ſoever I come to pray. You, "my honoured Lords of the Garter, do reverence towards "the Altar, "as the greateſt place of God's Reſidence up-"on Earth;" greater than the Pulpit, for there is only the "Word of God, but upon the Altar is his Body; and a "greater reverence is due to the Body than to the Word "of the Lord; and this is no Innovation, for you are bound "to it by your order, which is no new thing."

His Grace proceeds to conſider the Alterations in the Collects and Prayers, which, he ſays, the Archbiſhop and Biſhops to whom the ordering of the Faſt Book was committed, had power under the King to make, provided nothing was inſerted contrary to the doctrine or diſcipline of the Church of England; he then juſtifies the ſeveral amendments, and concludes moſt of his articles with ſhewing, that there is no connexion between the charge, and the popular clamour raiſed againſt him, of an intent to bring in Popery. But the ſeveral Innovations here mentioned being objected to the Archbiſhop at his trial, we ſhall defer our remarks to that place.

His Grace concludes with a proteſtation, that he had no deſign to alter the Religion eſtabliſhed by law; but that his care to reduce the Church to order, to uphold the external decency of it, and to ſettle it to the rules of the firſt Reformation, had brought upon him and his brethren all that malicious ſtorm that had lour'd ſo black over their heads. He then thanks the Court for their juſt and honourable cenſure of theſe Men, and for their defence of the Church; but be-

Ruſhw. Append.

cauſe

cauſe the buſineſs had ſome reference to himſelf, he forbears to cenſure them, leaving them to God's mercy and the King's Juſtice. King Charles I. 1637.

But notwithſtanding this plauſible Speech, which the King ordered to be printed, the barbarous ſentence paſt upon theſe Gentlemen moved the compaſſion of the whole Nation. The three learned Faculties, of Law, Phyſick, and Divinity, took it to heart, as thinking their educations and profeſſions might have ſecured them from ſuch infamous puniſhments, proper enough for the pooreſt, and moſt mechanick malefactors, who could make no other ſatisfaction to the publick for their offences, but very improper for perſons of education, degrees, or quality. Nay, the report of this cenſure, and the ſmart execution of it, flew into Scotland, and the diſcourſe was there, that they muſt alſo expect a Star Chamber to ſtrengthen the hands of their Biſhops, as well as an High Commiſſion: "No doubt "(ſays Archbiſhop Laud) but there is a concurrence be-"tween them and the Puritan party in England, to deſtroy "me in the King's opinion." The cruel Sentence diſguſts the whole Nation. Clarend. Vol. I. p. 94. Ruſhw. p. 385.

But as cruel as this ſentence was, Dr. Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, and the Reverend Mr. Oſbaldeſton, chief Maſter of Weſtminſter School, met with no leſs hardſhip. The Biſhop had been Laud's very good friend, in perſuading King James to advance him to a Biſhoprick; but upon the acceſſion of King Charles he turned upon his benefactor, and got him removed from all his preferments at Court; upon which Biſhop Williams retired to his Dioceſe, and ſpent his time in reading, and in the well government of his Dioceſe; here he became popular, entertaining the Clergy at his table, and diſcourſing freely about affairs of Church and State. He ſpoke with ſome ſmartneſs againſt the new Ceremonies? and ſaid once in converſation, "That "the Puritans were the King's beſt Subjects, and he was "ſure would carry all at laſt; and that the King had told "him, that he would treat the Puritans more mildly for the "future." Laud being informed of this expreſſion, cauſed an information to be lodged againſt him in the Star Chamber, for revealing the King's Secrets; but the charge not being well ſupported, a new Bill was exhibited againſt him, for tampering with the King's witneſſes; and though there was very little ground for the charge, "His Lordſhip was "ſuſpended in the High Commiſſion Court from all his "offices and benefices; he was fined ten thouſand pounds "to the King; one thouſand pounds to Sir John Mounſon, "and to be impriſoned in the Tower during the King's Trial and Sentence of Biſhop Williams. Ruſhw. p. 817. Ruſhw. p. 417.

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" pleaſure." The Biſhop was accordingly ſent from the Bar to the Tower; all his rich goods and chattels, to an immenſe value, were plundered and ſold, to pay the fine; his Library was ſeized, and all his papers and letters examined. Among his papers were found two or three letters writ to him by Mr. Oſbaldeſton about five years before, in which were ſome dark and obſcure expreſſions, which the jealous Archbiſhop interpreted againſt himſelf and the Lord Treaſurer Weſton. Upon the foot of theſe letters a new bill was exhibited againſt the Biſhop, for divulging ſcandalous Libels againſt the King's Privy Counſellors. His Lordſhip replied, that he did not remember his having received the letters, but was ſure he had never divulged them, becauſe they were ſtill among his private papers; but notwithſtanding all he could ſay, he was condemned in another fine of eight thouſand Pounds; five thouſand to the King, and three thouſand to the Archbiſhop; for the non-payment of which he was kept cloſe priſoner in the Tower till the meeting of the Long Parliament.

Sentence of Mr. Osbaldeſton. Ruſhw. p. 803, 817.

The Reverend Mr. Oſbaldeſton was charged " with plotting with the Biſhop of Lincoln to divulge falſe news, " and to breed a difference between the Lord Treaſurer " Weſton and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as long ago " as the year 1633." The information was grounded upon the two letters already mentioned, in which he reports a miſunderſtanding between the great Leviathan and the little Urchin. And though the Counſel for the Defendant abſolutely denied any reference to the Archbiſhop, and named the perſons meant in the letter, yet " the Court fined him " five thouſand Pounds to the King, and five thouſand " Pounds to the Archbiſhop; to be deprived of all his ſpi- " ritual Dignities and Promotions, to be impriſoned during " the King's pleaſure, and to ſtand in the Pillory in the " Dean's Yard before his own ſchool, and have his Ears " nailed to it." Mr. Oſbaldeſton being among the crowd in the Court when this ſentence was pronounced, immediately went home to his ſtudy at Weſtminſter School, and having burnt ſome papers, he abſconded, leaving a note upon his deſk with theſe words, " If the Archbiſhop inquire " after me, tell him, I am gone beyond Canterbury." The Meſſengers were ſoon at his houſe, and finding this note, ſent immediately to the Sea-port towns to apprehend him, but he lay hid in a private houſe in Drury-Lane till the ſearch was over, and then concealed himſelf till the meeting of the Long Parliament; however, all his goods and chattles

tles were ſeized and confiſcated. This Mr. Oſbaldeſton was M. A. of Chriſt Church College, Oxford, and Prebendary of Weſtminſter; he was an admirable Maſter, and had eighty Doctors in the two Univerſities that had been his ſcholars, before the year 1640; he was afterwards reſtored by the Long Parliament, but when he apprehended they went beyond the bounds of Duty and Allegiance, he laid down his School and favoured the Royal Cauſe. King Charles I. 1637. Ath. Ox. p. 212.

Mr. Lilburne, afterwards a Colonel in the army, for refuſing to take an Oath to anſwer all interrogatories concerning "his importing and publiſhing ſeditious Libels," was fined five hundred Pounds, and to be whipt through the ſtreets from the Fleet to the pillory before Weſtminſter-Hall Gate, April 8th, 1638. While he was in the pillory he uttered many bold and paſſionate ſpeeches againſt the tyranny of the Biſhops; whereupon the Court of Star Chamber, then ſitting, ordered him to be gagged, which was done accordingly; and that when he was carried back to priſon, he ſhould be laid alone, with irons on his hands and legs, in the wards of the Fleet, where the baſeſt of the priſoners uſed to be put, and that no perſon ſhould be admitted to ſee him. Here he continued in a moſt forlorn and miſerable condition till the meeting of the Long Parliament. And of Mr. Lilburne.

In the midſt of all theſe dangers the Puritan Clergy ſpoke freely againſt their oppreſſors. Dr. Cornelius Burges, in a Latin Sermon before the Clergy of London, preached againſt the ſeverities of the Biſhops, and refuſing to give his Dioceſan a copy of his Sermon, he was put into the High Commiſſion. Mr. Wharton of Eſſex preached with the ſame freedom at Chelmsford, for which ('tis ſaid) he made his ſubmiſſion. Several Pamphlets were diſperſed againſt the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical Courts, which the Biſhop of London ſaid he had reaſon to believe were writ, or countenanced by the Clergy of his own Dioceſe. Many private gentlemen in Suffolk maintained Lecturers at their own expence, without conſulting the Biſhop, who complained that they were factious, and did not govern themſelves according to the Canons; but, ſays his Lordſhip [Wren] "What ſhall I do with ſuch ſcholars, ſome in Orders, and "others not, which Gentlemen of figure entertain in their "houſes, under pretence of teaching their children? And "with thoſe beneficed Divines, who take ſhelter in the "houſes of the rich Laiety, and do not live upon their "Cures?" Here was the Puritans laſt retreat; thoſe that Courage of the Puritans. Ruſhw. p. 467.

King Charles I. 1637.

were not willing to go abroad found entertainment in Gentlemens families, and from thence annoyed the enemy with their Pamphlets. Even the populace, that were not capable of writing books, expreſſed their reſentments againſt the Archbiſhop, by diſperſing libels about the town, in which they threatned his deſtruction. His Grace has entered ſome of them in his Diary.

Libels diſperſed againſt the Archbiſhop.

"Wedneſday, Aug. 23. my Lord Mayor ſent me a Libel, found by the watch at the fourth gate of St. Paul's, that the Devil had left that houſe to me.

"Aug. 25. Another Libel was brought me by an officer of the High Commiſſion, faſtened to the north gate of St. Paul's, that the government of the Church of England is a Candle in a Snuff, going out in a Stench.

"The ſame night the Lord Mayor ſent me another Libel, hanged upon the ſtandard in Cheapſide, which was my Speech in the Star Chamber ſet in the Pillory.

"A few days after another ſhort Libel was ſent him in verſe."

But none of theſe things abated his zeal, or relaxed his rigor, againſt thoſe who cenſured his arbitrary proceedings.

Preſs reſtrained.

It was impoſſible to debate things fairly in publick, becauſe the Preſs was abſolutely at his Grace's diſpoſal, according to a new decree of the Star Chamber made this ſummer, which ordains, that "No book be printed unleſs it be firſt licenſed with all its titles, epiſtles, and prefaces, by the Archbiſhop, or Biſhop of London for the time being, or by their appointment; and within the limits of the Univerſity, by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, on pain of the printer's being diſabled from his profeſſion for the future, and to ſuffer ſuch other puniſhment as the High Commiſſion ſhall think fit. That before any books imported from abroad be ſold, a catalogue of them ſhall be delivered to the Archbiſhop, or Biſhop of London, to be peruſed by themſelves or their Chaplains. And if there be any ſchiſmatical, or offenſive books, they ſhall be delivered up to the Biſhop, or to the High Commiſſion, that the offenders may be puniſhed. It was further ordained, that no perſon ſhall print beyond ſea any Engliſh book or books, whereof the greateſt part is Engliſh, whether formerly printed or not; nor ſhall any book be reprinted, though formerly licenſed, without a new licenſe. And finally, if any per-

"ſon

" ſon that is not an allowed Printer, ſhall ſet up a printing " Preſs, he ſhall be ſet in the Pillory, and be whipt through " the Streets of London."

King Charles I. 1637.

Theſe terrible proceedings did no Service to Church, or State, but awakened the reſentments of all ranks and profeſſions of Men, againſt thoſe in power: The Laity were as uneaſy as the Clergy, many of whom ſold their effects, and removed with their families and trades into Holland or New England. This alarmed the King and Council, who iſſued out a Proclamation, April 30th, 1637, as to the following purpoſe. "—— The King being informed, that great " Numbers of his Subjects were yearly tranſported into " New England with their Families and whole Eſtates, " That they might be out of the reach of Eccleſiaſtical " Authority;" his Majeſty therefore commands, that his " Officers of the ſeveral Ports ſhould ſuffer none to paſs, " without licenſe from the Commiſſioners of the Plantati- " ons, and a teſtimonial from their Miniſter, of their con- " formity to the orders and diſcipline of the Church." And to bar the Miniſters, the following order of Council was publiſhed.

Further Severities. King forbids the Laity to go out of the Kingdom without a Licenſe. Ruſhw. p. 409.

" WHereas it is obſerved, that ſuch Miniſters who are " unconformable to the diſcipline and ceremonies of " the Church, do frequently tranſport themſelves to the " Plantations, where they take liberty to nouriſh their " factious and ſchiſmatical humours, to the hindrance of " good conformity and unity of the Church; we therefore " expreſly command you, in his Majeſty's Name, to " ſuffer no Clergyman to tranſport himſelf without a " Teſtimonial from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Bi- " ſhop of London."

And the Miniſters. Ibid p. 410.

This was a degree of ſeverity hardly to be paralleled in the Chriſtian World. When the Edict of Nantz was revoked, the French King allowed his Proteſtant Subjects a convenient time to diſpoſe of their effects and leave the Kingdom; but our Proteſtant Archbiſhop will neither let the Puritans live peaceably at home, nor take Sanctuary in foreign Countries; a conduct hardly conſiſtent with the laws of humanity, much leſs with the character of a Chriſtian Biſhop; but while his Grace was running things to theſe extremities, the people (as has been obſerved) took a general diſguſt, and almoſt all England became Puritan.

Remarks.

King Charles I. 1637.

Approach of the Clergy towards Popery.

The Biſhops and Courtiers being not inſenſible of the number and weight of their Enemies among the more reſolved Proteſtants, determined to balance their Power by joining with the Papiſts; for which purpoſe the difference between the two Churches were ſaid to be trifling, and the peculiar Doctrines of Popery were printed and preached up as proper to be received by the Church of England. Biſhop Montague ſpeaking of the points of Faith and Morality affirmed, that none of theſe are controverted between us, but that "the points in diſpute were of a leſſer na-"ture, of which a Man might be ignorant without any "danger of Salvation." Franciſcus de Clara, an eminent Franciſcan Friar, publiſhed a Book, wherein he endeavoured to accomodate the Articles of the Church of England to the ſenſe of the Church of Rome, ſo that both parties might ſubſcribe them. The Book was dedicated to the King, and the Friar admitted to an acquaintance with the Archbiſhop.

Differences between the two Churches leſſened. Ruſhw. Part. 1. p. 209.

Uninterrupted Succeſſion of Biſhops.

Great ſtreſs was laid upon the uninterrupted Succeſſion of the Epiſcopal Character through the Church of Rome; "For miſerable were we (ſays Dr. Pocklington) if he "that now ſits Archbiſhop of Cantetbury could not derive "his Succeſſion from St. Auſtin, St. Auſtin from St. "Gregory, and St. Gregory from St. Peter." Dr. Heylin, in his moderate Anſwer to Mr. Burton, has theſe words, "That my Lord of Canterbury that now is, is "lineally deſcended from St. Peter in a moſt fair and "conſtant Tenor of Succeſſion, you ſhall eaſily find, if "you conſult the learned labours of Maſon de Miniſterio "Anglicano."

Invocation of Saints. Ruſhw. p. 210.

Biſhop Montague publiſhed a Treatiſe, Of the Invocation of Saints, in which he ſays, "That departed Saints "have not only a Memory, but a more peculiar charge "of their Friends; and that ſome Saints have a peculiar "Patronage, Cuſtody, Protection and Power, as Angels "have alſo, over certain Perſons and Countries by "ſpecial deputation; and that it is not impiety ſo to be-"lieve." Dr. Coſins ſays in one of his Sermons, "That "when our Reformers took away the Maſs they marred "all Religion, but that the Maſs was not taken away, in "as much as the real Preſence of Chriſt remained ſtill, "otherwiſe it were not a reformed, but a deformed Religi-"on." And in order to perſuade a Papiſt to come to Church, he told him, "That the Body of Chriſt was ſubſtantially aud "really in the Sacrament." This Divine printed a collection

The Maſs and real Preſence.

Collyer, p. 742.

tion of private Devotions, in imitation of the Roman Horary. The Frontiſpiece had the three Capital Letters J. H. S. upon theſe there was a Croſs incircled with the Sun, ſupported by two Angels, with two devout Women praying towards it. The Book contains the Apoſtle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer divided into ſeven Petitions, the Precepts of Charity, the ſeven Sacraments, the three Theological Virtues, the eight Beatitudes, the ſeven deadly Sins; with Forms of Prayers for the firſt, third, ſixth, and ninth hours, and for the Veſpers and Compline, formerly called the Canonical Hours; then followed the Litany, with Prayers for the Sacrament, in time of ſickneſs, and at the approach of Death. This Book was licenſed by the Biſhop of London, and publickly ſold, when the Books of the moſt reſolved Proteſtants were ſuppreſſed. King Charles I. 1637.

Merit and Auricular Confeſſion, &c. Ruſhw. p. 137. Prynne, p. 195, &c.

Mr. Adams, in a Sermon preached at St. Mary's in Cambridge, aſſerted the expediency of Auricular Confeſſion, ſaying, "It was as neceſſary to Salvation as meat is to the "Body." Others preached up "the Doctrine of Pe-"nance, and of authoritative, prieſtly Abſolution for Sin." Some maintained the proper Merit of good Works, in oppoſition to the received Doctrine of "Juſtification by Faith "alone." Others, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there was a full and proper Sacrifice for Sin. Some declared for Images, Crucifixes, and Pictures in Churches; for Purgatory, and for preſerving, reverencing, and even praying to the Reliques of Saints. The Author of the Engliſh Pope, printed 1643. ſays, that Sparrow paved the the way for Auricular Confeſſion, Watts for Penance, Heylin for Altar Worſhip, Montague for Saint Worſhip, and Laud for the Maſs.

Remarks. May's Hiſt. of Parl.

It was a very juſt obſervation of a Venetian Gentleman in his Travels to England about this time, "That "the Univerſities, Biſhops and Divines of England, daily "embraced Catholick Doctrines, though they profeſſed "them not with open Mouth: They held that the Church "of Rome was a true Church; that the Pope was ſu-"perior to all Biſhops; that to him it pertained to call "general Councils; that it was lawful to pray for Souls "departed; and, that Altars ought to be erected in all "Churches; in ſum, they believed all that was taught by "the Church of Rome, not by the Court of Rome."

Fuller's Appeal, Part 3d. p. 63, 65.

Remarkable are the words of Heylin to the ſame purpoſe, "The greateſt Part of the Controverſy between us and "the Church of Rome, (ſays he) not being in Funda-

King Charles I. 1637.

Design to unite the two Churches.

" mentals, or in any eſſential points of the Chriſtian Religion, I cannot otherwiſe look upon it but as a moſt Chriſtian and Pious Work, to endeavour an Atonement in the Superſtructure; as to the Lawfulneſs of it, I could never ſee any reaſon produced againſt it: Againſt the impoſſibility of it, it has been objected, that the Church of Rome will yield nothing; if therefore there be an agreement, it muſt not be their meeting us, but our going to them; but that all in the Church of Rome are not ſtiff, appears from the Teſtimony of the Archbiſhop of Spalato, who acknowledged that the Articles of the Church of England were not heretical, and by the Treatiſe of Franciſcus de Clara. Now, if without prejudice to Truth, the Controverſies might be compoſed, it is moſt probable, that other Proteſtant Churches would have ſued to be included in the peace; if not, the Church of England will loſe nothing by it, as being hated by the Calviniſts, and not loved by the Lutherans." This was the ridiculous court Scheme which Archbiſhop Laud uſed all his Intereſt to accompliſh; and it is no impertinent ſtory to our preſent purpoſe, becauſe it is well atteſted, that a certain Counteſs (whoſe Huſband's Father the Archbiſhop had married, and thereby brought himſelf into trouble) having turned Papiſt, was aſked by the Archbiſhop the Cauſe of her changing, to whom ſhe replied, " It was becauſe ſhe always hated to go " in a crowd." Being aſked again the reaſon of that expreſſion, ſhe anſwered, " That ſhe perceived his Grace, " and many others, were making haſte to Rome, and " therefore to prevent going in a preſs, ſhe had gone be- " fore them."

Fuller's Appeal, p. 61.

Laws againſt Papiſts ſuſpended.

'Tis certain the Papiſts were in high reputation at Court; the King counted them his beſt Subjects, and relaxed the penal Laws, on pretence, " that hereby foreign " Catholick Princes might be induced to ſhew favour to " their Subjects of the Reformed Religion." Within the compaſs of four years ſeventy four Letters of Grace were ſigned by the King's own Hand; ſixty four Prieſts were diſmiſſed from the Gate-Houſe, and twenty nine by Warrant from the Secretary of State, at the inſtance of the Queen, the Queen Mother, or ſome foreign Ambaſſador. Protections were frequently granted to put a ſtop to the proceedings of the Courts of Juſtice againſt them. I have before me a liſt of Popiſh Recuſants convicted in the twenty nine

Foxes and Firebrands, Part 3d. p. 75. Ruſhw. p. 284.

Engliſh

King Charles I. 1637.

Engliſh counties of the ſouthern diviſion, from the firſt of King Charles to the ſixteenth, which amounts to no leſs than eleven thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy, (as the account was brought into the long Parliament, by Mr. John Pulford, employ'd in their proſecution by the King himſelf) all of whom were releaſed and pardon'd. And if their numbers were ſo great in the South, how muſt they abound in the northern and Welch counties, where they are computed three to one!

They are favoured and promoted at Court.

Many were promoted to places of the higheſt honour and truſt; Sir Richard Weſton was Lord High Treaſurer, Sir Francis Windebank Secretary of State, Lord Cottington was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Porter of the Bed-Chamber; beſides theſe, there was Lord Conway, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Mathews, Mr. Montague, jun. the Dutcheſs of Montague, the Counteſs of Newport, and many others, all Papiſts, who were in high favour, and had the King and Queen's ear whenſoever they pleaſed. The Pope had a nuncio in England, and the Queen an Agent at Rome, Cardinal Barberini was made Protector of the Engliſh Nation, and a ſociety was erected under the title of the Congregation for propagating the Faith. Richard Smith, titular Biſhop of Chalcedon, exerciſed epiſcopal juriſdiction over the Engliſh Catholicks, by commiſſion from the Pope; he conferr'd orders, and appeared in Lancaſhire with his mitre and croſier; Seignior Con, or Cunœus, the Pope's legate, gain'd over ſeveral of the gentry, and attempted the King himſelf, by preſents of little popiſh toys and pictures, with which his Majeſty was wonderfully delighted. The Papiſts had a common purſe, with which they purchaſed ſeveral monopolies, and beſtowed the profits upon their beſt friends; ſeveral of their military men were put into Commiſſion, and great numbers were liſted in his Majeſty's Armies againſt the Scots.

Their Numbers and Influence. Fuller, B. XI. p. 135, 137. Prynne, p. 198. Foxes and Firebrands, Part. 3d. p. 124. Collyer, p. 781.

Lord Clarendon's Account of them. Vol. I. p. 148.

But let the reader form his judgment of the numbers and ſtrength of the Roman Catholicks, from Lord Clarendon, who ſays, "The papiſts had for many years enjoyed a great "calm, being on the matter abſolved from the ſevereſt "parts of the law, and diſpenſed with for the gentleſt. "They were grown to be a part of the Revenue, without "any probable danger of being made a ſacrifice to the law. "They were looked upon as good ſubjects at Court, and "good neighbours in the Country; all the reſtraints and re"proaches of former times being forgotten: But they "were not prudent managers of their proſperity, being

"elated

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" elated with the connivance and protection they re-
" ceived; and though I am perſuaded their numbers en-
" creaſed not, their pomp and boldneſs did to that degree,
" that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the
" State, they appeared more publickly, entertained, and
" urged conferences more avowedly than had before been
" known. They reſorted at common hours to Maſs to
" Somerſet Houſe, and returned thence in great multitudes
" with the ſame barefacedneſs as others come from the
" Savoy, or other neighbouring Churches. They attempt-
" ed, and ſometimes gained Proſelytes, of weak uninform-
" ed ladies, with ſuch circumſtances as provoked the rage,
" and deſtroyed the charity of great and powerful families,
" which longed for their ſuppreſſion; they grew not only
" ſecret contrivers, but publick profeſt promoters of, and
" Miniſters in the moſt odious, and moſt grievous projects,
" as in that of ſoap, formed, framed and executed by al-
" moſt a corporation of that religion, which under that
" licence and notion might be, and were ſuſpected to be
" qualified for other agitations. The Prieſts, and ſuch as
" were in Orders (Orders that in themſelves were puniſh-
" able with death) were departed from their former mo-
" deſty and Fear, and were as willing to be known as to be
" hearken'd to; inſomuch, that a Jeſuit at Paris, who was
" coming for England, had the boldneſs to viſit the Am-
" baſſador there, who knew him to be ſuch, and offering
" him his ſervice, acquainted him with his journey, as if
" there had been no laws there for his Reception; and for
" the moſt invidious protection and countenance of that
" whole party, a publick Agent from Rome, firſt Mr. Con,
" a Scottiſh Man, and after him the Count of Roſetti an
" Italian) reſided in London in great pomp, publickly vi-
" ſited the Court, and was avowedly reſorted to by the
" Catholicks of all conditions, over whom he aſſumed a
" particular juriſdiction, and was careſſed, and preſented
" magnificently by the Ladies of Honour, who enclined
" to that profeſſion. They had likewiſe with more noiſe
" and vanity, than prudence would have admitted, made
" publick collections of Money to a conſiderable ſum,
" upon ſome recommendations from the Queen, and to
" be by her Majeſty preſented, as a free-will offering
" from his Roman Catholick ſubjects to the King, for
" the carrying on the War againſt the Scots; which
" drew upon them the rage of that nation, with little

" devotion

" devotion and reverence to the Queen herſelf, as if " ſhe deſired to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion in one " Kingdom as well as the other, by the Arms of the " Roman Catholicks.". King Charles I. 1637.

From this account, compared with the foregoing relation, 'tis evident, there never was a ſtronger combination in favour of Popery, nor was the Proteſtant Religion at any time in a more dangerous Criſis, being deſerted by its pretended friends, while it was ſecretly undermining by its moſt powerful enemies.

The Caſe was the ſame with the civil liberties and Properties of the people; no man had any thing that he could call his own, any longer than the King pleaſed; for in the famous trial of Mr. Hampden of Buckinghamſhire, in the Caſe of Ship-Money, all the Judges of England, except Crook and Hutton, gave it for Law, " That the King " might levy taxes on the ſubject, by writ under the Great Seal, without grant of Parliament, in Caſes of Neceſſity; or " when the kingdom was in danger, of which danger and " neceſſity his Majeſty was the ſole and final Judge; and " that by Law his Majeſty might compel the doing there- " of in caſe of refuſal or refractorineſs. This determination was enter'd in all the Courts of Weſtminſter; and the Judges were commanded to declare it in their Circuits throughout the kingdom, to the end that no man might plead ignorance. " The damage and miſchief cannot be " expreſſed (ſays Lord Clarendon) that the Crown ſuſtain- " ed by the deſerved reproach and infamy that attended this " behaviour of the Judges, who out of their courtſhip ſub- " mitted the grand queſtions of law to be meaſured by " what they call the Standard of general reaſon and neceſ- " ſity." While theſe extraordinary methods of raiſing Money were built only upon the prerogative, people were more patient, hoping that ſome time or other the law would take place; but when they were declared by all the judges to be the very Law itſelf, and a rule for determining ſuits between the King and Subject, they were ſtruck with deſpair, and concluded very juſtly that Magna Charta, and the old Engliſh Conſtitution, was at an end.

The Civil Liberties of England deſtroy'd. Rapin, p. 302.

Vol. I. P. 70.

Let the reader now recollect himſelf, and then judge of the candor of the noble Hiſtorian, who, notwithſtanding the cruel perſecutions and oppreſſions already mentioned, celebrates the felicity of theſe Times in the following words; " Now after all this I muſt be ſo juſt as to ſay, that from " the diſſolution of the Parliament in the fourth year of " the

L. Clarendon's Repreſentation of the Times, Vol. I. P. 74, 76.

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" the King, to the beginning of the long Parliament, " which was about twelve years, this kingdom, and all his " Majeſty's Dominions, enjoy'd the greateſt calm, and the " fulleſt meaſure of felicity that any people, in any age, " for ſo long time together have been bleſſed with, to the " wonder and envy of all other parts of Chriſtendom—— " the Court was in great plenty, or rather exceſs and lux- " ury, the country rich and full, enjoying the pleaſure of " its own Wealth; the Church flouriſhed with learned and " extraordinary men; and the Proteſtant Religion was " more advanced againſt the Church of Rome, by the " Writings of Archbiſhop Laud and Chillingworth, than " it had been ſince the Reformation———trade encreaſed " to that degree, that we were the exchange of Chriſten- " dom———Foreign Merchants looking upon nothing ſo " much their own as what they had laid up in the Ware- " houſes of this kingdom———The reputation of the great- " neſs and power of the King with foreign Princes was " much more than any of his Progenitors. And Laſtly, " For a complement of all theſe bleſſings, they were enjoy- " ed under the protection of a King of the moſt harmleſs " diſpoſition, the moſt exemplary piety, and the greateſt " ſobriety, chaſtity, and mercy, that any Prince had been " endowed with, and who might have ſaid that which " Pericles was proud of upon his death-bed, concerning " his Citizens, That no Engliſh Man had worn a mourn- " ing Gown through his occaſion. In a word, many wiſe " men thought it a time wherein thoſe two adjuncts, Impe- " rium and Libertas were as well reconciled as poſſible."

Not a line of this Panegyrick will bear examination. When his Lordſhip ſays, " That no people in any Age had " been bleſſed with ſo great a calm, and ſuch a full meaſure " of felicity for ſo long a time together [twelve years], he ſeems to have undervalued the long and pacifick reign of his Majeſty's Royal Father, King James, who was diſtinguiſh'd by the title of Bleſſed. But where was the Liberty or Safety of the Subject, when Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, which the King had ſigned in full Parliament, were ſwallowed up in the gulph of arbitrary Power? And the ſtatute laws of the land were exchanged for a Rule of Government depending upon the Sovereign will and pleaſure of the King? If the Court was in Exceſs and Luxury, it was with the plunder of the people, ariſing from loans, benevolences, ſhip-money,

Remarks.

Mono-

Monopolies, and other illegal taxes on merchandize. The Country was ſo far from growing rich and wealthy, that it was every year draining of its inhabitants and ſubſtance, as appears not only by the loſs of the foreign manufacturers, but by his Majeſty's proclamations, forbidding any of his ſubjects to tranſport themſelves and their effects to New England without his ſpecial licenſe. Was it poſſible that Trade could flouriſh, when almoſt every branch of it was monopolized, and ſold by the Crown, for large ſums of money, and when the property of the ſubject was ſo precarious, that the King might call for it upon any occaſion, and in caſe of refuſal ruin the proprietor by exorbitant fines and impriſonment? Did no Engliſhman wear a mourning gown in theſe times, when the Seldens, the Hollis's, the Elliots, the Strouds, the Hobarts, the Valentines, the Coritons, and other Patriots of their country, were taken out of the Parliament houſe, and ſhut up for many years in cloſe priſons, where ſome of them periſhed? How many of the Nobility and Gentry were puniſhed with exorbitant fines in the Star Chamber? How many hundred Miniſters, and others, were ruined in the High Commiſſion, or forced from their native country into baniſhment, contrary to law? The gaols in the ſeveral counties were never free from State or Church priſoners, during the laſt twelve years of his Majeſty's reign, and yet it ſeems "No Engliſhman wore a Mourning Gown through his occaſion?" Is it poſſible to believe, "that the reputation of the Greatneſs and Power of King Charles I. with foreign Princes, (however harmleſs, pious, ſober, chaſt and merciful he might be) was equal to that of Queen Elizabeth or King Henry VIII?" What ſervice did he do, by his arms or counſels for the Proteſtant Religion, or for the good of Europe? When his Majeſty's affairs were in the greateſt diſtreſs, what Credit had he abroad? Or, where was the foreign Prince (except his own Son in law) that would lend him either men or money? "If the Proteſtant Religion was advanced in ſpeculation by "the writings of Archbiſhop Laud and Chillingworth;" is it not ſufficiently evident, that the Roman Catholicks were prodigiouſly encreaſed in numbers, reputation and influence? Upon the whole, the people of England were ſo far from enjoying a full meaſure of Felicity, that they groaned under the yoke of the heavieſt Oppreſſion, and were prepared to lay hold of any opportunity to throw it off; ſo that to make his Lordſhip's account of the Times conſiſtent with truth,

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truth, or with his own behaviour in the beginning of the Long Parliament, one is almoſt tempted to ſuſpect it muſt have received ſome amendments or colourings from the hands of his Editors. This was the ſtate of affairs at the end of the pacifick part of this Reign, and forwards to the beginning of the Long Parliament.

CHAP. VI.

From the beginning of the commotions in Scotland, to the Long Parliament in the year 1640.

WE are now entring upon a ſcene of calamity which opened in the North, and in a few years, like a riſing tempeſt, overſpread both Kingdoms, and involved them in all the miſeries of a Civil War. If Archbiſhop Laud could have been content with being Metropolitan of the Church of England, he might have gone to his grave in peace, but graſping at the juriſdiction of another Church, founded upon different Principles, he pulled down both upon his head, and was buried in the ruins.

We have mentioned the prepoſterous publiſhing the Scots Book of Canons, a year before their Liturgy, which was not finiſhed till the month of October, 1636. His Majeſty's reaſons for compiling it were, that "his Royal "Father had intended it, and made a conſiderable progreſs "in the work, in order to curb ſuch of his ſubjects in Scot- "land as were inclined to Puritaniſm; that his preſent Ma- "jeſty reſolved to purſue the ſame deſign, and therefore "conſented to the publication of this book (which was in "ſubſtance the ſame with the Engliſh Liturgy) that the "Roman party might not upbraid us with any material dif- "ferences, and yet it was ſo far diſtinct, that it might be "truly reputed a book of that Church's compoſing, and "eſtabliſhed by his Royal Authority as King of Scotland."

Ruſhw. p. 386.

Scots Liturgy.

The compilers of this Liturgy were chiefly Dr. Weederburne, a Scots Divine, beneficed in England, but now Biſhop of Dunblain, and Dr. Maxwel, Biſhop of Roſſe. Their inſtructions from England were, to keep ſuch catholick Saints in their Calendar as were in the Engliſh, and that ſuch New Saints as were added ſhould be the moſt approved, but in no caſe to omit St. George and St. Patrick. That in the book of Orders, thoſe words in the Engliſh

Engliſh book be not changed, "Receive ye the Holy "Ghoſt;" and that ſundry leſſons out of the Apocrypha be inſerted; beſides theſe, the word Preſbyter was inſerted inſtead of Prieſt; and the water in the Font for baptiſm was to be conſecrated. There was a Benediction or thankſgiving for departed Saints; ſome paſſages in the Communion were altered, in favour of the Real Preſence; the Rubricks contained inſtructions to the people, when to ſtand, and when to ſit or kneel; all which the Scots were ſtrangers to. The main parts of the Liturgy were the ſame with the Engliſh, that there might be an appearance of Uniformity. It was reviſed, corrected, and altered by Archbiſhop Laud and Biſhop Wren, as appeared by the original found in the Archbiſhop's chamber in the Tower, in which the alterations were inſerted with his own hand. King Charles I. 1637.

The Liturgy thus modelled was ſent into Scotland, with a Royal Proclamation, dated December 12, 1636. commanding all his Majeſty's loving ſubjects of that Kingdom to receive it with reverence, "as the only Form his Ma"jeſty thinks fit to be uſed in that Kirk," without ſo much as laying it before a Convocation, Synod, general Aſſembly, or Parliament of that Nation. It was appointed to be read firſt on Eaſter Sunday, 1637, againſt which time all Pariſhes were to be provided with two books at leaſt; but the outcries of the people againſt it were ſo great, that it was thought adviſeable to delay it to the 23d. of July, that the Lords of the Seſſion, [or Judges] might ſee the ſucceſs of it before the riſing of the Term, which always ends the firſt of Auguſt, in order to report in their ſeveral counties, the peaceable receiving the Book at Edinburgh and parts adjacent. The Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, with ſome of his more prudent brethren, foreſeeing the diſorders that would ariſe, adviſed the deferring it yet longer; but Archbiſhop Laud was ſo much of a different mind, that he procured a Warrant from the King, commanding the Scots Biſhops to go forward at all events, threatning, that if they moved heavily, or threw in unneceſſary delays, the King would remove them, and fill their Sees with Churchmen of more zeal and Reſolution. Impoſed by the Prerogative.

In obedience therefore to the Royal Command, notice having been given in all the Pulpits of Edinburgh, that the Sunday following [July 23.] the new Service-book would be read in all the Churches, there was a vaſt concourſe of People Occaſions Tumults.

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People at St. Giles's or the Great Church, where both the Archbiſhops, and divers Biſhops, together with the Lords of the Seſſion, the Magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and many of the Council were aſſembled; but as ſoon as the Dean began to read, the Service was interrupted by clapping of hands, and an hideous noiſe among the meaner ſort of people at the lower end of the Church, which the Biſhop of Edinburgh obſerving, ſtept into the pulpit, and endeavoured to quiet them, but the diſturbance encreaſing, a ſtool was thrown towards the Deſk; upon which the Provoſt and Bailiffs of the city came from their places, and with much difficulty thruſt out the populace and ſhut the Church doors; but ſuch were the clamours from without, rapping at the doors, and throwing ſtones at the windows, that it was with much difficulty that the Dean went through with the ſervice; and when he and the Biſhop came out of Church in their Habits, they were in danger of being torn in pieces by the mob, who followed them, crying out, "Pull them down, A Pape, A Pape, "Antichriſt, &c."

Between the two Sermons the Magiſtrates took proper meaſures for keeping the peace in the afternoon, but after evening prayer the tumult was greater than in the morning; for the Earl of Roxborough returning to his lodgings with the Biſhop in his coach, was ſo pelted with ſtones, and preſſed upon by the multitude, that both were in danger of their lives. The Clergy that read the Liturgy in the other Churches met with the like uſage, inſomuch that the whole city was in an uproar; but it did not yet appear, that any beſides the meaner people were concerned in it; however, the Lords of the Council thought proper to diſpenſe with reading the ſervice next Sunday, till their Expreſs returned from England with further inſtructions, which Laud diſpatched with all expedition, telling them, "It "was the King's firm reſolution that they ſhould go on "with their work;" and blaming them highly for ſuſpending it.

Reaſons againſt it.

Among the Miniſters that oppoſed reading the Liturgy, were the Reverend Mr. Ramſay, Mr. Rollock, Mr. Henderſon, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Bruce, who were charged with letters of Horning for their diſobedience. But they ſtood by what they had done, and in their petition to the Council gave the following reaſons for their conduct; "(1.) Be-"cauſe the Service Book had not been warranted by a "general Aſſembly, which is the repreſentative body of the "Kirk, nor by any Act of Parliament. (2.) Becauſe the "Liberties

" liberties of the Scots Kirk, and the form of worſhip re- King
" ceived at the Reformation, and univerſally practiſed, Charles I.
" ſtood ſtill warranted by Acts of the General Aſſembly, 1637.
" and Acts of Parliament. (3.) Becauſe the Kirk of Scot-
" land is a free and independent Kirk, and therefore her
" own Paſtors are the proper judges what is moſt for her
" benefit. (4.) Some of the Ceremonies contained in this
" Book have occaſioned great diviſions in the Kirk, for as
" much as they are inconſiſtent with the form of worſhip
" practiſed in it, and ſymbolize with the Kirk of Rome,
" which is Antichriſtian. (5.) Becauſe the people having been
" otherwiſe taught, are unwilling to receive the new Book
" till they are better convinced." Theſe reaſons were of weight with the Council, but they durſt not ſhew favour to the priſoners without allowance from England, which could not be obtained; for the zealous Archbiſhop ſtopt his Ears againſt all gentle methods of accommodation, hoping to bear down all oppoſition with the Royal Authority.

While the Country people were buſy at harveſt, things were pretty quiet, but when that was over they came to Edinburgh in great numbers, and raiſed new diſturbances, upon which the Council iſſued out three Proclamations; one for the people that came out of the Country, to return home; a ſecond for removing the Seſſion or Term from Edinburgh to Linlithgow; and a third for calling in, and burning a ſeditious Pamphlet, called " a Diſcourſe againſt Ruſhw.
" the Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies, obtruded on the Kirk of p. 400.
" Scotland; all which were dated October 17th 1637." Theſe Proclamations inflamed the people to ſuch a degree, that the very next day, the Biſhop of Galloway would have been torn in pices by the Mob, as he was going to the Council Houſe, if he had not been reſcued by Mr. Steward; but miſſing of his Lordſhip they beſet the Council Houſe, and threaten'd to break open the door; in ſo much that the Lords who were aſſembled were obliged to ſend for ſome of the popular Nobility in Town to their relief; but the people would not diſperſe till the Council had promiſed to join with the other Lords in petitioning the King againſt the Service Book, and to reſtore the ſilenced Miniſters.

Soon after this two Petitions were preſented to the Lord Petitions
Chancellor and Council againſt the Liturgy and Canons; againſt it.
one in the name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants of Edinburgh; and the other in the name of the

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Noblemen, Barons, Gentry, Miniſters and Burgeſſes. Their objections againſt them were the ſame with thoſe already mentioned. The Petitions were tranſmitted to the King, who inſtead of returning a ſoft anſwer, ordered a Proclamation to be publiſhed from Sterlin [Feb. 19.] againſt the late diſorderly tumults, in which, after having declared his abhorrence of all Superſtition and Popery, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt the Petitioners; and to prevent any further Riots, ordered the Term or Seſſion to be removed from Linlithgow to Sterlin, twenty four miles from Edinburgh, with a ſtrict injunction, that no ſtranger ſhould reſort thither without ſpecial licenſe. His Majeſty alſo forbid all Aſſemblies, or Convocations of people, to frame or ſign Petitions, upon pain of High Treaſon, and yet declared at the ſame time, that he would not ſhut his ears againſt them, if neither the form nor matter were prejudicial to his Royal Authority.

Ruſhw. p. 731.

And a Proteſtation.

Upon publiſhing this Proclamation ſundry Noblemen, Barons, Miniſters and Burghers, met together, and ſigned the following Proteſt, 1. "That it is the undoubted "Right of the Subjects of Scotland, to have immediate "Recourſe to the King by Petition. 2. That Archbiſhops "and Biſhops ought not to ſit in any Judicatory in this "Kingdom Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, till they have purged "themſelves of thoſe crimes which are ready to be proved "againſt them. 3. That no Proclamation of Council, in "preſence of the Archbiſhops or Biſhops, ſhall be pre-"judicial to any of our proceedings. 4. That neither we, "nor any that adhere to us, ſhall incur any damages for "not obſerving the Liturgy, or Book of Canons, "as "long as it is not eſtabliſhed by General Aſſembly, or Act "of Parliament." 5. That if any inconvenience fall out "(which God prevent) upon preſſing the late Innovations, "we declare the ſame is not to be imputed to us. 6. That "all our proceedings in this affair have no other Tendency "but the preſervation of the true reformed Religion, and "the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom."

They erect Tables. Ruſhw. p. 734.

The Council being apprehenſive of danger from theſe large Aſſemblies and Combinations of People, agreed, that if they would return peaceable to their Houſes, they might appoint ſome of their number of all Ranks and Orders to repreſent the reſt, till his Majeſty's pleaſure concerning their Proteſt ſhould be further known. Accordingly four Tables, as they were called, were erected at Edinburgh; one of

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of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burroughs, and a fourth of the Miniſters. Theſe prepared and digeſted matters for the General Table, formed of Commiſſioners, from the other four, where the laſt and binding Reſolutions were taken.

1638. And renew their ſolemn League and Covenant. Nalſon's Collect. p. 20.

One of the firſt things concluded upon by the Tables, was the "renewing their Confeſſion of Faith, and the So- "lemn League and Covenant," ſubſcribed by King James and his Royal Houſhold, March 2, 1580-1, and by the whole Scots Nation in the year 1590, with a general band for maintenance of true Religion, and the King's Perſon. To this Covenant was now added a Narrative of ſundry Acts of Parliament, by which the Reformed Religion had been ratified ſince that time, with an admonition, wherein the late Innovations were renounced, and a band of Defence for adhering to each other in the preſent Cauſe.

In their Covenant they declare in the moſt ſolemn manner, "That they believe with their Hearts, confeſs with "their Mouths, and ſubſcribe with their Hands, that the "Confeſſion of Faith then eſtabliſhed by Act of Parlia- "ment is the true Chriſtian Faith and Religion, and the "only ground of their Salvation.——They further declare "their abhorrence of all kinds of Papiſtry in general, and "then enumerate ſundry particulars of popiſh Doctrine, "Diſcipline, and Ceremonies, as the Pope's pretended "Primacy over the Chriſtian Church; "his five Baſtard "Sacraments, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation——— "the Maſs, Purgatory——Prayers for the Dead, and in "an unknown Language———Juſtification by Works---- "Auricular Confeſſion——Croſſes, Images, Altars, dedi- "cating of Kirks, with all other Rites, Signs, and Tradi- "tions, brought into the Kirk without, or contrary to the "Word of God." All which they promiſe to oppoſe to the "utmoſt of their power, and to defend the ancient doc- "trine and diſcipline of their Kirk all the days of their "lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger "both of body and ſoul, in the day of God's fearful judg- "ment, proteſting, and calling the ſearcher of all Hearts "to witneſs, that their Minds and Hearts do fully agree "with this their Confeſſion, Promiſes, Oath and Subſcripti- "ons. They proteſt, and promiſe under the ſame oath, "hand-writing, and pains, to defend the King's Royal Per- "ſon and Authority, with their Goods, Bodies, and Lives, "in defence of Chriſt's Goſpel, the Liberties of their "Country, the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and puniſhment

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" of iniquity againſt all his Enemies within the Realm and " without; and this they do from their very Hearts, as " they hope God will be their defence in the day of death, " and the coming of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. To whom " with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and " glory eternally."

The Band of Defence.

Then follows a recital of the Acts of Parliament, by which the reformed Religion was eſtabliſhed among them. But inſtead of the band of Defence annexed to the Covenant of 1580, they framed a new one, ſuited to the preſent time, in which, after reciting the King's Coronation Oath, they declare, " That as they will defend the King's Royal " Perſon and Authority, they will alſo ſupport the authori- " ty of Parliaments, upon which the ſecurity of their " Lands, Livings, Rights and Properties, depend, and " without which neither any law, nor lawful Judicatory, " can be eſtabliſhed. They declare the late Innovations " brought into the Kirk to be contrary to the doctrine and " diſcipline of it, and contrary to the Covenant above- " mentioned, and therefore they will forbear the practice " of them till they are tried, and allowed in a free Aſſem- " bly, and in Parliament; and not only ſo, but they pro- " miſe and ſwear, by the great name of God, to reſiſt all " theſe errors and corruptions to the utmoſt of their power, " all the days of their lives. They then promiſe and ſwear " over again, to defend the King's Perſon and Authority in " the preſervation of the aforeſaid true Religion, Laws and " Liberties of the Kingdom, and to aſſiſt and ſtand by one " another at all Adventures, without ſuffering themſelves " to be divided by any allurement or terror from this bleſſed " and loyal conjunction, and without being afraid of the " odious aſperſions of Rebellion, or Combination, which " their adverſaries may caſt upon them. And conclude " with calling the Searcher of Hearts to witneſs to their " Sincerity, as they ſhall anſwer it to Chriſt in the day of " account, and under pain of the loſs of all honours and " reſpect in this World, and God's everlaſting Wrath " in the next." All this was ſworn to and ſubſcribed with great Serioufneſs and Devotion, firſt at Edinburgh, in the Month of February, 1637-8. and afterwards in the ſeveral Counties and Shires, where it was received by the common people, as a ſacred Oracle, and ſubſcribed by all ſuch as were thought to have any zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country.

Country. The Privy Counſellors, the Judges, the Biſhops, and the friends of arbitrary power, were the principal perſons that refuſed. The Univerſities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen were ſaid to oppoſe it, and thoſe of Glaſgow did not ſubſcribe without ſome limitations. King Charles I. 1638.

There cannot be a more ſolemn and awful engagement to God, and each other than this! What the reaſons were that induced King James, and the whole Scots Nation, to enter into it in the year 1580, and 1590, is not neceſſary to be determined; but certainly ſuch a combination of Subjects, without the conſent of their Sovereign, in a well ſettled Government is unwarrantable, eſpecially when it is confirmed with an oath, for no oath ought to be adminiſtered but by commiſſion from the chief Magiſtrate. The only foundation therefore upon which this Covenant can be vindicated is, that the Scots apprehended their legal Church Eſtabliſhment was broken in pieces by the King's aſſuming the Supremacy, by his erecting an High Commiſſion, and by his impoſing upon them a Book of Canons and Liturgy by his Royal Prerogative, without conſent of Parliament or General Aſſembly.

The Council ſent advice of the proceedings of the Covenanters from time to time, and acquainted his Majeſty, that the cauſe of all the commotions was the fears of Innovations in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Kirk, by introducing the Liturgy, Canons, and High Commiſſion; that it was therefore their humble opinion, that the reading the Service Book ſhould not be urged at preſent. Upon this the King ſent the Marquiſs of Hamilton, his High Commiſſioner into Scotland, with Inſtructions to conſent to the ſuſpending the uſe of the Service Book for the preſent, but at the ſame time to diſſolve the Tables, and to require the Covenant to be delivered up within ſix Weeks. His Majeſty adds, "That if there be not ſufficient Strength in the "Kingdom to oblige the Covenanters to return to their "duty, he will come in perſon from England at the head "of a ſufficient power to force them;" and in the mean time the Marquis is empowered to uſe all hoſtile Acts againſt them as a rebellious People. Marquis of Hamilton ſent High Commiſſioner into Scotland.

Upon the Marquis's arrival at Holyrood Houſe he was welcomed by great numbers of the Covenanters of all Ranks and Qualities, in hopes that he would call a General Aſſembly, and a free Parliament; but when he told them, this was not in his Inſtructions, they went home full of reſentments. The People nailed up the Organ Loft in the

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Church, and admoniſhed the Marquis, not to read the Liturgy. The Miniſters cautioned their hearers againſt conſenting to enſnaring propoſitions; and a letter was ſent to the Marquis and Council, exhorting them to ſubſcribe the Covenant. His Lordſhip writ theſe things to Court, and moved his Majeſty either to yield to the People or haſten his Royal Arms. The King replied, that he would rather die than yield to their impertinent and damnable demands; but admitted of the Marquis's flattering them, to gain time, provided he did not conſent to the calling a General Aſſembly or Parliament, till they had diſavowed and given up the Covenant. When this was known, both Miniſters and People declared with one voice, that they would as ſoon renounce their Baptiſm as their Covenant; but withal avowed their duty and allegiance to the King, and their Reſolutions to ſtand by his Majeſty, in defence of the true Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom. The Marquis not being able to make any impreſſion on the Covenanters returned to England, with an account of the melancholy State of Affairs in that Kingdom, which ſurprized the Engliſh Court, and reflected ſome diſgrace upon the Archbiſhop, for as his Grace was going to Council, Archibald, the King's Jeſter, ſaid to him, "Whea's Feule "now? Does not your Grace hear the news from Strive-"ling about the Liturgy?" His Grace complaining of this uſage to the Council, Archibald Armſtrong, the King's Fool, was ordered to have his Coat pulled over his ears, to be diſcharged the King's ſervice, and baniſhed the Court.

Rushw. p. 752, 762.

King's Conceſſions. Ib. p. 471.

After ſome time Hamilton was ſent back with inſtructions (if neceſſity required) to revoke the Liturgy, the Canons, the High Commiſſion, and the five articles of Perth; and with authority to ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith of 1580, with the Band thereunto annexed, and to take orders that all his Majeſty's Subjects ſubſcribed the ſame. He might alſo promiſe the calling a General Aſſembly and Parliament within a competent time, but was to endeavour to exclude the Laity from the Aſſembly. The Deſign of ſubſcribing the Band of the old Covenant of 1580, was to ſecure the continuance of Epiſcopacy, becauſe that Band obliges them to maintain the Religion at that time profeſſed, which the King would interpret of Prelatical Government, as being not then legally diſcharged by Parliament, and becauſe it contained no promiſe of "mutual Defence and Aſſiſtance againſt all Perſons what-"ſoever,"

"ſoever," which might include the King himſelf. But the Covenanters did not think fit to ſubſcribe over again, and therefore only thanked the King for diſcharging the Liturgy, the Canons, and High Commiſſion. King Charles I. 1638.

At length the Marquis publiſhed a proclamation for a General Aſſembly to meet at Glaſgow, Nov. 21. The choice of Members went every where in favour of the Covenanters; the Reverend Mr. Henderſon, one of the ſilenced Miniſters, was choſen Moderator, and Mr. Johnſton, Clerk Regiſter; but the Biſhops preſented a Declinator, "Declaring the Aſſembly to be unlawful, and the Mem-"bers of it not qualified to repreſent the Clergy of the "Nation, (1.) Becauſe they were choſen before the Preſ-"byteries had received the Royal Mandate to make Elec-"tion. (2.) Becauſe moſt of them had not ſubſcribed the "Articles of Religion, nor ſworn to the King's Supremacy "in preſence of the Biſhops, for neglect of which they "were ipſo facto deprived. (3.) Becauſe they had exclud-"ed the Biſhops, who by the Act of Aſſembly at Glaſgow, "1610, were to be perpetual Moderators. (4.) Becauſe "there were Lay-Elders among them who had no right "to be there, nor had ordinarily ſet in Preſbyteries for "above forty years. (5.) Becauſe they apprehended it "abſurd, as well as contrary to the practice of the Chriſti-"an Church, that Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould be "judged by a mixt Aſſembly of the Clergy and Laicks." Signed by the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the Biſhops of Glaſgow, Edinburgh, Galloway, Roſs, and Brechin. A General Aſſembly at Glaſgow. Ruſhw. p. 865. The Biſhop's Declinator.

But the force of theſe objections, how ſtrong ſoever in themſelves, was taken off, by the King's owning the Aſſembly, and ſitting in it by his Commiſſioner ſeven Days; though at the diſſolution he declared their proceedings to be utterly deſtructive of the name and nature of a free Aſſembly.

The Biſhops Declinator being read, was unanimouſly rejected, and a Committee appointed to draw up an anſwer. In the mean time the Aſſembly was buſy in examining Elections, in which the Covenanters carried every thing before them; the Marquis therefore deſpairing of any good iſſue, determined according to his Inſtructions, to diſſolve them; and accordingly went to the great Church, where they ſat, and read over his Majeſty's Conceſſions; as, "(1.) That his Majeſty was willing to diſcharge the "Service Book and the Book of Canons. (2.) To diſſolve It is rejected

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" the High Commiſſion. (3.) That the Articles of Perth " ſhould not be urged. (4.) That no oath ſhould be re- " quired of any Miniſter at his entrance into the Miniſtry, " but what is required by Act of Parliament. (5.) That " for the future there ſhould be General Aſſemblies as " often as the affairs of the Kirk ſhall require; and, that " the Biſhops ſhould be cenſurable by the Aſſembly, ac- " cording to their Merits. (6.) That the Confeſſion of " Faith of 1580, ſhould be ſubſcribed by all his Majeſty's " Subjects of Scotland." Theſe were very conſiderable abatements, but did not reach the requirements of the Covenanters, which were the diſſolution of the Order of Biſhops, and of the above-mentioned grievances by a Statute Law. The Marquis went on, and in a long Speech declaimed againſt Lay-Elders, " an office (as he ſaid) unknown " in the Church for fifteen hundred years, ſuch perſons be- " ing very unfit to judge of the high Myſteries of Predeſ- " tination, Effectual Grace, Anti and Poſt-Lapſarian Doc- " trines, or to paſs Sentence upon their Superiors in Learn- " ing and Office." He therefore adviſed them to break up, and chooſe another Aſſembly of all Clergymen: but his motion ſtriking at the very being and lawfulneſs of their preſent Conſtitution, was unanimouſly rejected; upon which the Marquis diſſolved them, after they had ſat but ſeven days; forbidding them to continue their Seſſions upon pain of high treaſon; and next morning the diſſolution was publiſhed by proclamation at the Market-croſs.

The Aſſembly diſſolved.

But continue ſitting. Their Reaſons for ſo doing.

But the Aſſembly inſtead of ſubmitting to the Royal Command, continued ſitting, and the very next day [Nov. 29.] publiſhed a proteſtation to juſtify their Proceedings, wherein they affirm, " 1. That Ruling Elders have con- " ſtantly ſat in their Aſſemblies before the late times of " corruption. 2. That his Majeſty's Preſence in their As- " ſemblies, either in his own Perſon or by his Commiſſion- " ers, is not for voting, but as Princes and Emperors of " old, in a princely manner, to countenance their meet- " ings, and preſide in them for external order. 3. That it " is clear, by the doctrine and diſcipline of the Kirk, con- " tained in the Book of Policy, and regiſter'd in the Book " of the Aſſembly, and ſubſcribed by the Preſbyteries of " this Kirk, that it is unlawful in itſelf, and prejudicial to " the privileges that Chriſt has left his Church, for the " King to diſſolve or break up the Aſſembly of this " Kirk, or to ſtay their Proceedings; for then it would " follow,

" follow, that Religion and Church Government ſhould " depend abſolutely upon the pleaſure of the Prince. " 4. That there is no pretence by Act of Aſſembly, or " Parliament, or any perceding practice, whereby the " King's Majeſty, or his Commiſſioner, may lawfully diſ- " ſolve the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland, " without their conſent. 5. That the Aſſemblies of the " Kirk have continued ſitting, notwithſtanding any con- " tramand, as is evident by all the Records thereof; and " in particular, by the General Aſſembly of 1582. And, " Laſtly, to diſſolve the Aſſembly before any Grievances " are redreſſed, is to throw back the whole Nation into " confuſion, and to make every Man diſpair hereafter ever " to ſee Innovations removed, the Subjects complaints re- " garded, or Offenders puniſhed. For theſe reaſons they " declare it lawful and neceſſary to continue the preſent " Aſſembly, till they have tried and cenſured all the By- " gone evils, aud the Introductors of them, and have pro- " vided a ſolid courſe for continuing God's Truth in this " Land with Purity and Liberty; they declare further, " that the ſaid Aſſembly is, and ſhall be eſteemed and " obeyed as a moſt lawful, and free General Aſſembly of " this Kingdom, and that the Acts, Sentences, Cenſures " and Proceedings of it, ſhall be obeyed and obſerved by " all the Subjects of this Kingdom."

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Archbiſhop Laud was vexed at theſe bold and deſperate proceedings of the Aſſembly, and thought of nothing but diſperſing them by arms. " I will be bold to ſay (ſays his " Grace) never were there more groſs abſurdities, nor half " ſo many, in ſo ſhort a time, committed in any publick " meeting; and for a national Aſſembly, never did the Church " of Chriſt ſee the like.——I am as ſorry as your Grace " [the Marquis of Hamilton] can be, that the King's " Preparations can make no more haſte; I hope you think " I have called upon his Majeſty, and by his command " upon ſome others, to haſten all that may be, and more " than this I cannot do; —— I have done, and do daily " call upon his Majeſty for his Preparations; he proteſts he " makes all the haſte he can, and I believe him; but the " Jealouſies of giving the Covenanters umbraige too ſoon " have made Preparations here too late."

Preparations of the Engliſh Court againſt them. Ruſhw. p. 863.

The Aſſembly, according to their Reſolution, contiuued ſitting ſeveral weeks, till they had paſſed the following Acts; " An Act for diſannulling ſix late Aſſemblies therein " mentioned, held in the years 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617,

Acts of the Aſſembly. Ruſhw. p. 873.

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"1617, 1618, with the reaſons. An Act for abjuring "and aboliſhing Epiſcopacy; An Act for condemning the "five Articles of Perth; An Act for condemning the Ser- "vice Book, Book of Canons, Book of Ordination, and the "High Commiſſion; An Act condemning Archdeacons, "Chapters and preaching Deacons; An Act for reſtoring "Preſbyteries, provincial and national Aſſemblies, to their "Conſtitution of Miniſters and Elders, and to their Pow- "er and Juriſdiction contained in the Book of Policy; with many others of the like nature. They then pronounced ſentence of depoſition againſt the Biſhops; eight of whom were excommunicated; four excluded from the Miniſterial Function, and two only allowed to officiate as Paſtors or Preſbyters. Upon this Dr. Spotſwood, Biſhop of St. Andrews, and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, retired to London, where he died the next year. Moſt of his Brethren the Biſhops took the ſame method, only four remained in the Country, three of whom renounced their Epiſcopal Orders, viz. Alexander Ramſey, Biſhop of Dunkeld, George Graham, Biſhop of Orkney, and James Fairby, Biſhop of Argyle, but the fourth, George Guthrey Biſhop of Murray, kept his ground, and weathered the ſtorm. At the cloſe of the Seſſion the Aſſembly drew up a letter to the King, complaining of his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, who had proclaimed them Traytors, and forbid the People to pay any regard to their Acts; and praying the King to look upon them ſtill as his good and faithful Subjects. They alſo publiſhed another Declaration to the good People of England, in vindication of their Proceedings, which his Majeſty took care to ſuppreſs, and iſſued out a Proclamation againſt the ſeditious behaviour of the Covenanters, which he commanded to be read in all the Churches in England.

Biſhops depoſed.

Ibid. p. 876.

First Scots War. Prynne, Introd. p. 177, 178, 196. Ruſhw. p. 341.

'Twas eaſy to foreſee, that theſe warm proceedings muſt end in a War, eſpecially when it is remembered, that his Majeſty conſulted with none but the declared Enemies of their Kirk, (viz.) Laud, Hamilton and Wentworth. On the 26th, of Jan. the King publiſhed his Reſolution to go in Perſon againſt the Scots Covenanters at the Head of his Army; for this purpoſe the Nobility were ſummoned to attend his Majeſty, and all the wheels of the Prerogative were put in motion to raiſe Men and Money. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury writ to the Biſhops of his Province, that this being Bellum Epiſcopale, "A War for the Sup- "port of Epiſcopacy," they ſhould ſtir up their Clergy to a liberal contribution, after the rate of three Shillings and ten

ten pence in the Pound, according to the valuation of their Livings in the King's Books. He writ alſo to his Commiſſary, Sir John Lamb, for a contribution in the civil Courts of Doctors Commons, requiring him to ſend the names of ſuch as refuſed, to himſelf at Lambeth. The Queen and her friends undertook for the Roman Chatholicks; the Courtiers and Country Gentlemen were writ to, to lend Money upon this occaſion, which the former readily complied with, but of the latter forty only contributed together about fourteen hundred Pounds. With theſe and ſome other aſſiſtances, the King fitted out a Fleet of ſixteen Men of War, and raiſed a ſplendid Army of twenty one thouſand Horſe and Foot. King Charles I. 1638.

The Scots being informed of the Preparations that were making againſt them in England, ſecured the important Caſtles of Edinburgh, Dumbritton, and Frith; and raiſed an Army of ſuch Voluntiers as had the cauſe of the Kirk at heart, and were determined to ſacrifice their lives in defence of it; they ſent for their old General Leſley from Germany, who, upon this occaſion, quitted the Emperor's Service, and brought over with him ſeveral experienced Officers. But their greateſt diſtreſs was the want of Fire-arms, Ammunition, and Money, for there was not above three thouſand Arms to be found in the whole Kingdom; and having no Money, their Soldiers made ſuch a ragged appearance, that when the King ſaw them, he ſaid, "They would certainly "fight the Engliſh if it were only to get their fine Clothes. But the Succeſs of this War will fall within the compaſs of the next year.

To return to England, the Star Chamber and High Commiſſion went on with their oppreſſions, as if they were under no apprehenſions from the ſtorm that was gathering in the North. Many Miniſters were ſuſpended and ſhut up in priſon, as Mr. Henry Wilkinſon, B. D. of Magdalen College, Oxford; Mr. George Walker, Mr. Smith, Mr. Small, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Brewer a Baptiſt Preacher, who lay in priſon fourteen years; Mr. Foxley of St. Martins in the Fields, who was confined in a chamber in the Gate-Houſe not four yards ſquare for twenty Months, without pen, ink, or paper, or acceſs of any friends, even in his extreme ſickneſs; and all this without knowing his crime, or ſo much as gueſſing at it, unleſs it was for ſpeaking in favour of the Feoffees. Proceedings of the High Commiſſion. Prynne, p. 388.

Great numbers of Puritans continued to flock into New England, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the Council laſt year, Settlement of the Colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven.

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year, insomuch that the Massachuset Bay began to be too straight for them; in the latter end of the year, 1636, about one hundred families travelled further into the Country, and settled on the banks of the river Connecticut, with the Reverend Mr. Hooker at their head; another detachment went from Dorchester; a third from Water-town; and a fourth from Roxbury; and built the towns of Hertford, Windsor, Weathersfield and Springfield, in that Colony. Next year [1637] the passengers from England were so numerous, that they projected a new Settlement on the South-west part of Connecticut River, in a large Bay near the confines of New York; the leaders of this Colony were Theophilus Eaton, Esq; and the Reverend Mr. Davenport, who came from England with a large retinue of acquaintance and followers; they spread along the coast, and first built the town of New-Haven, which gave name to the Colony; and after some time, the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Brainford, &c. Notwithstanding these detachments the Massachusets Bay had such frequent recruits from England, that they were continually building new towns, or enlarging their Settlements in the neighbourhood.

Puritan Ministers remove to New England.

Mr. Rogers.

Mather's History of New England. B. III. p. 101.

Among the Divines that went over this Summer, were the Reverend Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, M. A. sometime chaplain in the family of Sir Francis Barrington, of Hatfield Broad Oak, in Essex, and afterwards Vicar of Rowley in Yorkshire, where he continued a successful Preacher to a numerous congregation almost twenty years; the Archbishop of that Diocese [Dr. Matthews] being a moderate Divine, permitted the use of those Lectures or Propheſyings, which Queen Elizabeth had put down; the Ministers within certain districts had their monthly exercises, in which one or two preached, and others prayed, before a numerous and attentive Audience. One of the hearers, that bore an ill-will to the Exercises, told the Archbishop, that the Ministers prayed against him; but his Grace, instead of giving credit to the informer, answered with a smile, that he could hardly believe him, because "those good Men know (says he) that "if I were gone to Heaven their Exercises would soon be "put down;" which came to pass accordingly, for no sooner was his Successor [Neile] in his chair but he put a period to them, and urged subscription with so much severity, that many of the Clergy were suspended and silenced; among whom was Mr. Rogers, who having no further prospect of usefulness in his own Country, embarked with several of his Yorkshire friends for New England, where he arrived

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in the Summer of the year 1638, and ſettled at a place which he called Rowley. Here he ſpent the remainder of his days in a viciſſitude of afflictions and ſorrows till the year 1660, when he died, in the ſeventieth year of his age. King Charles I. 1638.

Mr. Samuel Newman, author of that concordance of the Bible that bears his name, he was born at Banbury, educated at Oxford, and having finiſhed his ſtudies, entered into holy orders, and became Miniſter of a ſmall Living in that Country, but the ſevere proſecutions of the Spiritual Courts obliged him to no leſs than ſeven removals, till, at length he reſolved to get out of their reach, and remove with his friends to New England, where he arrived this Summer, and ſettled at Rehoboth in the Colony of New Plimouth, where he ſpent the remainder of his days to the year 1663, when he died, in the ſixty third year of his age. He was a hard Student, a lively Preacher, and of a heavenly converſation. Mr. Newman.

Mr. Charles Chauncey, B. D. educated in Cambridge, and Greek Profeſſor in that Univerſity. He was afterwards ſettled at Ware, and was an admired and uſeful preacher, till he was driven from thence, as has been related. When the Book of Sports was publiſhed, and the drums beat about the Town, to ſummon the People to their dances and revels, on the Lord's Day Evening, he preached againſt it, for which he was ſuſpended, and ſoon after totally ſilenced. Few ſuffered more for Non-conformity (ſays my Author) by fines, by impriſonment, and neceſſities, to abſcond, than Mr. Chauncey; at length he determined to remove to New-England, where he arrived in the year 1638, and became Preſident of Harward College in Cambridge. Here he continued a moſt learned, laborious and uſeful Governor, till the year 1671, when he died, in the eighty ſecond year of his age; he left behind him ſix ſons, the eldeſt of which was Dr. Iſaac Chauncey, well known heretofore among the Non-conformiſt Miniſters of London. Mr. Chauncey. Mather's Hiſt. of New England.

I paſs over the lives and characters of many other Divines, and ſubſtantial Gentlemen, who deſerted their native Country for the peace of their Conſciences; but it deſerves a particular notice, that there were eight ſail of ſhips at once, this Spring, in the river of Thames, bound for New England, and filled with Puritan Families, among whom (if we may believe Dr. George Bates, and Mr. Dugdale, two famous Royaliſts) were Oliver Cromwell, afterwards Protector of the Commonwealth of England, John Hampden, Eſq; and Mr. Arthur Haſelrigge, who ſeeing no end of the oppreſſions Oliver Cromwell, and other Gentlemen, bound for New England.

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oppreſſions of their native Country, determined to ſpend the remainder of their days in America; but the Council being informed of their deſign, iſſued out an order, dated May 1, 1638, "To make ſtay of thoſe ſhips, and to put "on ſhore all the paſſengers and proviſions intended for "the voyage." And to prevent the like for the future, his Majeſty prohibited all maſters and owners of ſhips, to ſet forth any ſhips for New England with paſſengers without ſpecial licenſe from the Privy Council; and gives this remarkable reaſon for it, "Becauſe the people of New England were factious, and unworthy of any ſupport from "hence, in regard of the great diſorders, and want of "Government among them, whereby many that have "been well affected to the Church of England have been "prejudiced in their eſtates by them."

Ruſhw. p. 409.

Others remove to Holland.

When the Puritans might not tranſport themſelves to New England they removed with their families into the Low Countries; among the Divines that went thither about this time, were Dr. Thomas Goodwin, educated in Cambridge, and a great admirer of Dr. Preſton. In the year 1628, he was choſen to preach the Lecture in Trinity Church, and held it to the year 1634, when he left the Univerſity and all his preferments, through diſſatisfaction with the terms of Conformity: Having lived in retirement till this time, he went with ſome ſelect friends to Holland, and ſettled at Arnheim in Gelderland, where he continued till the beginning of the Long Parliament.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin.

Mr. Nye.

Philip Nye, M. A. educated in Magdalen Hall, Oxon, and a popular Preacher at St. Bartholomew Exchange, London.

Mr. Burroughs.

Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, a moſt candid and moderate Divine, educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a famous preacher to two of the largeſt Congregations about London, viz. Stepney and Cripplegate.

Mr. Bridge.

Mr. William Bridge M. A. and Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge; he was firſt Miniſter in Eſſex, and afterwards ſettled in the City of Norwich, in the pariſh of St. George Tomland; where he continued till he was ſilenced for Non-conformity by Biſhop Wren, in the year 1637, and excommunicated.

Mr. Sympſon.

Mr. Sydrach Sympſon, educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a celebrated preacher in London. Theſe were afterwards the five Pillars of the Independant or Congregational Party, and were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the diſſenting brethren in the Aſſembly of Divines.

Several

Several Gentlemen and Merchants of Figure diſpoſed of their effects, and went after them into exile, as Sir Math. Boynton, Sir William Conſtable, Sir Richard Saltingſton, Mr. Lawrence, afterwards Lord Preſident of the Council, Mr. Andrews, afterwards Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Aſke, ſince a Judge, Mr. Bouchier, Mr. James, Mr. White, and others. The States received them with great humanity, granting them the uſe of their Churches at different hours of the day, with the liberty of ringing a bell for publick worſhip, though they did not approve of the Dutch diſcipline, nor join in communion with their Churches. King Charles I. 1638.

Great was the damage the Nation ſuſtained by theſe removals; for as Heylin obſerves, "The ſevere preſſing of "the ceremonies made the people in many trading Towns "tremble at a viſitation, but when they found their ſtri-"ving in vain, and that they had loſt the comfort of their "Lecturers, who were turned out for not reading the "ſecond ſervice at the Communion Table in their Hoods "and Surplices, and for uſing other prayers beſides that of "the fifty fifth Canon, it was no hard matter for thoſe "Miniſters to perſuade them to tranſport themſelves into "foreign parts; "The Sun (ſaid they) ſhines as comfort-"ably in other places, and the Sun of Righteouſneſs much "brighter; 'tis better to go and dwell in Goſhen, find it "where we can, than tarry in the midſt of ſuch Egyptian "bondage as is among us; the ſinful corruptions of the "Church are now grown ſo general, that there is no "place free from the contagion; therefore go out of her "my people, and be not partakers of her ſins." And hereunto they were encouraged by the "Dutch, who choſe "rather to carry their Manufactures home than be obliged "to reſort to their Pariſh Churches, as by the Archbiſhop's "injunctions they were obliged. Heylin's Remarks. Life of Laud, p. 343, 344.

The eyes of all England were now towards the North, whither the King went March 27th, to put himſelf at the head of his Army raiſed againſt the Scots; the Earls of Arundel, Eſſex and Holland, being the chief commanding Officers under his Majeſty. The Scots under the command of General Leſley, met them upon the borders; but when the two Armies had faced each other for ſome time, the King perceived that his Proteſtant Nobility and Soldiers were not hearty in his cauſe, and therefore gave way to a treaty, at the petition of the Scots, which ended in a Pacification, June 17th, by which all points of difference were referred to a General Aſſembly to be held at Edinburgh, 1639. King marches againſt the Scots. A Pacification.

King Charles I. 1639.

burgh, Aug. 12, and to a Parliament which was to meet about a fortnight after. In the mean time both armies were to be disbanded, the Tables to be broke up, and no meetings held but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament. Accordingly the King dismissed his Army, but with very disobliging circumstances, not giving the Nobility and Gentry so much as thanks for their affection, loyalty, and personal attendance, which they resented so much, that few or none of them appeared upon the next summons; the Scots delivered back the King's forts and castles into his Majesty's hands, and disbanded their Soldiery, but wisely kept their Officers in pay till they saw the effect of the Pacification.

A General Assembly at Edinburgh.

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh according to the treaty, but being of the same Constitution with the last, the Bishops presented another declinator to his Majesty's Commissioner [the Earl of Traquair] and were excused giving their attendance by express letter from the King, his Majesty in his instructions to his Commissioner having yielded them the point of Lay-Elders. The Assembly therefore without any opposition, confirmed the proceedings of that at Glasgow, which was of very dubious anthority. They appointed the Covenant to be taken throughout the Kingdom, and explained the bond of mutual defence to a consistency with their late conduct. They voted away the new Service Book, the Book of Canons, the five Articles of Perth, the High Commission, and with one consent determined, that "Diocesan Episcopacy was unlawful, and "not to be allowed in their Kirk." Which the Earl of Traquair did not apprehend inconsistent with his private instructions from the King, which were these, "We allow "Episcopacy to be abolished for the Reasons contained in "the articles, and that the Covenant of 1580, for satisfaction "of our people be subscribed.——Again, if they require "Episcopacy to be abjured, as contrary to the Constitu-"tion of the Church of Scotland, you are to give way to "it, but not as a point of Popery, or as contrary to God's "Law, or the Protestant Religion.———Again, in giving "way to the abolishing Episcopacy, be careful that it "be done without the appearing of any Warrant from "the Bishops in prejudice of Episcopacy as unlawful; "but only in satisfaction to the People for settling the "present disorders, and such other reasons of state; but "herein you must be careful that our intentions ap-"pear not to any. 'Tis evident from hence, that his

Nalson, p. 247. King's Instructions to his Commissioner. Berwick, July 27, 1639.

his Majeſty's uſage of the Scots was neither frank nor ſincere; he had no deſign to aboliſh epiſcopacy, but conſented to ſuſpend it, becauſe he was told that the Biſhops being one of the three eſtates of Parliament, no law made in their abſence could be of force, much leſs an Act for aboliſhing their whole order, after they had enter'd their proteſt in form. When his Majeſty gave way to the ſubſcribing the covenant, it was with another reſerve, "as far as may ſtand "with our future intentions well known to you. For though "we have diſcharged the ſervice Book and Canons, we will "never conſent that they be condemned as popiſh or ſuper- "ſtitious,—nor will we acknowledge that the high Com- "miſſion was without Law, nor that the five articles of "Perth be condemned as contrary to the confeſſion of faith, "'tis enough that they be laid aſide." His Majeſty's inſtructions conclude, "That if any thing be yielded in the "preſent aſſembly prejudicial to his Majeſty's ſervice, his "Commiſſioner ſhall proteſt, that his Majeſty may be heard "for redreſs thereof in his own time and place."

King Charles I. 1639.

Ib. p. 254.

The Scots Parliament met Aug. 31. and having firſt ſubſcribed the ſolemn league and covenant with the King's conſent, they confirmed all the acts of the general aſſembly, concluding with the utter extirpation of epiſcopacy as unlawful. But the King having by letter to his Commiſſioner forbid him to conſent to the word unlawful, leſt it ſhould be interpreted abſolutely, tho' it ſeems to have a reference only to the kirk of Scotland, his Lordſhip prorogued the Parliament, firſt for fourteen days, and then by the King's expreſs command for nine months, without ratifying any of their acts. The Earl of Dumfermlin and lord Loudon were ſent to London, to beſeech his Majeſty to give way to their ratification; but they were ſent home with a reprimand for their miſbehaviour, being hardly admitted into the King's Preſence. It ſeems too apparent, that his Majeſty meant little or nothing by his conceſſions but to gain time, for in his declaration before the next War, about ſix months forward, he ſays, "Concerning our promiſe of a "Free Parliament, no man can imagine we intended it "ſhould be ſo free, as not to be limited by the enjoyment "of their religion and liberties, according to the eccleſiaſti- "cal and civil Laws of that kingdom; but if they paſs "theſe bounds, we are diſobliged, and they left at liberty "to fly at our monarchical Government without controul, "to wreſt the ſceptre out of our hands, and to rob the "Crown of the faireſt flower belonging to it." The

Parliament meets. Nalſon, p. 256.

King refuſes to confirm their Acts.

King Charles I. 1639.

King therefore did not really intend the alteration of any of the civil or eccleſiaſtical laws of that Kingdom, aud by his Majeſty's not ratifying any of their Acts, it was evident, that the Engliſh Court had reſumed their courage, and were determined once more to try the fortune of war.

Biſhop Hall's Divine Right of Epiſcopacy.

In the mean time, to balance the declaration of the Scots aſſembly, Biſhop Hall, at the requeſt of Laud, compoſed a Treatiſe of the divine Right of Epiſcopacy, which the Archbiſhop reviſed. The propoſitions which he advances are theſe, (1.) That form of Government which is of apoſtolical inſtitution ought to be eſteemed of Divine Right. (2.) That form which was practiſed and recommended by the Apoſtles though not expreſly commanded, is of apoſtolical Inſtitution. (3.) The government ſet up by the Apoſtles was deſigned for perpetuity. (4.) The univerſal practice of the primitive Church is the beſt rule to judge of the apoſtolical practice. (5.) We ought not to ſuppoſe the primitive Fathers would change the form of Government they had received from the Apoſtles. (6.) The acceſſion of privilege and honourable titles does not affect the ſubſtance of the epiſcopal function. (7.) The Preſbyterian government, though challenging the glorious title of Chriſt's Kingdom and ordinance, has no foundation in ſcripture, nor in the practice of the Church for fifteen hundred years, and is altogether incongruous and unjuſtifiable.

Reviſed by Laud.

The Biſhop's book was altered in many places, contrary to his own inclinations, by the Archbiſhop, and particularly in thoſe wherein he had called "The Pope antichriſt, or "ſpoke too favourably of the morality of the Sabbath; or "ſaid, that preſbytery was of uſe, where epiſcopacy could "not be obtained. His Grace diſapproved of his Lordſhip's "waving the queſtion, Whether epiſcopacy was a diſtinct "order, or only a higher degree of the ſame order? And of "his advancing the divine right of epiſcopacy no higher "than the Apoſtles, whereas he would have it derived from "Chriſt himſelf." Upon the whole, his Lordſhip's Book was ſo model'd by his Metropolitan, that in the debate hereafter mentioned, he could hardly go the lengths of his own performance.

The Biſhops ſtill kept a ſtrict hand over the Puritans; not a Sermon was to be heard on the diſtinguiſhing points of Calviniſm all over England. In ſome dioceſes great complaints were made of Puritan juſtices of peace, for being too ſtrict in putting the laws in execution againſt profaneneſs. At Aſhford in Kent the Archbiſhop ſaid, he muſt have

have recourſe to the ſtatute of Abjuration, and call in the aſſiſtance of the temporal courts to reduce the Separatiſts, the cenſures of the Church not being ſufficient. Upon the whole, there was no abatement of the height of conformity, even to the end of this year, though the flames that were kindling in Scotland began to diſturb the tranquility of the Church. King Charles I. 1639.

Mr. Bagſhaw, a lawyer of ſome ſtanding in the Middle Temple, being choſen reader in that houſe for the Lent vacation, began to attack the power of the Biſhops. In his lectures on the 25th Edw. III. cap. 7. he maintained, That acts of Parliament were valid without the aſſent of the Lords Spiritual. 2. That no beneficed clerk was capable of temporal juriſdiction at the making that law. And, 3. That no Biſhop, without calling a ſynod, had power as a dioceſan to convict an heretick. Laud being informed of theſe poſitions, told the King, that Bagſhaw had juſtified the Scots covenanters in decrying the temporal juriſdiction of churchmen, and the undoubted right of the Biſhops to their ſeats in Parliament, upon which he was immediately interdicted all further reading on thoſe points; and though Bagſhaw humbly petitioned the Lord keeper, and the Archbiſhop for liberty to proceed, he could get no other anſwer after long attendance, than that "it had been better for him not "to have meddled with that argument, which ſhould ſtick "cloſer to him than he was aware of." Whereupon he retired into the country. Bagſhaw's Readings againſt the Biſhops. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 381.

The reſolution of the Engliſh court to renew the war with Scotland, was owing to the Lord deputy Wentworth, whom Archbiſhop Laud had ſent for from Ireland for this purpoſe. This Nobleman, from being a patriot of his country, was become a petty tyrant, and had governed Ireland in a moſt arbitrary and ſovereign manner for about ſeven years, diſcountenancing the Proteſtants, becauſe they were Calviniſts, and enclined to Puritaniſm, and giving all imaginable encouragement to the Roman Catholicks, as friends to the prerogative, whereby he gave up the balance of power in that kingdom into the hands of the Papiſts. Wentworth being come to court was immediately created Earl of Strafford and Knight of the garter, and in concert with Laud adviſed the King to ſet aſide the pacification, and to puſh the Scots war with vigor, offering his Majeſty eight thouſand Iriſh, and a large ſum of money for his aſſiſtance; but this not being ſufficient, the war was thought ſo reaſonable 1640. Earl of Strafford called out of Ireland, adviſes a ſecond War.

King Charles I. 1640.

reaſonable and neceſſary to the King's honour, that it might be ventur'd with an Engliſh Parliament, which being laid before the Council, was chearfully agreed to, and (after twelve years interval) a Parliament was ſummoned to meet April 13. 1640.

Scots are encouraged by the Engliſh.

The Scots foreſeeing the impending ſtorm, conſulted where to fly for ſuccour; ſome were for throwing themſelves into the hands of the French, and accordingly writ a very ſubmiſſive letter to that Monarch, ſigned by the hands of ſeven Scots peers, but never ſent it; for upon application to their friends at London, they were aſſured by a letter, writ by Lord Saville, and ſigned by himſelf, with the names of Bedford, Eſſex, Brook, Warwick, Say and Seal, and Mandeville, (who agreeed to the letter, though they were ſo cautious as not to write their own names) "That the hearts of the people of England were with them; "that they were convinced the liberties of both nations "were at ſtake, and therefore they might depend upon "aſſiſtance as ſoon as a fair opportunity offered." Upon this encouragement the Scots laid aſide their deſign of applying to France, and reſolved to raiſe another army from among themſelves, and march into England.

The ſhort Parliament.

"The parliament that met at Weſtminſter (ſays the "noble hiſtorian) was made up of ſober and diſpaſſionate "men, exceedingly diſpoſed to do the King ſervice," and yet his Majeſty would not condeſcend to ſpeak to them from the throne, but ordered the Lord keeper Finch to acquaint them with the undutiful behaviour of the Scots, whom he was determined to reduce, and therefore would not admit of the mediation of the two houſes, but expected their immediate aſſiſtance, after which he would give them time to conſider of any juſt grievances to be redreſſed. But the Commons, inſtead of beginning with the ſupply, appointed committees for Religion and grievances, which diſobliged the King ſo much, that after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to perſuade them to begin with the Subſidy Bill, he diſſolved them in anger, without paſſing a ſingle Act, after they had ſat about three weeks. The blame of this haſty diſſolution was by ſome caſt upon Laud, by others on Sir Harry Vane, but the King laid it upon the miſbehaviour of the Houſe of Commons, who would not take his Royal Word for redreſs of grievances after they had given the neceſſary ſupplies; he therefore ſent for

for the leading Members of the Houſe into cuſtody, and committed them priſoners to the Fleet and other priſons. King Charles I. 1640.

His Majeſty having failed of a Parliamentary Supply at the time he demanded it, was told by Lord Strafford, and others of the Council, that he "was now abſolved from all "rules of government, and might take what his neceſſities "required, and his power could obtain". This, indeed, was no more than his Majeſty had been doing for twelve years before; but ſome people drew an unhappy concluſion from this Maxim (viz.) "That if the King was abſolved "from all Rules of Government, the People might be ab-"ſolved from all Rules of Obedience." King goes on to raiſe Money by Prerogative.

However, all the Engines of arbitrary Power were ſet at work to raiſe Money for the war, as Loans, Benevolences, Ship-money, Coat and Conduct-money, Knighthood, Monopolies and other ſprings of the Prerogative, ſome of which (ſays Lord Clarendon) were ridiculous, and others ſcandalous, but all very grievous to the Subject. Thoſe that refuſed payment were fined and impriſoned by the Star Chamber or Council Table; among whom were ſome of the Aldermen of London, and Sheriffs of ſeveral Counties. The Courtiers advanced three hundred thouſand Pounds in three Weeks, the Clergy in Convocation gave ſix Subſidies, the Papiſts were very generous; Strafford went over to Ireland and obtained four Subſidies of the Parliament of that Kingdom; Soldiers were preſſed into the ſervice in all Counties, few liſting themſelves voluntarily except Papiſts, many of whom had Commiſſions in the Army, which gave riſe to a common ſaying among the People, that "the "Queen's Army of Papiſts were going to eſtabliſh the "Proteſtant Religion in Scotland."

The People groaned under theſe oppreſſions, the odium of which fell upon Laud and Strafford, who were libell'd and threaten'd with the fury of the populace. May 9. a Paper was fixed upon the old Exchange, animating the Apprentices to pull the Archbiſhop out of his Palace at Lambeth; upon this the train'd Bands were order'd into St. George's Fields, nevertheleſs the Mob roſe and broke his Windows, for which one of them being apprehended ſuffered death as a Traitor, though he could not be guilty of more than a breach of the peace. From Lambeth the Mob went to the Houſe of the Pope's Agent, where they were diſperſed by the King's Guards, and ſome of them ſent to the White Lion Priſon; but next Week [May 15.] they roſe again and reſcued their Friends. The Country Mutinous Diſpoſition of the People.

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was in the ſame mutinous poſture, there being frequent ſkirmiſhes between them and the new raiſed Soldiers, even to bloodſhed. The City Train Bands were in arms all the Summer, but the Campaign proving unſucceſsful, there was no keeping the people within bounds afterwards; for while the High Commiſſion was ſitting at St. Paul's, Octob. 22. near two thouſand Browniſts (as the Archbiſhop calls them) raiſed a diſturbance and broke up the Court, crying out, no Biſhops, no High Commiſſion. Such were the diſtempers of the times!

Convocation open'd.

The Convocation that ſat with this Parliament was opened April 14. with more ſplendor and magnificence than the Situation of Affairs required. The Sermon was preached by Dr. Turner, Canon Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, from St. Matth. xvi. 16. "Behold, I ſend you forth as Sheep a-"mong Wolves." After which they adjourn'd to the Chapter Houſe, where the King's Writ of Summons being read, the Archbiſhop, in a Latin Speech, recommended to the Lower Houſe, the chooſing a Prolocutor, to be preſented to himſelf or his Commiſſary in the Chapel of Henry VII. on Friday following, to which time and place the Convocation was adjourn'd.

Proceedings of the Convocation. Collyer's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 793. Life of Heylin.

On the 17th of April, after divine Service, Dr. Steward, Dean of Chicheſter, and Clerk of the Cloſet, was preſented to the Archbiſhop as Prolocutor in the Chapel of Henry VII. whom his Grace approved, and then produced his Majeſty's Commiſſion under the Great Seal, authoriſing them "to make and ordain certain Canons and Conſtituti-"ons, for the eſtabliſhing true Religion, and the profit of "the State of the Church of England." The Commiſſion was to remain in force during the preſent Seſſion of Parliament, and no longer; and by a remarkable Clauſe, "nothing was to be concluded without the Archbiſhop's "being a party in the Conſultation." It was intended alſo to draw up an Engliſh Pontifical, which was to contain the form and manner of Royal Coronations.——A form "for conſecrating Churches, Church-yards and Cha-"pels.—— A form for reconciling Penitents and Apoſ-"tates.——A Book of Articles to be uſed by all Biſhops "at their Viſitation.——And a ſhort form of Prayer for "beforeSermon," comprehending the Subſtance of the 55th Canon. But moſt of theſe projects were interrupted by the ſudden diſſolution of the Parliament

The

King Charles I. 1640.

The Convocation, according to ancient cuſtom, ſhould have broke up at the ſame time, but one of the Lower Houſe having acquainted the Archbiſhop with a Precedent in the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, of the Clergy's granting a Subſidy or Benevolence, of two Shillings in the Pound, to be raiſed upon all the Clergy, after the Parliament was riſen, and levying it by their own Synodical Act only, under the Penalty of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, it was concluded from thence, that the Convocation might ſit independent of the Parliament, and therefore inſtead of diſſolving, they only adjourned for a few days, to take further Advice.

Continued after the Diſſolution of the Parliament. Fuller's—Appeal, p. 67, 69.

The zealous Archbiſhop relying upon this ſingle precedent applied to the King for a Commiſſion, to continue the Convocation during his Majeſty's Pleaſure, in order to finiſh the Canons and Conſtitutions, and to grant the Subſidies already voted. The Caſe being referr'd to the Judges, the Majority gave it as their opinion, "That the Convocation "being called by the King's Writ under the Great Seal, "doth continue till it be diſſolved by Writ or Commiſſion "under the Great Seal, notwithſtanding the Parliament be "diſſolved. Signed May 14. 1640, by

Opinion of the Judges.

John Finch, Cuſtos, M. S.
H. Mancheſter, Rob. Heath,
John Bramſton, Edw. Littleton,
Ralph Whitfield, John Banks.

Upon this a Commiſſion under the Great Seal was granted, and the Convocation re-aſſembled; but notwithſtanding the opinion of theſe Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, Dr. Hackett, Brownrigge, Holdiſworth, and others, to the number of thirty ſix, proteſted earneſtly againſt it, though in regard the Seſſion was warranted by ſo many conſiderable perſons, they did not withdraw, nor enter their Proteſt in form of Law, as they ought to have done. They were further influenced by his Majeſty's Meſſage, ſent by Sir H. Vane, Secretary of State, to acquaint them, "That it was "his Royal Pleaſure, that none of the Prelates or Clergy, "ſhould withdraw from the Synod or Convocation, till the "Affairs they had in command from the King were per-"fected and finiſhed."

Several of the Members diſſatisfy'd. Fuller, B. IX. p. 112.

Upon this dubious Foundation the Convocation was continued, and a Committee of twenty ſix appointed to prepare matters for the debate of the Houſe; but the Mob were ſo

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Their Proceedings.

inflamed, that they threaten'd to pull down the Convocation-Houſe, upon which the King appointed them a Guard of the Militia of Middleſex, commanded by Endymion Porter, Groom of the Bed-Chamber, a Papiſt, under whoſe protection the Synod was continued, till the Canons were perfected, and ſix Subſidies given, by way of ſupply for the exigency of his Majeſty's Affairs; to be collected in ſix years, after the rate of four Shillings in the Pound, amounting to about one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; after which it was diſſolved [May 29.] by a ſpecial Mandate or Writ from his Majeſty, after it had continued twenty five Seſſions. The Canons having been approved by the Privy Council, were ſubſcribed by as many of both Houſes of Convocation as were preſent, and then tranſmitted to the Provincial Synod of York, by whom they were ſubſcribed at once, without ſo much as debating either matter or form. Dr. John Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, was in the Tower, and had no concern with the Canons. Dr. Goodman, Biſhop of Gloceſter, a concealed Papiſt, was the only Prelate who declin'd the Subſcription, but the Archbiſhop threatning him with Deprivation, and the reſt of his Brethren preſſing him to comply, he was perſuaded to put his name to the Book; but ſeveral of the Members of the Lower Houſe avoided the Teſt, by withdrawing before the day of Subſcription; for of above one hundred and ſixty, of which both Houſes of Convocation conſiſted, there were not many more than one hundred names to the Book.

Remarks.

The unreaſonableneſs of continuing the Synod after the Diſſolution of the Parliament appears from hence, that the Convocation, conſiſting of Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Clerks, the three former act in their perſonal capacities only, and may give for themſelves what Subſidies they pleaſe; but the Clerks being choſen for their reſpective Cathedrals and Dioceſes, legally to ſit as long as the Parliament continues, deſiſt from being publick Perſons as ſoon as it is diſſolved, and loſe the character of Repreſentatives; they are then no more than private Clergymen, who, though they may give the King what ſums of Money they pleaſe for themſelves, cannot vote away the Eſtates of their Brethren, unleſs they are re-elected. Beſides, it was contrary to all law and cuſtom, both before and ſince the Act of Submiſſion of the Clergy to King Henry VIII. except in the ſingle inſtance of Queen Elizabeth.

The

The Canons of this Synod, conſiſting of ſeventeen Articles, were publiſhed June 30, and entitled, "Conſtitutions "and Canons eccleſiaſtical, treated upon by the Archbiſhops "of Canterbury and York, Preſidents of the Convocation for "their reſpective Provinces, and the reſt of the Biſhops and "Clergy of thoſe Provinces, and agreed upon with the "King's Majeſty's licenſe, in their ſeveral Synods began at "London and York, 1640." King Charles I. 1640.

CANON I. Concerning the Regal Power.

"We ordain and decree, That every Parſon, Vicar, "Curate, or Preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter "of the year, in the place where he ſerves, ſhall read the "following explanation of the regal power. Abſtract of the Canons Of the kingly Power. Nalſon, p. 545.

"That the moſt high and ſacred order of Kings is of "Divine Right, being the ordinance of God himſelf, "founded in the prime laws of Nature and Revelation, by "which the ſupreme power over all perſons civil and "eccleſiaſtical is given to them.

"That they have the care of God's Church, and the "power of calling and diſſolving Councils both national and "provincial.

"That for any perſons to ſet up in the King's Realms "any independent, coercive power, either papal or po-"pular, is treaſonable againſt God and the King. And for "Subjects to bear arms againſt their King, either offenſive "or defenſive, upon any pretence whatſoever, is at leaſt "to reſiſt the powers ordained of God; and though they "do not invade, but only reſiſt, St Paul ſays, They ſhall "receive damnation..

"And though tribute and cuſtom, aid and ſubſidy be "due to the King, by the law of God, nature and na-"tions, yet Subjects have a right and property in their "goods and eſtates; and theſe two are ſo far from croſſing "one another, that they mutually go together for the ho-"nourable and comfortable ſupport of both.

"If any Clergyman ſhall voluntarily and careleſly ne-"glect to publiſh theſe Explications, he ſhall be ſuſpended; "or if in any Sermon or publick Lecture, he ſhall main-"tain any poſition contrary hereunto, he ſhall be forthwith "excommunicated and ſuſpended for two years; and if "he offend a ſecond time he ſhall be deprived."

CANON

King Charles I. 1640.

CANON II. For the better obſerving the day of his Majeſty's Inauguration.

For obſerving the King's Inauguration day.

"The Synod decrees and ordains, That all perſons ſhall "come to Church the morning of the ſaid day, and conti- "nue there till prayers and preaching are ended, upon pain "of ſuch puniſhment as the law inflicts on thoſe who wilful- "ly abſent themſelves from Church on holy-days."

CANON III. For ſuppreſſing the growth of Popery.

Againſt Popery.

"All eccleſiaſtical Perſons within their ſeveral pariſhes "or juriſdictions, ſhall confer privately with popiſh Recu- "ſants, but if private conference prevail not, the Church "muſt and ſhall come to her cenſures, and to make way "for them, ſuch perſons ſhall be preſented at the next Vi- "ſitation, who come not to Church, and refuſe to receive "the holy Euchariſt; or who either ſay or hear Maſs, "and if they remain obſtinate after citation, they ſhall be "excommunicated.

"But if neither conferences nor cenſures can avail, the "Church ſhall then complain of them to the Civil Power; "and this ſacred Synod does earneſtly intreat the reverend "Juſtices of Aſſize to be careful in executing the laws, as "they will anſwer it to God. And every Biſhop ſhall once "a year ſend into the Court of Chancery, a Significavit "of the names of thoſe who have ſtood excommunicated "beyond the time limited by law, and ſhall deſire, that a "Writ De Excommunicato Capiendo may be at once "ſent out againſt them all.

"Care is likewiſe to be taken, that no perſon be admit- "ted to teach ſchool, but who has ſubſcribed to the Church "as the law directs; and that no excommunicated perſon "be abſolved by any appeal, unleſs he firſt take the oath "De parendo Juri & ſtando mandatis Eccleſiæ."

CANON IV. Againſt Socinianiſm.

Againſt Socinianiſm.

"It is decreed, That no perſons ſhall import, print, or "diſperſe any of their books, on pain of Excommunication, "and of being further puniſhed in the Star Chamber. No "Miniſter ſhall preach any ſuch doctrines in his Sermons, "nor Student have any ſuch books in his Study, except he "be a Graduate in Divinity; and if any Lay-man embrace "their opinions, he ſhall be excommunicated, and not ab- "ſolved without repentance and abjuration."

[N. B.

[N. B. None of the Doctrines of Socinus, nor any of his peculiar ſentiments, are mentioned in this Canon.] King Charles I. 1640.

CANON V. Againſt Sectaries.

"The Synod decrees, That the Canon above-mentioned "againſt Papiſts ſhall be in full force againſt all Anabaptiſts, "Browniſts, Separatiſts, and other Sectaries, as far as they "are applicable; and further, the clauſe againſt the Books "of Socinians above-mentioned, ſhall be in force againſt "books written againſt the Diſcipline and Government of "the Church of England. Againſt Separatiſts.

"It is alſo ordained, That ſuch perſons who reſort to "their Pariſh Churches to hear the Sermon, but don't join "in the publick Prayers, ſhall be ſubject to the ſame pe-"nalties with other Sectaries and Recuſants."

CANON VI. An Oath for preventing innovations in Doctrine and Government.

"The Synod decrees, That all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, "Prieſts and Deacons, ſhall before the 2d. of November next "take the following Oath, which ſhall be tender'd by the "Biſhop in perſon, or ſome grave Divine deputed by him, "and ſhall be taken in preſence of a publick Notary." To prevent Alterations in Church Government.

The OATH.

"I A. B. do ſwear, That I do approve the Doctrine, Diſ-"cipline or Government, eſtabliſhed in the Church of "England, as containing all things neceſſary to Salvation; "and that I will not endeavour by myſelf, or any other, di-"rectly or indirectly, to bring in any * Popiſh Doctrine, "contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed; nor will I ever "give my conſent to alter the government of this Church, "by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons, &c. "as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by right it ought to "ſtand, nor yet ever to ſubject it to the uſurpations and "ſuperſtitions of the See of Rome. And all theſe things I "do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according "to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the "ſame words, without any equivocation, or mental Evaſion, "or ſecret reſervation whatſoever; and this I do heartily, "willingly The Oath called Et cætera.

* In his Majeſty's duplicate of this Canon, ſent by the Archbiſhop to the Biſhop of Ely, the word (Popiſh) is omitted, as it is in the duplicate ſent to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and ſeveral others. Nalſon, p. 499.

King Charles I. 1640.

" willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Chriſtian. So " help me God in Jeſus Chriſt."

" If any beneficed perſon in the Church ſhall refuſe this " Oath, he ſhall after one month be ſuſpended Ab Offi- " cio; after a ſecond month he ſhall be ſuſpended Ab " Officio & Beneficio; and after a third month, if he con- " tinue to refuſe, he ſhall be deprived.

" It is likewiſe ordained, That all that are incorporated " in either of the Univerſities, or take any Degree, whether " Lawyers, Divines or Phyſicians, ſhall take the ſame oath: " And all Governors of Halls and Colleges in the Univer- " ſity; all School-maſters, and in general, all that enter " into holy Orders, or have licenſe to preach."

CANON VII. A Declaration concerning ſome Rites and Ceremonies.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

" The Synod declares, That the ſtanding of the Com- " munion Table ſide-ways, under the Eaſt Window of the " Chancel or Chapel, is in its own nature indifferent; but " foraſmuch as Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions order it to be " placed where the Altar was, we therefore judge it proper, " that all Churches and Chapels do conform themſelves to " the Cathedral or Mother Churches. And we declare, " that this ſituation of the Holy Table does not imply that " it is, or ought to be eſteemed a true and proper Altar, " whereon Chriſt is again ſacrificed; but it may be called " an Altar in the ſenſe of the Primitive Church; and be- " cauſe it has been obſerved, that ſome people in time of " Divine Service have irreverently lean'd, caſt their hats, or " ſet upon, or under the Communion Table, therefore the " Synod thinks meet that the Table be rail'd round.

" It is further recommended to all good people, That they " do reverence at their entring in, and going out of the " Church; and that all Communicants do approach the " holy Table to receive the Communion at the Rails, which " has heretofore been unfitly carried up and down by the " Miniſter, unleſs the Biſhop ſhall diſpenſe with it."

CANON VIII. Of preaching for Conformity.

Preaching for Conformity.

" All publick Preachers ſhall twice a year preach poſi- " tively and plainly, that the Rites and Ceremonies of the " Church of England are lawful, and that it is the duty of " all people to conform to them."

CANON

King Charles I. 1640.

CANON IX. A Book of Articles for Parochial Viſitation.

"No other Book of Articles of Inquiry ſhall be uſed in "Parochial Viſitation, but that which is drawn up by the "Synod.".

CANON X. Of the Converſation of the Clergy.

"The Clergy are enjoined to avoid all exceſſes and diſ- "orders, and by their Chriſtian Converſation to adorn their "holy Profeſſion."

CANON XI. Chancellors Patents.

"No Biſhop ſhall grant any Patent to any Chancel- "lor, or Official, for any longer Term than the Life of "the Grantees, and the Biſhop ſhall keep in his own "hands the power of inſtituting to Benefices, and of li- "cenſing to preach."

CANON XII. Chancellor Cenſures, &c.

"No Chancellor, Commiſſary or Official, not being in "Holy Orders, ſhall inflict any cenſure on the Clergy in "criminal cauſes, other than neglect of appearing; but all "ſuch cauſes ſhall be heard by the Biſhop, or ſome dignifi- "ed Clergyman with the Chancellor."

CANON XIII. Excommunication and Abſolution.

"No Sentence of Excommunication or Abſolution ſhall "be pronounced but by a Prieſt, and in open Conſiſtory, "or at leaſt in the Church or Chapel, having firſt receiv- "ed it under the Seal of an Eccleſiaſtical Judge, from whom "it comes."

CANON XIV. Of Commutations.

"No Commutation of Penance to be admitted without "conſent of the Biſhop, and the Money to be diſpoſed of "to charitable uſes."

CANON XV. Of Juriſdictions.

"No Executor ſhall be cited into any Court or Office, "for the ſpace of ten days, after the Death of the Teſ- "tator, though the Executor may prove the Will within "ſuch time."

CANON

King Charles I. 1640.

CANON XVI. Of Licenſes to Marry.

"No licenſe to marry ſhall be granted to any party, unleſs one of the parties have been Commorant in the Juriſdiction of the Ordinary to whom he applies, for the ſpace of one Month before the ſaid Licenſe be deſired. The Archiepiſcopal Prerogative is excepted."

CANON XVII. Againſt vexatious Citations.

"No Citation into any Eccleſiaſtical Court ſhall be iſſued out, but under the Hand and Seal of one of the Judges of thoſe Courts, and within thirty days after committing the crime; and unleſs the party be convicted by two witneſſes, he ſhall be allowed to purge himſelf by oath, without paying any fee; provided that this Canon extend not to any grievous crime, As ſchiſm, incontinence, miſbehaviour in the Church in time of Divine Service, obſtinate inconformity, or the like."

They are unacceptable to the Clergy.

When theſe Canons were made publick, they were generally diſliked; ſeveral pamphlets were printed againſt them, and diſperſed among the people, "As England's complaint to Jeſus Chriſt againſt the Biſhops Canons; wherein the nakedneſs of them is expoſed, in a ſolemn application to Jeſus Chriſt as the Saviour of his Church. Queries relating to the ſeveral Articles and Determinations of the late Synod, &c." All that loved the old Engliſh Conſtitution were diſſatisfied with the firſt Canon, becauſe it declares for "The abſolute power of Kings, and for the unlawfulneſs of defenſive Arms, on any pretence whatſoever." The Puritans diſliked the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, and eight Canons; but the whole body of the Clergy were nearly concerned in the ſixth, being obliged by the ſecond of November to take the oath therein mentioned, on pain of ſuſpenſion and deprivation. The London Clergy among whom were Dr. Weſtfield, Downham, Burges, Mr. Calamy, Jackſon, John Goodwin, Off-ſpring, and others, drew up a Petition againſt it to the Privy Council; and to give it the more weight, procured a great many hands. The Miniſters, School-maſters, and Phyſicians in Kent, Devonſhire, Dorſetſhire, Northamptonſhire, and in moſt Counties of England, took the ſame method; ſome objecting to the Oath, as contrary to the oath of Supremacy; ſome complaining of the Et Cætera in the middle. Others objected to the Power of the Synod to impoſe an oath, and many

many confeſſed, "That they wiſhed ſome things in the "Diſcipline of the Church might be altered," and therefore could not ſwear never to attempt it, in a proper way. Some of the Biſhops endeavoured to ſatisfy their Clergy, by giving the moſt favourable interpretation to the Oath. Biſhop Hall told them, that it meant no more than this, "That I do ſo far approve of the Diſcipline and Doctrine "of this Church, as that I do believe there is nothing in "any other pretended Diſcipline or Doctrine neceſſary to "Salvation, beſides that which is contained in the Doc-"trine and Diſcipline of the Church of England. And as "I do allow the Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, "Deans, Archdeacons, ſo I will not, upon the ſuggeſtion "of any factious Perſons, go about to alter the ſame as "it now ſtands, and as by due right (being ſo eſtabliſhed) "it ought to ſtand in the Church of England." But moſt of the Biſhops preſſed the Oath abſolutely on their Clergy; and to my certain knowledge (ſays Mr. Fuller) obliged them to take it kneeling, a ceremony never required in taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; but to ſuch an height of Power did theſe Prelates aſpire upon the wing of the Prerogative!

King Charles I. 1640.

Nalſon p. 496, 498.

B. XI. p. 171.

The Archbiſhop was adviſed of theſe difficulties by Dr. Sanderſon, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, who aſſured his Grace by Letter, "That multitudes of Churchmen, not "only of the preciſer ſort, but of ſuch as were regular "and conformable, would utterly refuſe to take the Oath, "or be brought to it with much difficulty and reluctancy; "ſo that unleſs by his Majeſty's ſpecial direction, the preſ-"ſing the oath may be forborn for a time; or that a "ſhort explanation of ſome paſſages in it moſt liable to "exception, be ſent to the ſeveral Perſons who are to ad-"miniſter the ſame, to be publickly read before the Ten-"der of the ſaid Oath; The peace of this Church is ap-"parently in danger to be more diſquieted by this one oc-"caſion, than by any thing that has happened within our "Memories." But this reſolute Prelate, as if he had been determined to ruin his own and his Majeſty's affairs, would relax nothing to the times, but would have broken the King's Intereſt among the conformable Clergy, if the Nobility and Gentry with the King at York, had not prevailed with his Majeſty to lay him under a reſtraint, by the following Letter, under the hand of the principal Secretary of State.

The Execution of them ſuſpended. Nalſon, p. 497.

"May

King Charles I. 1640.

Nalson, p. 500.

"May it please yeur Grace,

"I Am, by his Majesty's Command, to let you know, "That upon several Petitions presented by divers "Churchmen, as well in the Diocese of Canterbury, as "York, to which many hands are subscribed, as the Mode "of Petitions now are, against the oath in the Canons "made in the last Synod, his Majesty's Pleasure is, that "as he took order before his coming into these parts, that "the execution of neither should be pressed on those that "were already beneficed in the Church, which was order- "ed at the Council Board in your Grace's Presence, but that "it should be administered to those who were to receive "Orders, and to be admitted; it is his Majesty's Pleasure, "that those should be dispensed withal also, and that there "be no prosecution thereof till the meeting of the Convo- "cation."

H. Vane.

York, Sept. 30, 1640.

Second Scots War.

We have mentioned the secret correspondence between the English and Scots Nobility to recover the Liberties of both Kingdoms, which encouraged the Scots to march a second time to their borders, where the King met them with his army, commanded by the Earls of Northumberland and Strafford; but it soon appeared that the English Nobility were not for conquering the Scots; nor had the Protestant Soldiers any zeal in his Majesty's cause; so that after a small skirmish the Scots Army passed the Tweed, Aug. 21, and on the 30th, took possession of the important Town of Newcastle, the Royal Army retreating before them as far as York, and leaving them Masters of the three Northern Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, where they subsisted their Army, and raised what Contributions they pleased. As soon as the Scots entered Newcastle they sent Express to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, to assure them, they would not interrupt the Trade between that Town and the City of London, but would cultivate all manner of Friendship and brotherly Correspondence. They also sent Messengers to the King, with an humble petition, that his Majesty would please "To confirm their late Acts of "Parliament, restore their Ships and Merchandize, recal "his Proclamation, which stiles them Rebels, and call "an

"English Parliament, to settle the peace between both "Kingdoms." This was followed by another, signed by twelve Peers, with his Majesty at York, and by a third from the City of London. The King finding it impossible to carry on the war, appointed Commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, who agreed to a Cessation of Arms for two Months, from the 26th of October, the Scots to have eight hundred and fifty Pounds a day for maintenance of their army; and the treaty to be adjourned to London, where a free Parliament was immediately to be called. The calling an English Parliament was the grand affair that had been concerted with the Scots before their coming into England; and it was high time; because to all appearance this was the last crisis for recovering the Constitution; for if the Irish and English armies were raised to reduce Scotland, under the arbitrary power of the Prerogative (as Lord Clarendon confesses) what could be expected, but that afterwards they should march back into England, and establish the same despotick Power here, with a standing army, beyond all recovery.

King Charles I. 1640.

Sad and melancholy was the condition of the prime Ministers, when they saw themselves reduced to the necessity of submitting their conduct to the examination of an English Parliament, supported by an army from Scotland, and the general discontents of the People! several of the Courtiers began to shift for themselves; some withdrew from the Storm; and others having been concerned in one illegal project or other, deserted their Masters, and made their peace, by discovering the King's Counsels to the leading Members of Parliament, which disabled the Junto from making any considerable efforts for their safety. All Men had a veneration for the person of the King, though his Majesty had lost ground in their affections by his ill usage of his Parliaments, and by "taking the faults of "his Ministers upon himself." But the Queen was in no manner of esteem with them who had the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Coutry at heart. The Bishops had sunk their character by their high behaviour in the Spiritual Courts, so that they had nothing to expect, but that their wings should be clipt. And the Judges were despised and hated, for abandoning the laws of their Country, and giving a sanction to the illegal proceedings of the Council and Star Chamber. As his Majesty had but few friends of credit or interest among the people at home, so

Sad Condition of the Court at the calling the Long Parliament.

King. Charles I. 1640.

he had nothing to expect from abroad; France and Spain were pleased with his Distress; the foreign Protestants wished well to the oppressed people of England; they published their resentments against the Bishops, for their hard usage of the Dutch and French Congregations, and gave it as their opinion, "That a protestant King that countenanced Papists, and at the same time drove his Protestant Subjects out of the Kingdom, was not worthy the assistance of the reformed Churches, especially after he had renounced Communion with them, and declared openly, that the Religion of the Church of England was not the same with that of the foreign Protestants."

Death of Mr. Ball.

Three considerable Divines, of a very different character, died about this time; Mr. John Ball, educated in Brazen Nose College, Oxon, and afterwards Minister of Whitmore, a small Village near Newcastle in Staffordshire, where he lived upon twenty Pounds a year, and the profits of a little School. He was a learned and pious Man, deserving as high esteem (says Mr. Baxter) as the best Bishop in England, though he was content with a poor House, a mean habit, and a small Maintenance. Being dissatisfied with the terms of Conformity, it was some time before he could meet with an opportunity to be ordained without Subscription, but at last he obtained it from the hands of an Irish Bishop, then occasionally in London; though he lived and died a Non-conformist, he was against a Separation, and writ against Mr. Can and Mr. Robinson upon that head. His last Work, entitled, "A Stay against Straying," was subscribed by five most noted Presbyterian Divines, who all testified that he died abundantly satisfied in the cause of Nonconformity, which he distinguished from Separation. His other Works were very numerous, and of great Reputation in those times. He died Oct. 20. 1640, in the fifty sixth year of his age.

Of Dr. Chadderton. Clark's Lives, p. 246. Fuller's Worthies, B. II. p. 118.

Dr. Lawrence Chadderton, born in Lancashire, 1546, of popish Parents, who, when they heard their Son had changed his Religion, disinherited him; he was first Fellow of Christ College, and afterwards Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge. King James nominated him one of the four Representatives of the Puritans in the Hampton-Court Conference; and afterwards one of the Translators of the Bible. He commenced D. D. 1612. and governed his College with great Reputation many years, being remarkable for Gravity, Learning and Piety; he had a plain, but effectual

effectual way of preaching (ſays Fuller) having a ſtrict regard for the Sabbath, and a great averſion to Arminianiſm. He was a fine grey-headed old Gentleman, and could read without Spectacles to his death, which happen'd in the ninety fifth year of his age. Being advanced in years, and afraid of being ſucceeded by an Arminian Divine, he reſigned his Maſterſhip to Dr. Preſton, whom he ſurvived; and ſaw Dr. Sancroft, and after him Dr. Holdiſworth ſucceed him, which laſt attended his funeral at St. Andrew's Church, and gave him a large and deſerved Commendation in a Funeral Sermon. King Charles I. 1640.

Dr. Richard Neile, Archbiſhop of York, born in King-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, of mean Parents, his Father being a Tallow-chandler; he was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, and paſſed through all the degrees and orders of the Church of England, having been a School-maſter, Curate, Vicar, Parſon, Chaplain, Maſter of the Savoy, Dean of Weſtminſter, Clerk of the Cloſet to two Kings, Biſhop of Rocheſter, Litchfield, Lincoln, Durham, Wincheſter; and laſtly, Archbiſhop of York. The Oxford Hiſtorian ſays, he was an affectionate Subject to his Prince, an indulgent Father to his Clergy, a bountiful patron to his Chaplains, and a true Friend to all that relied upon him. Dr. Heylin confeſſes, that he was not very eminent either for parts or learning; Mr. Prynne ſays, he was a Popiſh Arminian Prelate, and a perſecutor of all orthodox and godly Miniſters. 'Tis certain, he had few or none of the Qualifications of a primitive Biſhop; for he hardly preached a Sermon in twelve years, but gained his preferments by Flattery and ſervile Court Compliances. He was a zealous Advocate for pompous Innovations in the Church, and oppreſſive projects in the State, for which he would have felt the reſentments of the Houſe of Commons, had he lived a little longer; but he died very ſeaſonably for himſelf, in an advanced age, Oct. 31. 1640, three days before the meeting of the Long Parliament. Of Dr. Neile, Archbiſhop of York.

King Charles I. 1640.

CHAP. VII.

The Character of the Long Parliament. Their Arguments againſt the late Convocation and Canons. The Impeachment of Dr. William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Votes of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Promoters of the late Innovations.

The Long Parliament.

WE are now entring upon the proceedings of the Long Parliament, which continued ſitting, with ſome little intermiſſion, for above eighteen years, and occaſioned ſuch prodigious Revolutions in Church and State, as were the ſurprize and wonder of all Europe. The Houſe of Commons have been ſeverely cenſured for the ill ſucceſs of their endeavours to recover and ſecure the Conſtitution of their Country; but the attempt was Glorious, though a train of unforeſeen accidents render'd it fatal in the Event. The Members were made up chiefly of Country Gentlemen, who had no attachment to the Court; for as Whitlock obſerves, "Though the Court laboured to bring in "their Friends, yet thoſe who had moſt favour with them, "had leaſt in the Country; and it was not a little ſtrange, "to ſee what a Spirit of oppoſition to the Court proceed-"ings, was in the Hearts and Actions of moſt of the Peo-"ple, ſo that very few of that party had the favour of be-"ing choſen Members of this Parliament." Mr. Eachard inſinuates ſome unfair methods of Elections, which might be true on both ſides; but both he and Lord Clarendon admit, that there were many great and worthy Patriots in the Houſe, and as eminent as any age had ever produced; Men of Gravity, of Wiſdom, and of great and plentiful Fortunes, who would have been ſatisfied with ſome few amendments in Church and State.

Before the beginning of the Seſſion the principal Members conſulted meaſures for "ſecuring the frequency of "Parliaments; for redreſſing of Grievances in Church "and State; and, for bringing the King's arbitrary Mini-"ſters to Juſtice;" to accompliſh which it was thought neceſſary to ſet ſome bounds to the Prerogative, and to leſſen the power of the Biſhops, but it never enter'd into their thoughts to overturn the civil or eccleſiaſtical Government, as will appear from the concurrent teſtimony of the moſt unexceptionable Hiſtorians.

"As

King Charles I. 1640.

Their religious Character. Claren. Vol. I. p. 184, &c.

"As to their religion (ſays the noble hiſtorian) they were "all members of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and almoſt to a "man for epiſcopal government, Though they were un- "devoted enough to the court, they had all imaginable du- "ty for the King, and affection for the government eſta- "bliſhed by law or ancient cuſtom; and without doubt "the majority of that body were perſons of gravity and "wiſdom, who being poſſeſſed of great and plentiful for "tunes, had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or "to make any conſiderable alterations in the government of "the Church or State." Dr. Lewis du Moulin, who lived through theſe times, ſays, "That both Lords and Com- "mons were moſt, if not all, peaceable, orthodox Church "of England men, all conforming to the rites and ceremo- "nies of epiſcopacy, but greatly averſe to popery and tyran- "ny, and to the corrupt part of the Church that enclined "towards Rome." This is further evident from their or- der of Nov. 20. 1640, "That none ſhould ſit in their "houſe, but ſuch as would receive the Communion accord- "ing to the uſage of the Church of England". The Com- mons, in their grand remonſtrance of Dec. 1. 1641. de- clared to the world, "That it was far from their purpoſe "to let looſe the golden reins of diſcipline and government "in the Church, to leave private perſons, or particular "congregations, to take up what form of divine ſervice they "pleaſed; for we hold it requiſite (ſay they) that there "ſhould be throughout the whole realm a conformity to "that order which the law enjoins, according to the word "of God". The noble Hiſtorian adds further, "That e- "ven after the battle of Edgehill the deſign againſt the "Church was not grown popular in the houſe; that in "the years 1642. and 1643. the Lords and Commons "were all in perfect conformity to the Church of England, "and ſo was their army, the general and officers both by "ſea and land being neither Preſbyterians, Independants, "Anabaptiſts, nor Conventiclers; and that, when they caſt "their eyes upon Scotland, there were in truth very few in "the two houſes who deſired the extirpation of epiſcopacy. "Nay, his lordſhip is of opinion, that the nation in general "was leſs inclined to the Puritans than to the Papiſts; at "leaſt, that they were for the eſtabliſhment; for when "the King went to Scotland [1641] the Common Prayer "was much reverenced throughout the kingdom, and was "a general object of veneration with the people—There

King Charles I. 1640.

" was a full ſubmiſſion and love to the eſtabliſhed govern-
" ment of the Church and State, eſpecially to that part of
" the Church which concerned the liturgy and Book of
" Common Prayer;" which, though it be hardly credible, as will appear hereafter by the numbers of petitions from ſeveral counties againſt the Hierarchy, yet may ſerve to ſilence thoſe of his Lordſhip's admirers, who through ignorance and ill-will have repreſented the long Parliament, and the body of the Puritans, at their firſt ſitting down, as in a plot againſt the whole eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.

If we may believe his Lordſhip's character of the leading members of both houſes, even of thoſe that were moſt active in the war againſt the King, we ſhall find they were true Churchmen according to Law; and that they had no deſigns againſt epiſcopacy, nor any inclination to Preſbytery, or the ſeparation.

Character of the leading Members among the Peers.

Earl of Eſſex. Claren. Vol. I. p. 182. 185, 189, 211, 212, 233, 507. Vol. II. p. 211, 212, 214, 462, 597, &c.

The Earl of Eſſex was general of the Parliament army, and ſo great was his reputation, that his very name commanded thouſands into their ſervice. It had been impoſſible for the Parliament to have raiſed an army, in his Lordſhip's opinion, if the earl of Eſſex had not conſented to be their general; and " yet this nobleman, ſays
" he, was not indevoted to the function of Biſhops, but
" was as much devoted as any man to the Book of Com-
" mon Prayer, and obliged all his ſervants to be preſent with
" him at it; his houſhold Chaplain being always a conforma-
" ble man, and a good ſcholar."

Earl of Bedford.

The Earl of Bedford was general of the horſe under the Earl of Eſſex, " but he had no deſire that there ſhould
" be any alteration in the government of the Church; he
" had always lived towards my lord of Canterbury himſelf,
" with all reſpect and reverence; he frequently viſited and
" dined with him, ſubſcribed liberally to the repairing
" St. Paul's, and ſeconded all pious undertakings."

Lord Kimbolton.

Lord Kimbolton, afterwards Earl of Mancheſter, was a man of great generoſity and good breeding; and no man was more in the confidence of the diſcontented party, nor more truſted; he was commander of part of the Parliament forces, and rather complied with the changes of the times than otherwiſe; he had a conſiderable ſhare in the reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond, and was in high favour with him till his death.

Earl of Warwick.

The Earl of Warwick was admiral of the parliament fleet; he was the perſon who ſeized on the King's ſhips, and employed them againſt him during the whole courſe of the war;

war; he was looked upon as the greateſt patron of the Puritans, and yet "this Nobleman (ſays Lord Clarendon) ne- "ver diſcovered any averſion to epiſcopacy, but much pro- "feſſed the contrary". King Charles I. 1640.

In truth (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) when the bill was brought into the houſe to take away the Biſhops votes in Parliament, there were only at that time taken notice of in the Houſe of Peers, the Lords Say, and Brook, as poſitive enemies to the whole fabrick of the Church, and to deſire a diſſolution of the government.

Among the leading members in the Houſe of Commons we may reckon "William Lenthal Eſq; their Speaker, "who was of no ill reputation for his affection to the Go- "vernment both of Church and State"; (ſays his Lordſhip) and declared on his death-bed after the reſtoration, that he had always believed epiſcopal government to be the beſt government of the Church, and accordingly died a dutiful ſon of the Church of England. Character of the leading Members in the Houſe of Commons. Of Mr. Lenthal the Speaker.

Mr. Pym had the greateſt influence in the Houſe of Commons, and was in truth the moſt popular man, and moſt able to do hurt, of any that lived in his time; and yet Lord Clarendon ſays, "Though he was an enemy to "the Arminians, he profeſt to be very entirely for the "doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, and "was never thought to be for violent meaſures, till the "King came to the Houſe of Commons, and attempted "to ſeize him amongſt the five Members." Mr. Pym.

Denzil Hollis, Eſq; after the Reſtoration promoted to the dignity of a Baron, was at the head of all the Parliament's counſels till the year 1647. "He had an indigna- "tion (ſays Lord Clarendon) againſt the Independants, "nor was he affected to the Preſbyterians, any otherwiſe "than as they conſtituted a party to oppoſe the others, "but was well pleaſed with the government of the Church." Mr Hollis.

Sir H Vane the Elder did the King's affairs an unſpeakable prejudice and yet "in his judgment he liked the go- "vernment both of Church and State; nay, he not only "appeared highly conformable himſelf, but exceeding "ſharp againſt thoſe that were not." Sir H. Vane. ſen.

Sir John Hotham was the gentleman who ſhut the gates of Hull againſt the King's forces; ſhed the firſt blood that was ſpilt in the civil War; and was the firſt his Majeſty proclaimed a traitor; and yet his lordſhip declares, "He was "very well affected to the government." Sir John Hotham.

King Charles I. 1640.

His Lordſhip is a little more dubious about the famous Mr. Hampden, but ſays, That moſt people believed "his "diſlike was rather to ſome Churchmen, than to the eccle- "ſiaſtical government of the Church."

Mr. Hampden. Of the E. of Eſſex's Party.

I might mention Mr. Whitlock, Selden, Langhorne, and others, who are repreſented without the leaſt inclination to Preſbytery; but it is ſufficient to obſerve from his Lordſhip, "That all the Earl of Eſſex's party in both houſes, were "men of ſuch principles, that they deſired no alteration in "the court or government, but only of the perſons that acted in it; nay, the chief officers of his army were ſo zea- "lous for the liturgy, that they would not hear a man as a Miniſter that had no epiſcopal ordination.

And others.

Nathaniel Fiennes, Eſq; Sir H. Vane, jun. and ſhortly after Mr. Hampden, were believed to be for root and branch; yet (ſays his Lordſhip) Mr. Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr. Hollis, nor any of the northern men, or any of thoſe lawyers, who drove on moſt furiouſly with them; all who, were well pleaſed with the government of the Church; for tho' it was in the hearts of ſome few to remove foundations, they had not the courage and confidence to communicate it.

This was the preſent temper and conſtitution of both Houſes of Parliament, from whence his Lordſhip juſtly concludes, "that as they were all of them, almoſt to a "man, conformiſts to the Church of England, they had all "imaginable duty for the King, and affection for the govern- "ment eſtabliſhed by law; and as for the Church, the ma- "jor part even of theſe perſons would have been willing to ſa- "tisfy the King; the rather, becauſe they had no reaſon "to think the two houſes, or indeed either of them, could "have been induced to purſue the contrary." How injuri- ous then are the characters of thoſe Church-hiſtorians, and others, who have repreſented the members of this Parliament, even at their firſt ſitting down, as men of the new religion, or of no religion, Fanaticks, and men that had form'd deep deſigns againſt the whole conſtitution in Church and State.

Long Parliament opened.

The Parliament was open'd Nov. 3. with a moſt gracious Speech from the throne, wherein his Majeſty declares, he would concur with them in ſatisfying their juſt grievances, leaving it with them where to begin. Only ſome offence was taken at his Majeſty's calling the Scots, Rebels, at a time when there was a pacification with them; upon which his Majeſty came to the houſe, and inſtead of ſoftning his language, very imprudently avowed the ex-

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" an impertinence, as that things neceſſary to Salvation " are contained in diſcipline; beſides the ſwearing thoſe to " be of divine Right, which among the learned was never " pretended to, as the ARCH Things in our Hierarchy; " beſides the ſwearing not to conſent to the change of " that, which the ſtate may, upon great reaſons, think fit " to alter; beſides the bottomleſs perjury of an Et Cætera; " beſides all this, men muſt ſwear that they ſwear freely " and voluntarily, what they are compelled to; and laſtly, " that they ſwear to the oath in the literal ſenſe, whereof " no two of the Makers themſelves, that I have heard of, " could ever agree in the underſtanding."

Sir B. Rudyard, Sir J. Culpeper, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, ſpoke with the ſame warmth, and ſatyrical wit, for diſcharging the Canons, diſmounting them, and melting them down; nor did any Gentleman ſtand up in their behalf but Mr. Holbourn, who is ſaid to make a ſpeech of two hours length in their vindication; but his arguments made no impreſſion on the houſe, for at the cloſe of the debate, a Committee of twelve Gentlemen, among whom were Mr. Selden, Maynard, and Coke, was appointed to ſearch for the warrants by which the Convocation was held, after the Parliament broke up, and for the Letters Patents of the Benevolence, and for ſuch other materials as might aſſiſt the houſe in their next debate upon this argument, which was appointed for December 14, when ſome of the Members would have aggravated the crime of the Convocation to High Treaſon, but Serjeant Maynard and Mr. Bagſhaw moderated their reſentments, by convincing them, that they were only in a præmunire. At the cloſe of the debate the houſe came to the following Reſolutions.

Reſolutions againſt them. Dec. 15, 16.

Reſolved Nem. Contradicente, " That the Clergy of " England convened in any Convocation or Synod, or otherwiſe, have no power to make any Conſtitutions, Canons, " or Acts whatſoever, in matters of Doctrine, Diſcipline, " or otherwiſe, to bind the Clergy or Laity of the Land, " without conſent of Parliament.

Reſolved, " That the ſeveral Conſtitutions and Canons Eccleſiaſtical, treated upon by the Archbiſhops of Canter- " bury and York, Preſidents of the Convocations for " their reſpective Provinces, and the reſt of the Biſhops and " Clergy of thoſe Provinces, and agreed upon with the " King's Majeſty's licenſe, in their ſeveral Synods begun " at

" at London and York, 1640, do not bind the Clergy or " Laity of the Land, or either of them. King Charles I. 1640.

Reſolved, " That the ſeveral Conſtitutions and Canons " made and agreed to in the Convocations or Synods " abovementioned, do contain in them many matters con- " trary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental " Laws and Statutes of this Realm, to the Rights of Par- " liament, to the property and liberty of the Subject, and " matters tending to ſedition, and of dangerous conſe- " quence.

Reſolved, " That the ſeveral grants of Benevolences or " Contributions, granted to his moſt excellent Majeſty by " the Clergy of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, " in the ſeveral Convocations or Synods holden at London " and York, in the year 1640, are contrary to the Laws, " and ought not to bind the Clergy."

If the firſt of theſe Reſolutions be according to Law, I doubt there were then no Canons ſubſiſting, for thoſe of 1603, were not brought into Parliament, but being made in a Parliamentary Convocation, were ratified by the King under the Great ſeal, and ſo became binding to the Clergy, according to the Statute of the 25th of King Henry VIII. In the Saxon times all Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Conſtitutions were confirmed by the Peers, and by the Repreſentatives of the People; but thoſe great Councils, to which our Parliament ſucceed, being made up of Laicks and Eccleſiaſticks, were afterwards divided and then the Clergy did their buſineſs by themſelves, and enacted Laws without confirmation of King or Parliament, during the reign of Popery, till the Act of the Submiſſion of the Clergy to King Henry VIII. ſo that the claim of making Canons without conſent of Parliament, ſeemed to ſtand upon no other foundation than the uſurped power of the Pope; nor did the Parliament in thoſe times yield up their right, for in the 51ſt of Edward III. the Commons paſſed a bill, That no Act or Ordinance ſhould be made for the future upon the petition of the Clergy, without conſent of the Commons; " and that the ſaid Commons ſhould not be " bound for the future by any conſtitutions of the Clergy, " to which they had not given their conſent in Parliament." But the bill was dropt, and things went on upon the former foot till the reign of King Henry VIII. when the Pope's uſurped power was ſet aſide, and both Parliament and Clergy agreed (by the Act of Submiſſion) that no Canons ſhould be binding without the Royal Aſſent; nor that the Clergy Remarks.

in

King Charles I. 1640.

in Convocation ſhould ſo much as conſult about any, without the King's ſpecial licenſe; but Serjeant Maynard ſaid in the Houſe, that it did not follow, that becauſe the Clergy might not make Canons without the King's Licenſe, that therefore they might make them, and bind them on the Clergy by his licenſe alone; for this were to take away the ancient rights of Parliament before the Pope's Uſurpation, which they never yielded up, nor does the Act of Submiſſion of the Clergy take away. Upon this reaſoning the Commons voted their firſt Reſolution, the ſtrength of which I leave to the conſideration of the reader.

Fuller's Appeal, p. 42.

The arguments upon which the other reſolutions are founded will be put together, after we have related the proceedings of Convocation.

Proceedings of Convocation.

The Convocation was opened Nov. 4. Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, preached the Setmon, and Dr. Steward, Dean of Chicheſter, was choſen Prolocutor, and preſented to the Archbiſhop's acceptance in King Henry the VIIth's Chapel, when his Grace made a pathetick Speech, lamenting the danger of the Church, and exhorting every one preſent to perform the duty of their places with Reſolution, and not to be wanting to themſelves, or the cauſe of Religion; but nothing of moment was tranſacted, there being no commiſſion from the King; only Mr. Warmiſtre, one of the Clerks for the Dioceſe of Worceſter, being convinced of the invalidity of the late Canons, moved the houſe, That "they might cover the pit which they had opened," and prevent a parliamentary inquiſition, by petitioning the King for leave to review them; but his motion was rejected, the houſe being of opinion that the Canons were juſtifiable; nor would they appear ſo mean as to condemn themſelves before they were accuſed. Mr. Warmiſtre ſuffered in the opinion of his brethren within doors for his cowardly ſpeech; and was reproached from without as an enemy to the Church, and a Turn-coat, becauſe he had ſubſcribed thoſe articles which now he condemned. This obliged him to publiſh his Speech to the World, in which, after having declared his ſatisfaction in the doctrine, diſcipline and government of the Church of England, as far as it is eſtabliſhed by law, he goes on to wiſh there had been no private innovations brought in; for though he approves of an outward reverence in the worſhip of God, he is againſt directing it to Altars and Images. He apprehends it reaſonable, that ſuch innocent ceremonies as have a proper tendency to decency and order ſhould be retained, but wiſhes the

Mr. Warmiſtre's Speech.

the removal of Croſſes and Images out of Churches, as ſcandalous and ſuperſtitious, having an apparent tendency towards Idolatry; and that there might be no lighted Candles in the day-time; he then gives his reaſons againſt the Oath in the ſixth Canon, and concludes with theſe words; "If my Subſcription be urged againſt what I have ſaid, "I was perſuaded it was the practice of Synods and "Councils, that the whole body ſhould ſubſcribe to thoſe "Acts which are paſſed, by the major part, as Synodical "Acts, notwithſtanding their private diſſent; if my ſub-"ſcription implied any more, I do ſo far recant and con "demn it in myſelf, and deſire pardon both of God and "the Church, reſolving by God's Grace to be more cau-"tious hereafter." Mr. Warmiſtre's behaviour ſhewed him to be a wiſe and diſcreet Clergyman; and his being ſequeſtered from his livings ſome time after, for not ſubmitting to the Parliament, ſhews him to be a man of principle, not to be moved from his integrity by the reſentments of his friends, or the flatteries of his enemies. And though the Convocation was ſo ſanguine at their firſt coming together, as to deſpiſe Mr. Warmiſtre's motion, yet when they ſaw the vigorous reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons againſt the Canons, and the articles of impeachment againſt their Metropolitan for High Treaſon, one of which was "for compiling the late Canons," they were diſpirited, and in a few weeks deſerted their ſtations in the Convocation-Houſe; the Biſhops alſo diſcontinued their Meetings, and in a few weeks both Houſes dwindled to nothing, and broke up without Adjournment or Prorogation.

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They diſperſe.

To return to the Parliament; it was argued againſt the late Convocation, that they were no legal aſſembly after the diſſolution of the Parliament; that his Majeſty had no more power to continue them than to recal his Parliament; nor could he, by his Letters Patents, convert them into a national or provincial Synod, becauſe the right of their Election ceaſing at the expiration of the Convocation, they ought to have been re-choſen before they could act in the name of the Clergy whom they repreſented, or bind them by their Decrees. 'Tis contrary to all law and reaſon in the world, that a number of men met together in Convocation, upon a Summons limited to a certain time, ſhould, after the expiration of that time, by a new Commiſſion, be changed into a national or provincial Synod, without the voice or election of any one perſon concerned.

Objections of the Commons againſt the late Convocation.

The

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The Commons were therefore at a loſs what Name to call this extaordinary Aſſembly by, being in their opinion, neither Convocation nor Synod, becauſe no repreſentative body of the Clergy. The Words Convocation and Synod are convertible Terms, and ſignify the ſame thing, but 'tis eſſential to both that they be choſen by the Clergy, if they are to make Conſtitutions and Canons to bind them. Some, indeed, have thought of a ſmall diſtinction, as that a Convocation muſt begin and end with the Parliament, whereas a Synod may be called by the King out of Parliament, but then ſuch an Aſſembly cannot give Subſidies for their Brethren, nor make Laws to bind them.

And againſt the Canons.

The Objections to the particular Canons are theſe:

I. Againſt the Firſt Canon it was argued, That the Compilers of it had invaded the Rights and Prerogative of Parliament, by pretending to ſettle and declare the extent of the King's Power, and the Subjects Obedience.

By declaring the ſacred Order of Kings to be of Divine Right, founded in the prime laws of Nature and Revelation, by which they condemned all other Governments.

By affirming, that the King had an abſolute Power over all his Subjects, and a Right to the Subſidies and aids of his people, without conſent of Parliament.

By affirming, that Subjects may not bear arms againſt their King, either offenſive or defenſive, upon any Pretence whatſoever, upon pain of "receiving to themſelves "Damnation."

By taking upon themſelves to define ſome things to be Treaſon not included in the Statute of Treaſons.

And, Laſtly, by inflicting a penalty on ſuch of the King's Subjects as ſhall dare to diſobey them, in not reading and publiſhing the above-mentioned particulars; in all which caſes it was averred, that they had "invaded the "Rights of Parliament, deſtroyed the Liberty of the Sub-"ject, and ſubverted the very fundamental Laws and "Conſtitutions of England."

II. It was objected againſt the ſecond Canon, that they had aſſumed the legiſlative Power, in appointing a new Holy Day, contrary to the Statute, which ſays, there ſhall be ſuch and ſuch Holy days, and no more.

IV. It was objected againſt the fourth Canon, that whereas the determination of Hereſy is expreſly reſerved to Parliament, the Convocation had declared that to be Hereſy

Hereſy which the Law takes no notice of; and had condemned Socinianiſm in general, without declaring what was included under that denomination, ſo that after all, it was left in their own breaſts whom they would condemn and cenſure under that character. King Charles I. 1640.

VI. It was objected againſt the ſixth Canon, that it impoſed a new Oath upon the Subject, which is a power equal, if not ſuperior to the making a new Law. It was argued likewiſe againſt the Oath itſelf, that in ſome parts it was very ambiguous and doubtful, and in others directly falſe and illegal.

Objections againſt the Et cætera Oath.

We are to ſwear in the Oath, that "we approve the "Doctrine, Diſcipline, or Government eſtabliſhed in the "Church of England," and yet we are not told wherein that Doctrine and Diſcipline is contained; whether by the doctrine of the Church we are to underſtand only the Thirty nine Articles, or likewiſe the Homilies and Church Catechiſm; and by the Diſcipline, only the Book of Canons, or likewiſe all other eccleſiaſtical Orders, not repealed by Statute; for it is obſervable, that the Words of the Oath are, "As it is eſtabliſhed," and not, "As "it is eſtabliſhed by Law." And the ambiguity is further encreaſed by that remarkable Et cætera, inſerted in the body of the Oath; for whereas Oaths ought to be explicit, and the Senſe of the Words as clear and determined as poſſible, we are here to ſwear to we know not what, to ſomething that is not expreſſed; by which means we are left to the arbitrary interpretation of the Judge, and may be involved in the guilt of Perjury before we are aware.

But beſides the Ambiguity of the Oath, it contains ſome things falſe and illegal; for it affirms, the government of the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons, to be of Divine Right; for after we have ſworn to the Hierarchy as eſtabliſhed by the Law of the Land, we are to ſwear further, that "by Right it ought ſo to ſtand:" Which words are a mere tautology, or elſe muſt infer ſome further Right than that which is included in the legal eſtabliſhment, which can be no other than a Divine Right. Now, though it ſhould be allowed, that the government of the Church by Biſhops is of Divine Right, yet certainly Archbiſhops, Deans and Archdeacons can have no pretence to that claim.

Beſides, to ſwear, "never to give our conſent to alter the "Government of this Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops &c.

"as

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" as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, is directly contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, for in that Oath we are ſworn to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the exerciſe of his eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction or Government, by his Commiſſion under the Great Seal, directed to ſuch Perſons as he ſhall think meet; ſo that if his Majeſty ſhould think fit at any time to commiſſion other perſons to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction than at preſent, we are ſworn by the Oath of Supremacy, not only to conſent, but to aid and aſſiſt him in it; whereas in this new Oath we ſwear, never to conſent to any ſuch alteration.

Nothing is more evident, than that the Diſcipline of the Church is alterable; the Church itſelf laments the want of godly Diſcipline; and many of the Clergy and Laity wiſh and deſire an amendment; it is therefore very unreaſonable, that all that take degrees in the Univerſities, many of whom may be Members of Parliament, ſhall be ſworn beforehand, " never to conſent to any Alteration." And though 'tis known to all the world, that many of the conforming Clergy are diſſatisfied with ſome branches of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, yet they are to ſwear, that they take this Oath Heartily and Willingly, though they are compelled to it under the penalties of Suſpenſion and Deprivation. Some objections were made to the ſeventh, and other Canons, but theſe were the chief.

Remarks.

Archbiſhop Laud, in his anſwer to the Impeachment of the Houſe of Commons againſt himſelf, boldly undertakes to refute all theſe objections, and to juſtify the whole, and every branch of the Canons; his words are theſe, " I hope " I am able to make it good in any learned Aſſembly in " Chriſtendom, that this Oath, and all thoſe Canons (then " made, and here before recited) and every branch in them, " are juſt and orthodox, and moderate, and moſt neceſſary " for the preſent condition of the Church of England, how " unwelcome ſoever to the preſent diſtempers." Lord Clarendon expreſſes himſelf modeſtly on the other ſide; he doubts, whether the Convocation was a legal Aſſembly after the diſſolution of the Parliament, but is very ſure, that their proceedings are not to be juſtified; " The Convocation-" houſe, (ſays he) which is the regular and legal aſſembling " of the Clergy, was after the determination of the Parliament, continued by a new Writ under the proper title of " a Synod, made Canons, which certainly it might do; " and gave Subſidies out of Parliament, and enjoined " Oaths which certainly it might not do; in a word, did " many things which in the beſt of times might have been " queſtion'd,

" queſtioned, and therefore were ſure to be condemned in " the worſt." The Parliament that ſat after the Reſtoration was of the ſame mind with his Lordſhip, foraſmuch as theſe Canons were excepted out of the Act of 13 Car. II. cap. 12. and declared of no validity. Mr. Eachard is of opinion, that the Synod that framed theſe Canons was not a legal Repreſentative of the Clergy after the diſſolution of the two Houſes. But Biſhop Kennet in his complete Hiſtory, ſays, That theſe publick cenſures of the Canons were grounded upon prejudice and faction; that it is hard to find any defect of legality in the making them; and that if theſe Canons are not binding, we have no proper Canons ſince the Reformation; he therefore wiſhes them, or ſome others like them, revived, becauſe " in very much of Doctrine " and Diſcipline they are a good example to any future " Convocation; and, that we can hardly hope for unity, " or any tolerable regularity, without ſome Conſtitutions " of the like nature." Strange! that a dignified Clergyman, that held his Biſhoprick upon Revolution Principles, ſhould wiſh the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution of his Country, and declare for principles of perſecution. If I might have liberty to wiſh, it ſhould be, That neither we nor our poſterity may ever enjoy the Bleſſings of unity and regularity upon the foot of ſuch Canons.

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Kennet, p. 113.

Upon the ſame day that the Houſe paſſed the abovementioned Reſolutions againſt the Canons, ſeveral warm Speeches were made againſt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as the chief Author of them; and a Committee was appointed to enquire more particularly, how far his Grace had been concerned in the Proceedings of the Convocation, and in the treaſonable deſign of ſubverting the Religion and Laws of his Country, in order to draw up a Charge againſt him. Next day the Earl of Briſtol acquainted the Houſe of Lords, that the Scots Commiſſioners had preſented ſome papers againſt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which were read by the Lord Paget, and then reported to the Houſe of Commons, at a Conference between the two Houſes. Their charge conſiſted of divers Grievances (which had occaſioned great diſturbances in the Kingdom of Scotland) ranged under three heads, of all which they challenged the Archbiſhop to be the chief Author upon earth.

Archbiſhop. Laud impeached of High Treaſon, Dec. 16.

The firſt branch of the charge conſiſted of " Divers al- " terations in Religion, impoſed upon them without Or- " der, and againſt Law, contrary to the form eſtabliſh- " ed in their Kirk;" as, his enjoining the Biſhops to ap-

The Scots charge.

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pear in the Chapel in their Whites, contrary to the cuſtom of their Kirk, and the Archbiſhop's own promiſe; his directing the Engliſh Service to be read in the Chapel twice a day; his ordering a liſt of thoſe Councellors, and Senators of the College of Juſtice, who did not communicate in the Chapel, according to a form not received in their Kirk, to be ſent up to him, in order to their being puniſhed; his preſumptuous cenſuring the practice of the Kirk, in Faſting ſometimes on the Lord's Day, as oppoſite to Chriſtianity it ſelf; his obtaining warrants for the ſitting of the High Commiſſion Court once a week at Edinburgh; and his directing the taking down of galleries and ſtone walls in the Kirks of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, to made way for Altars, and Adorations towards the Eaſt.

The ſecond branch of their charge was, "his obtruding "upon them a Book of Canons and Conſtitutions Eccle- "ſiaſtical, deviſed, for the eſtabliſhing a tyrannical power "in the perſons of their Prelates, over the Conſciences, "Liberties, and Goods of the People; and for aboliſhing "that Diſcipline and Government of their Kirk, which was "ſettled by Law, and had obtained amongſt them ever "ſince the Reformation." For proof of this they alledged that the Book of Canons was corrected, altered, and enlarged by him at his pleaſure, as appears by the interlineations, and marginal Notes in the Book, written with the Archbiſhop's own hand: That he had added ſome entire new Canons, and altered others, in favour of Superſtition and Popery; and in ſeveral Inſtances relating to the cenſures of the Church, had lodged an unbounded power in the Prelates over the Conſciences of Men.

The third and great Innovation with which they charged the Archbiſhop, was, "The Book of Common Prayer, Ad- "miniſtration of the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine "Worſhip, brought in without warrant from their Kirk, to "be univerſally received as the only form of Divine Service, "under the higheſt pains both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical; "which Book contained many Popiſh Errors and Cere- "monies, repugnant to their Confeſſion of Faith, Con- "ſtitutions of their General Aſſemblies, and to Acts of "Parliament." Several of theſe errors are mentioned in the Article, aud they declare themſelves ready, when deſired, to diſcover a great many more of the ſame kind; all which were impoſed upon the Kingdom, contrary to their earneſt ſupplications; and upon their refuſal to receive the

Service

Service Book, they were, by his Grace's inſtigation declared Rebels and Traitors; an Army was raiſed to ſubdue them, and a prayer compoſed and printed by his direction, to be read in all the Pariſh Churches in England, in time of Divine Service, wherein they are called "Traiterous "Subjects, having caſt off all Obedience to their Sove-"reign;" and Supplication is made to the Almighty, to cover their faces with ſhame, as Enemies to God and the King. They therefore pray, that the Archbiſhop may be immediately removed from his Majeſty's Preſence, and that he may be brought to a trial, and receive ſuch cenſure as he has deſerved, according to the laws of the Kingdom. King Charles I. 1640.

The Archbiſhop has left behind him a particular Anſwer to theſe Articles, in his Diary, which is writ with a peculiar ſharpneſs of Stile, and diſcovers a great opinion of his own abilities, and a ſovereign contempt of his Adverſaries; but either from a diſtruſt of the ſtrength of his reply, or for ſome other reaſons, his Grace was pleaſed wiſely to evade the whole charge at his trial, by pleading The Act of Oblivion at the pacification of the Scots troubles. His Grace's reply.

When the report of theſe Articles was made to the Commons, the reſentment of the Houſe againſt the Archbiſhop immediately broke out into a flame; many ſevere Speeches were made againſt his late conduct; and among others, one was by Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, Speaker of that Parliament that reſtored the King, who ſtood up and ſaid, "That this great Man, the Archbiſhop of Canterbu-"ry, was the very Sty of all that peſtilential filth that had "infeſted the Government; that he was the only Man "that had advanced thoſe, who, together with himſelf, "had been the Authors of all the Miſeries the Nation now "groaned under. That he had managed all the projects "that had been ſet on foot for theſe ten years paſt, and "had condeſcended ſo low as to deal in Tobacco, by "which thouſands of poor people had been turned out of "their trades, for which they ſerved an apprenticeſhip; "that he had been charged in this Houſe, upon very ſtrong "proof, with deſigns to ſubvert the Government, and al-"ter the Proteſtant Religion in this Kingdom, as well as "in Scotland; and there is ſcarce any grievance or com-"plaint comes before the Houſe, wherein he is not men-"tioned, like an angry waſp, leaving his ſting in the tail "of every thing." He therefore moved, that the charge of the Scots Commiſſioners might be ſupported by an im- Sir H. Grimſtone's Speech againſt him.

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peachment of their own; and, that the queſtion might now be put, "Whether the Archbiſhop had been guilty of "High Treaſon?" Which being voted, Mr. Hollis was immediately ſent up to the bar of the Houſe of Lords to impeach him in the Name of all the Commons of England, and to deſire, that his perſon might be ſequeſtered, and that in convenient time they would bring up the particulars of their Charge; upon which his Grace being commanded to withdraw, ſtood up in his place and ſaid, "That "he was heartily ſorry for the offence taken againſt him, "but humbly deſired their Lordſhips to look upon the whole "courſe of his Life, which was ſuch, as that he was per-"ſuaded not one Man in the Houſe of Commons did believe "in his heart that he was a Traitor." To which the Earl of Eſſex replied, "That it was a high reflection upon the "whole Houſe of Commons, to ſuppoſe they would charge "him with a crime which themſelves did not believe." After this his Grace withdrew, and being called in again, was delivered to the Uſher of the Black Rod, to be kept in ſafe cuſtody, till the Houſe of Commons ſhould deliver in their Articles of Impeachment.

He is impeached by the Engliſh Parliament.

He is committed to the Uſher of the Black Rod.

Upon the 26th of February Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Maynard, by order of the Commons, went up to the Houſe of Lords, and at the Bar of the Houſe preſented their Lordſhips with fourteen articles, in maintenance of their former charge of High Treaſon againſt the Archbiſhop, which were read, his Grace being preſent.

Heads of the impeachment of the H. of Commons.

In the firſt, he is charged with endeavouring to ſubvert the Conſtitution, by introducing an arbitrary Power of Government, without any Limitation or Rule of Law. In the ſecond, he is charged with procuring Sermons to be preached, and other Pamphlets to be printed, in which the Authority of Parliaments is denied, and the Abſolute Power of the King aſſerted to be agreeable to the Law of God. The third Article charges him with interrupting the courſe of Juſtice, by meſſages, threatnings, and promiſes to the Judges. The fourth, with ſelling Juſtice in his own Perſon, under colour of his Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and with adviſing his Majeſty to ſell Places of Judicature, contrary to Law. In the fifth, he is charged with the Canons, and Oath, impoſed upon the Subject by the late Convocation. In the ſixth, with robbing the King of his Supremacy, by denying the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to be derived from the Crown. In the ſeventh, with bringing in Popiſh Doctrines, Opinions, and Ceremonies, contrary

trary to the articles of the Church, and cruelly perſecuting thoſe who oppoſed them. In the eighth, he is charged with promoting perſons to the higheſt and beſt preferments in the Church who are corrupt in doctrine and manners. In the ninth, with employing ſuch for his domeſtick Chaplains, as he knew to be popiſhly affected, and committing to them the licenſing of Books, whereby ſuch writings have been publiſh'd, as have been ſcandalous to the Proteſtant Religion. The tenth article charges him with ſundry attempts to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome. The eleventh, with diſcountenancing of preaching, and with ſilencing, depriving, impriſoning, and baniſhing, ſundry godly and orthodox Miniſters. The twelfth, with dividing the Church of England from the foreign Proteſtant Churches. The thirteenth, with being the author of all the late diſturbances between England and Scotland, And the laſt, with endeavouring to bereave the kingdom of the legiſlative power, by alienating the King's mind from his parliaments. King Charles I. 1640.

At the delivery of theſe articles Mr. Pym declared, that the Commons reſerved to themſelves the liberty of preſenting ſome additional articles, by which they intended to make the charge more particular and certain, as to time and other circumſtances; and pray'd their lordſhips to put the cauſe into as quick a forwardneſs as they could.

When the Archbiſhop had heard the articles read, he made his obeiſance to the houſe, and ſaid, "That it was a "great and heavy charge, and that he was unworthy to "live if it could be made good; however, it was yet but "in Generals, and Generals made a great noiſe, but were "no proof. For human frailities he could not excuſe "himſelf, but for corruption in the leaſt degree, he feared "no accuſer that would ſpeak truth. But that which went "neareſt him, was, that he was thought falſe in his Religi-"gion, as if he ſhould profeſs with the Church of England, "and have his heart at Rome." He then beſought their Lordſhips, that he might enlarge himſelf, and ſo made a ſhort reply to each article, which conſiſted in an abſolute denial of the whole. But the lords voted him to the Tower; whither he was carried in Mr. Maxwell's coach through the city, on Monday, March 1. It was deſigned he ſhould have paſs'd incognito, but an Apprentice in Newgate Street happening to know him, raiſed the mob, which ſurrounded the coach, and followed him with huzza's and inſults till he got within the Tower gate. Indeed, ſuch was the Archbiſhop ſpeaks for himſelf.

He is ſent to the Tower.

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univerſal hatred of all ranks and orders of men againſt this ſevere prelate, for his cruel uſage of thoſe that had fallen into his hands in the time of his proſperity, that no man's fall in the whole kingdom was ſo unlamented as his. His Grace being lodged in the Tower, thought it his intereſt to be quiet, without ſo much as moving the Lords to be brought to a trial, or putting in his anſwer to the articles of impeachment, till the Commons, aftes two or three years, exhibited their additional articles, and moved the peers, that he might be brought to judgment.

Priſoners of the Prerogative releaſed. Biſhop of Lincoln.

Before the Archbiſhop was confined he had the mortification to ſee moſt of the Church and State priſoners ſet at liberty; Nov. 16. the Biſhop of Lincoln was diſcharged from his impriſonment in the Tower, and his fine remitted. Next day being a publick Faſt, he appeared in the Abbey Church at Weſtminſter, and officiated as Dean. When he reſumed his ſeat in the houſe of Lords, he behaved with more temper than either the King or the Archbiſhop could expect; upon which his Majeſty ſent for him, and endeavoured to gain him over to the Court, by promiſing to make him full ſatisfaction for his paſt ſufferings; in order to which his Majeſty commanded all the judgments that were filed againſt him to be cancelled, and within a twelve-month tranſlated him to the Archbiſhoprick of York, with leave to hold his deanry of Weſtminſter in Commendam for three years: The Biſhop therefore never complained to the houſe of his ſufferings, nor petition'd for ſatisfaction.

Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick.

Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, and Dr. Baſtwick, being remanded from the ſeveral iſlands to which they had been confined, upon their humble petition to the Houſe of Commons, were met ſome miles out of town by great numbers of people on horſeback with roſemary and bays in their hats, and attended into the City in a ſort of triumph, with loud acclamations for their deliverance; a few weeks after, the houſe came to the following reſolutions, "That "the ſeveral judgments given againſt them were illegal, un- "juſt and againſt the liberty of the ſubject: That their "ſeveral fines be remitted; that they be reſtored to their "ſeveral profeſſions; and, that for reparation of their "loſſes, Mr. Burton ought to have ſix thouſand pounds, "and Mr. Prynne and Dr. Baſtwick five thouſand pounds "each, out of the eſtates of the Archbiſhop of Canter- "bury, the high Commiſſioners, and thoſe lords who had "voted againſt them in the Star Chamber; but the

confuſion

" confuſion of the times prevented the payment of the " money." King Charles I. 1640.

Dr. Leighton was releaſed about the ſame time, and his fine of ten thouſand pounds remitted: The reading his petition drew tears from the houſe, being to this effect.

The humble petition of Alexander Leighton, priſoner in the Fleet,

Humbly ſheweth,

" THAT on Feb. 17. 1630. he was apprehended co- " ming from ſermon by a high Commiſſion Warrant, " and dragged along the ſtreet with bills and ſtaves to Lon- " don Houſe. That the gaoler of Newgate being ſent for, " clapt him in irons, and carried him with a ſtrong pow- " er into a loathſome and ruinous dog-hole, full of rats " and mice, that had no light but a little grate, and the " roof being uncovered, the ſnow and rain beat in upon " him, having no bedding, nor place to make a fire, but " the ruins of an old ſmoaky chimney. In this woful " place he was ſhut up for fifteen weeks, no body being " ſuffered to come to him, till at length his wife only was " admitted. Dr. Leighton's Petition.

" That the fourth day after his commitment the Purſui- " vant, with a mighty multitude, came to his houſe to " ſearch for Jeſuits books, and uſed his wife in ſuch a bar- " barous and inhuman manner as he is aſhamed to expreſs; " that they rifled every perſon and place, holding a piſtol " to the breaſt of a child of five years old, threatning to " kill him if he did not diſcover the books; that they broke " open cheſts, preſſes, boxes, and carried away every thing, " even houſhold ſtuff, apparel, arms, and other things; " that at the end of fifteen weeks he was ſerved with a Sub- " pœna, on an information laid againſt him by Sir Robert " Heath, attorney general, whoſe dealing with him was " full of cruelty and deceit; but he was then ſick, and, in " the opinion of four phyſicians, thought to be poiſoned, " becauſe all his hair and ſkin came off; that in the height " of this ſickneſs the cruel ſentence was paſt upon him " mentioned in the year 1630. and executed Nov. 26 fol- " lowing, when he received thirty ſix ſtripes upon his naked " back with a threefold cord, his hands being tied up to a " ſtake, and then ſtood almoſt two hours in the pillory in " the froſt and ſnow, before he was branded in the face, his " noſe ſlit, and his ears cut off; that after this he was car- " ried by water to the Fleet, and ſhut up in ſuch a room

King Charles I. 1640.

" that he was never well, and after eight years was turned " into the common Gaol——" The houſe voted him ſatisfaction for his ſufferings; but it does not appear that he had any, except being keeper of Lambeth Houſe for a priſon, which he muſt be very unfit for, being now in the ſeventy ſecond year of his age, and worn out with poverty, weakneſs and pain.

He is releaſed.

Beſides theſe, Dr. Oſbaldeſton, one of the prebendaries of Weſtminſter; the Reverend Mr. Henry Wilkinſon, B. D. of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Mr. Smith, Wilſon, Small Cooper, and Brewer, who had been in priſon fourteen years; Mr. George Walker, who had been committed for preaching a Sermon, Oct. 14. 1638. at St. John the Evangeliſt's, London, and detained four weeks in the hands of a meſſenger, to whom he paid twenty pounds fees. And after his proſecution in the Star Chamber, had been ſhut up ten weeks in the Gate Houſe, and at laſt enforced to enter into bond of a thouſand pounds to confine himſelf priſoner in his brother's houſe at Chiſwick, where he continued till this time, his parſonage being ſequeſter'd; and in general, all that were confined by the high Commiſſion were ſet at liberty paſſing their words to be forth-coming when they ſhould be called for.

Dr. Oſbaldeſton and others. Nalſon, p. 250. Ib. p. 570.

Authors of the late Innovations cenſured.

The impriſonment of the above-mentioned gentlemen being declared illegal, 'tis natural to imagine the houſe would make ſome enquiry after their proſecutors. About the latter end of January Dr. Coſins, Prebendary of Durham, and afterwards biſhop of the ſame dioceſe, was ſent for into cuſtody, on account of the ſuperſtitious innovations which he had introduced into that cathedral. The doctor, in his anſwer, denied the whole charge, and as to the particulars he replied, that the marble altar with cherubims was ſet up before he was prebendary of the Church; that he did not approve of the image of God the Father, and that to his knowledge there was no ſuch repreſentation in the Church at Durham; that the Crucifix with a blue cap and golden beard was miſtook for the top of Biſhop Hatfield's tomb, which had been erected twenty five years; that there were but two candles on the Communion Table; and, that no more were uſed on Candlemas Night than in the Chriſtmas Holidays; that he did not forbid the ſinging the Pſalms in metre, nor direct the ſinging of the Anthem to the three Kings of Colen; nor uſe a conſecrated knife at the Sacrament. The Lords were ſo far ſatisfied with the Doctor's Anſwer, as not to commit him at preſent; but the Commons having voted him unfit to hold any eccleſiaſtical

Dr. Coſins.

siastical promotion, the Doctor foreseeing the storm that was coming upon the Church, wisely withdrew into France, where he behaved discreetly and prudently till the Restoration, being soften'd in his principles by age and sufferings. King Charles I. 1640.

Dr. Matthew Wren, late Bishop of Norwich, and now of Ely, having been remarkably severe against the Puritan Clergy in his Dioceses; the Inhabitants of Ipswich drew up a Petition against him, and presented it to the House December 22, 1640, upon which the Committee of Parliament exhibited a charge against him, consisting of twenty five Articles relating to the late Innovations. It was carried up to the Lords by Sir Thomas Widdrington, and sets forth, that during the time of his being Bishop of Norwich, which was about two years, fifty Ministers had been excommunicated, suspended, and deprived, "For not "reading the second Service at the Communion Table; "for not reading the Book of Sports; for using conceived "Prayers before the Afternoon Sermon, &c." and that by his rigorous severities many of his Majesty's Subjects, to the number of three thousand, had removed themselves, their families, and estates, to Holland, and set up their Manufacturies there, to the great prejudice of the Trade of this Kingdom. I don't find that the Bishop put in a particular answer to these Articles, nor was he taken into custody, but only gave bond for his appearance. Some time after the Commons voted him unfit to hold any ecclesiastical preferment in the Church, and both Lords and Commons joined in a petition to the King, to remove the said Bishop from his Person and Service; some time after he was imprisoned, with the rest of the protesting Bishops; after his release he retired to his House at Downham in the Isle of Ely, from whence he was taken by a party of Parliament Soldiers and conveyed to the Tower, where he continued a patient prisoner till the end of the year 1659, without being brought to his trial, or admitted to bail. Bp. Wren. Nalson, p. 398.

Complaints were made against several other Bishops and Clergymen, as Dr. Pierce Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Montague Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Owen Bishop of Landaff, Dr. Manwaring Bishop of St. David's; but the House had too many affairs upon their hands to attend their Prosecutions. Of the inferior Clergy, Dr. Stone, Chaffin, Aston, Jones, and some others, who had been instruments of severity in the late times, were voted unfit for ecclesiastical promotions. Dr. Layfield Archdeacon of Essex, pleaded his And several other Clergymen.

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his privilege as a Member of Convocation, according to an old popiſh Statute of Henry VI. but the Committee over-ruled it, and voted the Doctor into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms. Dr. Pocklington Canon of Windſor, and Prebendary of Peterborough, was complained of for two Books, one entituled, The Chriſtian Altar; the other, Sunday no Sabbath, which had been licenſed by Dr. Bray, one of the Archbiſhop's Chaplains. The Doctor acknowledged his offence at the Bar of the Houſe, confeſſed that he had not examined the Books with that caution that he ought, and made a publick recantation in the Church of Weſtminſter; but Pocklington refuſing to recant about thirty falſe propoſitions, which the Biſhop of Lincoln had collected out of his Books, was ſentenced by the "Lord "Keeper to be deprived of his eccleſiaſtical preferments; "to be for ever diſabled to hold any place or dignity in the "Church or Commonwealth; never to come within the Verge of his Majeſty's Court; and his Books to be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman in the City of London, and the two Univerſities; but both the Doctors died ſoon after. The number of petitions that were ſent up to the Committee of Religion from all parts of the Country againſt their Clergy is incredible; ſome complaining of their ſuperſtitious impoſitions, and others of the immorality of their lives, and neglect of their cures; which ſhews the little eſteem they had among the people, who were weary of their yoke, and reſpected them no longer than they were under the terror of their Excommunications.

Mutinous Behaviour of the People.

Such was the Spirit of the populace, that it was difficult to prevent their out-running Authority, and tearing down in a tumultuous manner what they were told was illegally ſet up. At St. Saviour's Southwark the Mob pulled down the rails about the Communion Table. At Halſtead in Eſſex they tore the Surplice, and abuſed the Service Book; nay, when the Houſe of Commons was aſſembled at St. Margaret's Weſtminſter, as the Prieſt was beginning the ſecond ſervice at the Communion Table, ſome at the lower end of the Church began a Pſalm, which was followed by the Congregation, ſo that the Miniſter was forced to deſiſt. But to prevent theſe ſeditious practices for the future, the Lords and Commons paſſed a very ſevere ſentence on the Rioters, and publiſhed the following order, bearing Date Jan. 16th, 1640-1, appointing it to be read in all the Pariſh Churches of London, Weſtminſter, and the Borough of Southwark, (viz.) "That Divine Service ſhall be performed

Votes to prevent it.

" formed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of " this Realm; and that all such as disturb that wholesome " order shall be severely punished according to Law." But then it was added, " That the Parsons, Vicars, and Cu- " rates of the several Parishes, shall forbear to introduce " any Rites or Ceremonies that may give offence, other- " wise than those which are established by the Laws of " the Land." The design of this proviso was to guard against the late innovations, and in particular, against the Clergy's refusing the Sacrament to such as would not receive it kneeling at the Rails. King Charls I. 1640.

There was such a violent clamour against the High Clergy, that they could hardly officiate according to the late injunctions, without being affronted, nor walk the Streets in their Habits (says Nalson) without being reproached as Popish Priests, Cæsar's Friends, &c. the reputation of the Liturgy began to sink; reading Prayers was called a Lifeless Form of Worship, and a quenching the Holy Spirit, whose assistances are promised in the matter, as well as the manner of our prayers; besides, the Nation being in a crisis, it was thought impossible that the old Forms should be suitable to the exigency of the times, or to the circumstances of particular persons, who might desire a Share in the devotions of the Church. Those Ministers, therefore, who prayed with fervency and devotion, in words of their own conception, suitable either to the Sermon that was preached, or to the present urgency of affairs, had crouded and attentive Auditories, while the ordinary service of the Church was deserted as formal, lifeless, and without Spirit. Service of the Church neglected.

This discipline of the Church being relaxed, the Brownists or Independants, who had assembled in private, and shifted from House to House for twenty or thirty years, took courage, and shewed themselves in publick. We have given an account of their original, from Mr. Robinson and Mr. Jacob, in the year 1616, which last was succeeded by Mr. John Lathorp, formerly a Clergyman in Kent, but having renounced his orders, he became pastor of this little Society. In his time the Congregation was discovered by Tomlinson, the Bishop's Pursuivant, April 29th, 1632, at the House of Mr. Humphry Barnet, a Brewer's Clark, in Black Fryars, where forty two of them were apprehended, and but eighteen escaped: Of those that were taken, some were confined in the Clink, others in New-prison and the Gate-house, where they continued about two years, and were then released upon bail, except Mr. Lathorp, for whom History of the Independants continued. Of Mr. Lathop, MS. penes me.

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whom no favour could be obtained; he therefore petition'd the King for liberty to depart the Kingdom, which being granted, he went in the year 1634, to New England, with about thirty of his Followers. Mr. Lathorp was a Man of learning, and a meek and quiet Spirit, but met with ſome uneaſineſſes, upon occaſion of one of his people carrying his child to be baptized by the pariſh Miniſter; ſome of the congregation inſiſting, that it ſhould be re-baptized, becauſe the other Adminiſtration was not valid; but when the queſtion was put, it was carried in the negative, and reſolved by the majority, not to make any declaration at preſent, "Whether or no Pariſh Churches were true Churches?" upon this ſome of the more rigid, and others who were diſſatisfied about the lawfulneſs of infant Baptiſm, deſired their diſmiſſion, which was granted them; theſe ſet up by themſelves, and choſe Mr. Jeſſe their Miniſter, who laid the foundation of the firſt Baptiſt Congregation that I have met with in England. But the reſt renewed their Covenant, "To walk together in the Ways of God, ſo far as he had "made them known to them, and to forſake all falſe "Ways." And ſo ſteady were they to their Vows, that hardly an inſtance can be produced, of one that deſerted to the Church by the ſevereſt proſecutions.

Mr. Canne.

Upon Mr. Lathorp's retiring to New England the Congregation choſe for their Paſtor the famous Mr. Canne, Author of the Marginal References in the Bible, who after he had preached to them in private Houſes for a year or two, was driven, by the ſeverity of the times into Holland, and became Paſtor of the Browniſt Congregation at Amſterdam.

Mr. Howe.

After Mr. Canne, Mr. Samuel Howe undertook the paſtoral care of this little Flock; he was a Man of Learning, and printed a ſmall Treatiſe, called, "The Sufficiency of "the Spirit's Teaching." But not being ſufficiently upon his guard in converſation, he laid himſelf open to the Informers, by whoſe means he was cited into the Spiritual Courts, and excommunicated; upon this he abſconded, but being at laſt taken, he was ſhut up in cloſe priſon where he died. His friends would have buried him in Shoreditch Church Yard, but being excommunicated the Officers of the Pariſh would not admit it, ſo they buried him in a piece of ground at Anniſeed Clear, where many of his Congregation were buried after him.

Mr. More.

Upon Mr. Howe's death the little Church was forced to take up with a Lay-man, Mr. Stephen More, a Citizen of London

London, of good natural parts, and of conſiderable ſubſtance in the World; he had been their Deacon for ſome years, and in the preſent exigency accepted of the paſtoral Office, to the apparent hazard of his Eſtate and Liberty. But the face of Affairs beginning now to change, this poor Congregation, which had ſubſiſted almoſt by a Miracle for above twenty four years, ſhifting from place to place, to avoid the notice of the Publick, ventur'd to open their Doors in Dead Man's Place, in Southwark, Jan. 18th, 1640-1. Mr. Fuller calls them a Congregation of Anabaptiſts, who were met together to the number of eighty; but by their Journal or Church Book, an Abſtract of which is now before me, it appears to be Mr. More's Congregation of Independants, who being aſſembled in Dead Man's Place on the Lord's Day, were diſturbed by the Marſhal of the King's-Bench, and moſt of them committed to the Clink priſon. Next Morning ſix or ſeven of the Men were carried before the Houſe of Lords, and charged with denying the King's Supremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters, and with preaching in ſeparate Congregations, contrary to the Statute of the 35th of Eliz. The latter they confeſſed, and as to the former, they declared to the Houſe, "That "they could acknowledge no other head of the Church but "Chriſt; that they apprehended no Prince on earth had "power to make laws to bind the conſcience; and that "ſuch laws as were contrary to the laws of God, ought not "to be obeyed; but that they diſowned all foreign power "and juriſdiction." Such a declaration a twelvemonth ago would have coſt them their Ears; but the Houſe, inſtead of remitting them to the eccleſiaſtical Courts, diſmiſſed them with a gentle Reprimand, and three or four of the Members came out of curioſity to their Aſſembly next Lord's-day, to hear their Miniſter preach, and ſee him adminiſter the Sacrament, and were ſo well ſatisfied, that they contributed to their collection for the poor.

King Charles I. 1640.

They appear in publick.

To return to the Parliament. It has been obſerved, that one of their Reſolutions at firſt ſitting down, was to reduce the powers of the Spiritual Courts. The old Popiſh Canons, which were the laws by which they proceeded (as far as they had nor been repealed by particular Statutes) were ſuch a labyrinth, that when the Subject was got into the Commons he knew not how to defend himſelf, nor which way to get out. The Kings of England had always declined a reformation of the eccleſiaſtical Laws, tho' a plan had been laid before them ever ſince the Reign of King Edward VI.

Votes of Parliament againſt Innovations.

But

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But the grievance was now become insufferable, by the numbers of illegal imprisonments, deprivations, and fines levied upon the subject in the late times, for crimes not actionable in the Courts of Westminster Hall; it was necessary therefore to bring the affairs of the Church to a parliamentary standard, but till this could be accomplished by a new law, all that could be done was to vote down the late innovations, which had very little effect; and therefore on the 23d of January they ordered commissioners to be sent into all counties, to demolish and remove out of Churches and Chapels, all "images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and other monuments and "relicts of Idolatry, agreeably to the injunctions of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; but how far, and upon what emergent occasions, the House of Commons, who are but one third of the legislature, may lawfully appoint Commissioners to put the laws in execution, without the concurrence of the other two, I must leave with the reader.

Votes against Subscriptions of the University.

The university of Cambridge having complained of the oaths and subscriptions imposed upon young students at their matriculation, as, "subscribing to the Book of Common "Prayer, and to the thirty nine articles," the House of Commons voted, "That the statute made twenty seven "years ago in the University of Cambridge, imposing upon "young scholars a subscription, according to the thirty sixth "canon of 1603. is against law, and the liberty of the subject, "and ought not to be imposed upon any students or gra-"duates whatsoever." About five months forwards they passed the same resolution for Oxford, which was not unreasonable, because the Universities had not an unlimited power, by the thirty sixth Canon, to call upon all their Students to subscribe, but only upon such lecturers or readers of divinity whom they had a power of licensing; and to this I conceive the last words of the Canon refer; "But if either of the U-"niversities offend therein, we leave them to the danger "of the law and his Majesty's censure.

Design of their Votes.

And it ought to be remember'd, That all the proceedings of the House of Commons this year, in punishing delinquents; and all their votes and resolutions about the circumstances of publick worship, had no other view, than the cutting off those illegal additions and innovations, which the iniquity of the late times had introduced, and reducing the discipline of the Church to the standard of statute Law. No man was punished for acting according to law; but the displeasure

displeasure of the house ran high against those, who in their publick ministrations, or in their ecclesiastical Courts, had bound those things upon the subject which were either contrary to the laws of the land, or which the laws had taken no notice of. King Charles I. 1640.

CHAP. VIII.

The Antiquity of Liturgies, and of the Episcopal Order, debated between Bishop Hall and Smectymnuus. Petitions for and against the Hierarchy. Root and Branch Petition. The Ministers petition for Reformation. Speeches upon the petitions. Proceedings against Papists.

THE debates in the House of Commons about the English liturgy and hierarchy, engaged the attention of the whole nation, and revived the controversy without doors. The press being open great numbers of anonymous Pamphlets appeared against the establishment, not without indecent and severe language, under these and the like titles; "Prelatical Episcopacy not from the Apostles. Lord Bishops "not the Lord's Bishops. Short View of the Prelatical "Church of England. A Comparison between the Liturgy and the Mass Book. Service Book no better than a "Mess of Pottage, &c." Lord Brook attacked the order of Bishops in a treatise of the nature of episcopacy, wherein he reflects, in an ungenerous manner, upon the low pedigree of the present Bench, as if nothing but a noble descent could qualify men to sit among the Peers. Several of the Bishops vindicated their pedigree and descent, as Bishop Williams, Moreton, Curle, Cook, Owen, &c. and Archbishop Usher defended the order, in a treatise, entitled, "The apostolical institution of Episcopacy;" but then, by a Bishop, his Lordship understood no more, than a stated president over an assembly of Presbyters, which the Puritans of these times were willing to admit. But the most celebrated writer on the side of the establishment, was the learned and pious Bishop Hall, who at the request of Archbishop Laud had published a treatise, entitled "Episcopacy of divine right," as has been related. This Reverend Prelate, upon the gathering of the present storm, appeared a second time in its defence, in an humble remonstrance to the high Court of Parliament; and some time

Pamphlets for and against Episcopacy.

Bp. Hall's Divine Right of Episcopacy.

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time after, in a defence of that remonſtrance, in vindication of the antiquity of liturgies, and of dioceſan epiſcopacy.

Anſwer'd by Smectymnuus.

The Biſhop's remonſtrance was anſwered by a celebrated treatiſe, under the title of Smectymnuus, a fictitious word, made up of the initial letters of the names of the authors (viz.) Stephen Marſhal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurſtow. When the Biſhop had replied to their book, theſe Reverend Divines publiſhed "a vindication of their Anſwer to the humble remonſtrance;" which being an appeal to the legiſlature on both ſides, may be ſuppoſed to contain the merits of the controverſy, and will therefore deſerve the reader's attention.

The debate was upon theſe two heads;

Abſtract of the controverſy upon Antiquity of Liturgies. Bp. Hall.

I. Of the antiquity of liturgies, or forms of Prayer.
II. Of the apoſtolical inſtitution of dioceſan Epiſcopacy.

The Biſhop begins with liturgies, by which he underſtands, "Certain preſcribed and limited forms of Prayer, "compoſed for the publick ſervice of the Church, and ap- "pointed to be read at all times of publick worſhip". The antiquity of theſe, his lordſhip derives down from Moſes, by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion to the preſent time. "God's "people, ſays he, ever ſince Moſes's day, conſtantly prac- "tiſed a ſet form, and put it over to the times of the Goſ- "pel. Our bleſſed Saviour, and his gracious forerunner, "taught a direct form of prayer. When Peter and John went "up to the Temple at the ninth hour of prayer, we know "the Prayer wherein they joined was not of an extempore "and ſudden conception, but of a regular preſcription; "and the evangelical Church, ever ſince, thought it could "never better improve her peace and happineſs, than in "compoſing thoſe religious models of invocation and "thankgiving, which they have traduced unto us, as the "liturgies of St. James, Baſil, and Chryſoſtom, and which, "though in ſome places corrupted, ſerve to prove the thing "itſelf."

Smectymnuus for Liberty of Prayer.

Smectymnuus replies, That if there had been any liturgies in the times of the firſt and moſt venerable antiquity, the great inquirers after them would have produc'd them to the world before this time; but that there were none in the Chriſtian Church is evident from Tertullian, in his Apol. cap. 30. where he ſays, the Chriſtians of thoſe times, in their publick aſſemblies, pray'd "ſine monitore quia de pe-

"ctore;

"ſtore; without any prompter but their own hearts." And in his treatiſe of prayer he adds, There are ſome things to be aſked according to the occaſions of every man. St. Auſtin ſays the ſame thing, Ep. 121. It is free to aſk the ſame things that are deſired in the Lord's Prayer, Aliis atque aliis verbis, ſometimes in one manner of expreſſion, and ſometimes in another. And before this Juſtin Martyr, in his apology ſays, ὁ προεστὼς, the Preſident, or he that inſtructed the people, prayed according to his ability, or as well as he could. Nor was this liberty of prayer taken away till the times when the Arian and Pelagian hereſies invaded the Church; it was then firſt ordained, that none ſhould pray "Pro arbitrio, ſed ſemper eaſdem preces; that they "ſhould not uſe the liberty which they had hitherto practi-"ſed, but ſhould always keep to one form of Prayer," Concil Laod. can. 18th. But ſtill this was a form of their own compoſing, as appears by a canon of the council of Carthage, Anno 397. which gives this reaſon for it, "Ut nemo in pre-"cibus vel patrem, pro filio, vel filium, pro patre nominet, "& cum altari adſiſtitur ſemper ad patrem dirigatur ora-"tio; & quicunque ſibi preces aliunde deſcribit, non iis "utatur niſi prius eas cum fratribus inſtructioribus contule-"rit, i. e. That none in their prayers might miſtake "the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father; and "that when they aſſiſt at the altar, prayer might be always "directed to the Father. And whoſoever compoſes any dif-"ferent forms, let him not make uſe of them, till he has firſt "conſulted with his more learned brethren." It appears from hence, that there was no uniform preſcribed liturgy at this time in the Church, but that the more ignorant prieſts might make uſe of forms of their own compoſing, provided they conſulted their more learned brethren; but at length it was ordained at the council of Milan, Anno 416. that none ſhould uſe ſet forms of prayer, but ſuch as were approved in a ſynod. They go on to tranſcribe from Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian, the manner of publick worſhip in their times, which was this; firſt, the ſcriptures were read, after reading followed an exhortation to the practice and imitation of what was read, then all roſe up and joined in prayer, after this they went to the Sacrament, in the beginning whereof the preſident of the aſſembly poured out prayers and thankſgivings, according to his ability, and the people ſaid Amen; then followed the diſtribution of the elements, and a collection of alms; this was Juſtin Martyr's liturgy or ſervice, and Tertullian's is the

King Charles I. 1640.

Primitive Manner of Worſhip.

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ſame, only he mentions their beginning with Prayer before reading the Scriptures and their Love Feaſts, which alſo began and ended with prayer, and were celebrated with ſinging of Pſalms. The Smectymnuans admit, that our bleſſed Saviour taught his Diſciples a form of prayer, but deny that he deſigned to confine them to the uſe of thoſe Words only, nor did the primitive Church ſo underſtand it, as has been proved from St. Auſtin. The pretended Liturgy of St. James, Baſil, and St. Chryſoſtom, are of little Weight in this argument, as being allowed by the Biſhop, and the moſt learned criticks, both Proteſtants and Papiſts, to be full of forgeries and ſpurious inſertions. Upon the whole therefore, they challenge his Lordſhip to produce any one genuine Liturgy, uſed in the Chriſtian Church, for three hundred years after Chriſt *.

Bp. Hall's Commendation of the Engliſh Liturgy.

From the antiquity of Liturgies in general, the Biſhop deſcends to a more particular commendation of that which is eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, as that it was drawn up by wiſe and good men with great deliberation; that it had been ſealed with the blood of Martyrs; and was ſelected out of ancient models, not Roman but Chriſtian.

Hiſt. Ref. Part 2d. p. 72.

* Biſhop Burnet ſays, That it was in the fourth Century that the Liturgies of St. James, St. Baſil, &c. were firſt mentioned; that the Council of Laodicea appointed the ſame prayers to be uſed Mornings and Evenings, but that theſe Forms were left to the diſcretion of every Biſhop; nor was it made the Subject of any publick Conſultation till St. Auſtin's time, when in their dealing with Hereticks they found they took advantage from ſome of the Prayers that were in ſome Churches; upon which it was ordered, that there ſhould be no publick Prayers uſed but by common advice. Formerly, (ſays the Biſhop) the Worſhip of God was a pure and ſimple thing, and ſo it continued, till Superſtition had ſo infected the Church, that thoſe Forms were thought too naked, unleſs they were put under more artificial rules, and dreſſed up with much Ceremony. In every age there were notable Additions made, and all the Writers almoſt in the eighth and ninth Centuries employed their fancies to find out Myſtical Significations for every Rite that was then uſed, till at length there were ſo many Miſſals, Breviaries, Rituals, Pontificals, Pontoiſes, Pies, Graduals, Antiphonals, Pſalteries, Hours, and a great many more, that the underſtanding how to officiate was become ſo hard a piece of the trade, that it was not to be learned without long practice.

In

In anſwer to which theſe Divines appeal to the Proclamation of King Edward VI. wherein the original of it is publiſhed to the World. The Statute mentions four different forms then in uſe, out of which, an uniform office was to be collected, (viz.) the Uſe of Sarum, of Bangor, of York, and of Lincoln; all which were Roman rather than Chriſtian; they admit his Lordſhip's other encomiums of the Engliſh Liturgy, but affirm, that it was ſtill imperfect, and in many places offenſive to tender conſciences. King Charles I. 1640. Smectymnuus's Reply.

The good Biſhop after all, ſeems willing to compromiſe the difference about prayer; "Far be it from me (ſays his "Lordſhip) to diſhearten any good Chriſtian from the uſe "of conceived prayer in his private Devotions, and upon "occaſion alſo in the publick. I would hate to be guilty "of pouring ſo much water upon the ſpirit, to which I "ſhall gladly add oil rather. No, let the full ſoul freely "pour out itſelf in gracious expreſſions of its holy thoughts, "into the boſom of the Almighty; let both the ſudden "flaſhes of our quick ejaculations, and the conſtant flames "of our more fixed conceptions mount up from the altar "of a zealous heart into the throne of Grace; and if "there be ſome ſtops or ſoleciſms, in the fervent utterance "of our private wants, theſe are ſo far from being offenſive, that they are the moſt pleaſing muſick to the ears "of that God, unto whom our prayers come; let them "be broken off with ſobs and ſighs, and incongruities of "our delivery, our good God is no otherways affected to "this imperfect elocution, than an indulgent parent is to "the clipped and broken language of his dear child, which "is more delightful to him than any other ſmooth oratory. "This is not to be ſuppoſed in another, by any man that "hath found the true operations of this grace in himſelf ——— What I have profeſſed concerning conceived prayers, is that which I have ever allowed, ever "practiſed both in private and publick. God is a free "Spirit, and ſo ſhould ours be, in pouring out our voluntary devotions upon all occaſions; nothing hinders, but "that this liberty, and a publick Liturgy ſhould be good "friends, and go hand in hand together; and whoſoever "would forcibly ſeparate them let them bear their own "blame——the over-rigorous preſſing of the Liturgy, to "the juſtling out of preaching, or conceived prayers, was "never intended, either by the Law-makers, or moderate "governors of the Church." If the Biſhops, when in Bp. Hall's Conceſſions about Liberty of prayer. Def. of Remonſtrance.

King Charles I. 1640.

power, had practiſed according to theſe conceſſions, their affairs could not have been brought to ſuch a dangerous criſis as at this time.

Of the Diſtinction between Biſhop and Preſbyter. Bp. Hall.

II. The other point in debate, between the Biſhop and his adverſaries, related to the ſuperior order of Biſhops. And here the controverſy was not about the name, which ſignifies, in the Greek, no more than an Overſeer, but about the office and character; the Smectymnuan Divines contended that a primitive Biſhop was no other than a Parochial Paſtor, or a preaching Preſbyter, without inequality, or any proper rule over his Brethren. His Lordſhip, on the other hand, affirms, that "Biſhops were originally a "diſtinct order from Preſbyters, inſtituted by the Apoſtles "themſelves, and inveſted with the ſole power of ordi-"nation and eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction;" that in this ſenſe they are of Divine Inſtitution, and have continued in the Church by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion to the preſent time. The Biſhop enters upon this argument with unuſual aſſurance, bearing down his adverſaries with a torrent of bold and unguarded expreſſions. His words are theſe, "This Remonſt. p. 21. "holy calling (meaning the order of Biſhops as diſtinct "from Preſbyters) fetches its pedigree from no leſs than "Apoſtolical, and therefore Divine Inſtitution-----Except "all Hiſtories, all Authors fail us, nothing can be more "plain than this; out of them we can and do ſhew, on "whom the Apoſtles of Chriſt laid their hands, with an "acknowledgment, and conveyance of Imparity and Ju-"riſdiction. We ſhew, what Biſhops, ſo ordained, lived "in the times of the Apoſtles, and ſucceeded each other "in their ſeveral charges, under the eyes and hands of the "then living Apoſtles. We ſhew, who immediately ſuc-"ceeded thoſe immediate Succeſſors, in their ſeveral Sees, "throughout all the regions of the Chriſtian Church, and "deduce their uninterrupted Line, through all the follow-"ing ages, to this preſent day; and if there can be "better evidence under heaven for any matter of fact (and "in this cauſe matter of fact ſo derived, evinceth matter "of right) let Epiſcopacy be for ever abandoned out of "God's Church,-----Again, if we do not ſhew out of the "genuine and undeniable writings of thoſe holy Men, "who lived both in the times of the Apoſtles, and ſome "years after them, and converſed with them as their "bleſſed fellow-labourers, a clear and received diſtinction "both of the names and offices of Biſhops, Preſbyters, "and

" and Deacons, as three distinct, subordinate Callings " in God's Church, with an evident Specification of the " duty and charge belonging to each of them; let this " claimed Hierarchy be for ever hooted out of the " Church." King Charles I. 1640.

The Bishop admits that the language of Scripture, Bishops and Presbyters are the same; that there is a plain identity in their denomination, and that we never find these three orders mentioned together, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; but though there be no distinction of names, his Lordship apprehends, that there is a real distinction and Specification of powers; which are, Defence, P. 47.

I. The sole right of ordination.
II. The sole right of Spiritual Jurisdiction.

I. The sole right of Ordination his Lordship proves from the words of St. Paul, 2 Tim. i. 6. " Stir up the Gift of " God which is in thee by the laying on of my hands;" and that this power was never communicated to Presbyters, from the words of St. Jerom, by whom ordination is excepted from the office of a Presbyter: " Quid facit Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter, excepta Ordinatione." And yet (says his Lordship) our English Bishops do not appropriate this power to themselves; " Say, Brethren, I " beseech you after all this noise, what Bishops ever undertook to ordain a Presbyter alone, or without the concurrent imposition of many hands? This is perpetually " and unfailably done by us." Of the right of Ordination by Bishops. Bp. Hall.

The Smectymnuan Divines contend on the other hand, That Bishops and Presbyters were originally the same: That Ordination to the office of a Bishop does not differ from the Ordination of a Presbyter; that there are no powers conveyed to a Bishop which Presbyters are secluded from; nor any qualification required in one more than in the other; that admitting Timothy was a proper Bishop, which they deny, yet that he was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery as well as of St. Paul's, 2 Tim. iv. 14. That the original of the order of Bishops was from the Presbyteries choosing one from among themselves to be a stated president in their assemblies, in the second or third Century; that St. Jerom declares once and again, that in the days of the Apostles, Bishops and Presbyters were the same; that as low as his time they had gained nothing but Ordination; and that St. Chrysostom and Theophylact affirm, Smectymnuus for Ordination by Presbyters.

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affirm, that while the Apoſtles lived, and for ſome ages after, the names of Biſhops and Preſbyters were not diſtinguiſhed. This (ſay they) is the voice of the moſt primitive antiquity *. But the Smectymnuans are amazed at his Lordſhip's aſſertion, that the Biſhops of the Church of England never ordained without Preſbyters; and that this was ſo conſtant a practice, that no inſtance can be produced of its being done without them. "Strange! (ſay they) when "ſome of us have been eye-witneſſes of many ſcores who "have been ordained by a Biſhop in his private Chapel, without the preſence of any Preſbyter, except his domeſtick "Chaplain, who only read prayers. Beſides, the Biſhops "Letters of Orders make no mention of the aſſiſtance of "Preſbyters, but challenge the whole power to themſelves, "as his Lordſhip had done, in his Book entitled, "Epiſcopacy of Divine Right," the fifteenth Section of which "has this Title, "The Power of Ordination is only in "Biſhops."

Whether Preſbyters may ordain without a Biſhop.

But the main point upon which the Biſhop lays the whole ſtreſs of the cauſe is, "Whether Preſbyters may ordain without a Biſhop?" For the proof of this the Smectymnuans produce the Author of the Comment on the Epheſians, which goes under the name of St. Ambroſe, who ſays, that "in Egypt the Preſbyters ordain if the Biſhop be not preſent;" ſo ſaith St. Auguſtine in the ſame Words; and the Chorepiſcopus, who was but a Preſbyter, had power to impoſe hands, and to ordain within his precincts with the Biſhop's Licence; nay further, the Preſbyters of the City of Alexandria, with the Biſhop's leave, might ordain, as appears from Con. Ancyr. Carit. 3. where it is ſaid, "It is not lawful for Chorepiſcopi to ordain Preſbyters or "Deacons; nor the Preſbyters of the City, without the "Biſhop's Letter, in another Pariſh;" which implies, they

* In the Debate of the Houſe on this Head, the Authority of that very ancient Parchment Copy of the Bible in St. James's Library, ſent by Cyrillus Patriarch of Alexandria, to King Charles I. being all written in great Capital Greek Letters, was vouched and aſſerted by Sir Simon D'Ewes, a great antiquary, wherein the Poſtſcript to the Epiſtles to Timothy and Titus are only this, "The firſt to "Timothy, written from Laodicea, to Titus, written from Nico"polis," whence he inferr'd, that the ſtiling of Timothy and Titus firſt Biſhops of Epheſus and Crete, were the ſpurious Additions of ſome Eaſtern Biſhop or Monk, at leaſt five hundred Years after Chriſt. Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 284.

might

might do it with the Biſhop's Letter, or perhaps without it, in their own; and Firmilianus ſays of them that rule in the Church, whom he calls Seniores & Præpoſiti, that is, Preſbyters as well as Biſhops, that they had the power of baptizing, and of laying on of hands in ordaining *. King Charles I. 1640.

II. The

* It may be ſome Satisfaction to the Reader, to ſee the Judgment of other learned Men upon this argument, which has broke the bands of brotherly Love and Charity, between the Church of England and all the foreign Proteſtants that have no Biſhops.

The learned Primate of Ireland, Archbiſhop Uſher, in his letter to Dr. Bernard, ſays, "I have ever declared my opinion to be, that "Epiſcopus & Preſbyter gradu tantum differunt, non Ordine, and "conſequently, that in places where Biſhops can't be had, the Or-"dination by Presbyters ſtands valid; but the Ordination made "by ſuch Presbyters, as have ſevered themſelves from thoſe Bi-"ſhops to whom they have ſworn Canonical Obedience, I can't "excuſe from being Schiſmatical. I think that Churches that have "no Biſhops are defective in their government, yet for the juſtify-"ing my Communion with them (which I do love and honour as "true Members of the Church univerſal,) I do profeſs if I was "in Holland, I ſhould receive the bleſſed Sacrament at the hands "of the Dutch Miniſters, with the like affection as I ſhould from "the hands of the French Miniſters, was I at Charenton." The ſame moſt Reverend Prelate, in his anſwer to Mr. Baxter, ſays, "That the King having asked him at the Iſle of Wight, whether "he found in Antiquity, That "Presbyters alone ordained any?" "He replied yes, and that he could ſhew his Majeſty more, "even where Presbyters alone ſucceſſively ordained Biſhops, and "inſtanced in Hierom's Words, Epiſt. ad Evagrium, of the Preſ-"byters of Alexandria, chooſing and making their own Biſhops "from the Days of Mark, till Heraclus and Dionyſius." Baxter's Life, p. 206.

This was the conſtant Senſe of our firſt Reformers, Cranmer, Pilkington, Jewel, Grindal, Whitgift, &c. and even of Bancroft himſelf; for when Dr. Andrews Biſhop of Ely, moved, That the Scots Biſhops elect might firſt be ordained Presbyters, in the year 1610. Bancroft replied, there was no need of it, ſince Ordination by Presbyters was valid; upon which the ſaid Biſhop concurred in their conſecration. And yet lower when the Archbiſhop of Spalato was in England, he deſired Biſhop Moreton to re-ordain a Perſon that had been ordained beyond Sea, that he might be more capable of preferment; to which the Biſhop replied, that it could not be done, but to the ſcandal of the reformed Churches, wherein he would have no hand. The ſame reverend Prelate adds, in his Apol. Cathol. that to ordain was the Jus Antiquum of Presbyters. To theſe may be added the Teſtimony of Biſhop Burnet, whoſe Words are theſe, "As for the notion of diſtinct

King Charles I. 1640.

Of the right of Jurisdiction. Bp. Hall.

II. The other Branch of Power annexed to the Episcopal Office, "Is the sole Right of Spiritual Jurisdiction; this the Bishop seems in some sort to disclaim; "Who "ever (says he) challenged a sole Jurisdiction? We willing-"ly grant, that Presbyters have, and ought to have, a "Jurisdiction within their own charge; and that in all "great affairs of the Church they ought to be consulted. "We admit, that Bishops of old had their Ecclesiastical "Council of Presbyters; and we still have the same in our "Deans and Chapters; but we say, that the Superiority "of Jurisdiction is so in the Bishop, that Presbyters may "not exercise it without him, and that the exercise of ex-"ternal Jurisdiction is derived from, by, and under him, "to those who exercise it within his Diocese." This his Lordship proves from several testimonies out of the Fathers.

Smectymnuus for the Jurisdiction of Presbyters.

The Smectymnuans agree with his Lordship, that in the ancient Church, Bishops could do nothing without the consent of the Clergy; nor in cases of Excommunication and absolution without the allowance of the whole body of the Church to which the Delinquent belonged, as appears from the testimonies of Tertullian and St. Cyprian; but they aver, upon their certain knowledge, that our English Bishops have exercised several parts of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction without their Presbyters. And further (say they) where, in all antiquity, do we meet with such Delegates, as Lay-Chancellors, Commissaries, and others, as never received imposition of hands? These Offices were not known in those times; nor can any instance be produced of Laity or Clergy that had them, for above four hundred years after Christ.

Upon the whole, allowing that in the third or fourth Century, Bishops were a distinct Order from Presbyters, yet, say these Divines, our modern Bishops of the Church of England differ very widely from them; the primitive Bishops were elected by a free Suffrage of the Presbyters, but ours by a Conge d'Eslire from the King. They did not proceed against Criminals but with the consent of their Presbyters, and upon the testimony of several Witnesses; whereas ours proceed by an Oath Ex Officio, by

"Offices of Bishop and Presbyter, I confess, 'tis not so clear to "me, and therefore, since I look upon the Sacramental Actions, "as the highest of sacred Performances, I cannot but acknow-"ledge those who are empowered for them, must be of the "highest Office in the Church." Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 336.

which

which men are obliged to accuſe themſelves; the Primitive Biſhops had no lordly titles and dignities, no Lay-Chancellors, Commiſſaries and other Officials, nor did they engage in ſecular affairs, &c. After ſeveral compariſons of this kind they recapitulate the late ſeverities of the Biſhops in their eccleſiaſtical Courts; and conclude with a humble Petition to the high Court of Parliament, "That "if Epiſcopacy be retained in the Church, it may be re- "duced to its primitive ſimplicity; and if they muſt have "a Liturgy, that there may be a conſultation of Divines "to alter and reform the preſent; and that even then, it "may not be impoſed upon the Clergy, but left to the "diſcretion of the Miniſter, how much of it to read when "there is a Sermon."

King Charles I. 1640.

By this repreſentation it appears that the Controverſy between theſe Divines might have been compromiſed, if the reſt of the Clergy had been of the ſame ſpirit and temper with Biſhop Hall; but the Court Biſhops would abate nothing as long as the Crown could ſupport them. And as the Parliament encreaſed in power, the Puritan Divines ſtiffened in their demands, till all methods of an accommodation were impracticable.

Remarks.

While this Controverſy was debated at home, Letters were ſent from both ſides to obtain the judgment of foreign Divines, but moſt of them were ſo wiſe as to be ſilent. Dr. Plume, in the Life of Biſhop Hacket, writes, that Blondel, Voſſius, Hornbeck, and Salmaſius, were ſent to by the King's Friends in vain; Blondel writ a very learned Treatiſe on the Puritan Side; but Deodate from Geneva, and Amyraldus from France, wiſhed an accommodation, and (as Plume ſays) were for Epiſcopal Government. The Papiſts triumphed, and had raiſed expectations from theſe differences, as appears by a Letter of T. White, a Roman Catholick, to the Lord Viſcount Gage at Dublin, dated Feb. 12, 1639, in which are theſe words; "We are in a "fair way to aſſwage Hereſy and her Epiſcopacy; for "Exeter's Book has done more for the Catholicks, than "they could have done themſelves, he having written, "that Epiſcopacy in office and juriſdiction is abſolutely Jure "Divino, (which was the old quarrel between our Biſhops "and King Henry VIII. during his Hereſy) which Book "does not a little trouble our adverſaries, who declare this "Tenet of Exeter's to be contrary to the Laws of this "Land——All is like to proſper here, ſo I hope with you "there." But 'tis certain, the Body of foreign Proteſtants were

Judgment of foreign Divines.

Foxes and Firebrands, Part 2d. p. 81.

King Charles I. 1640.

were againſt the Biſhops for this reaſon among others, becauſe they had diſowned their Ordinations; and could it be ſuppoſed, they ſhould compliment away the validity of their Adminiſtrations to a ſet of men that had diſowned their Communion, and turned the French and Dutch Congregations out of the Land? No, they wiſhed they might be humbled by the Parliament. Lord Clarendon adds, "They "were glad of an occaſion to publiſh their reſentments "againſt the Church, and to enter into the ſame conſpi- "racy againſt the Crown, without which they could have "done little hurt.

Numbers of Hands to Petitions, for and againſt the Hierarchy.

But the cauſe of the Hierarchy being to be decided at another Tribunal, no applications were wanting on either ſide to make friends in the Parliament Houſe, and to get hands to petitions. The induſtry of the ſeveral parties on this occaſion, is almoſt incredible; but it being the faſhion of theſe times to judge of the ſenſe of the Nation this way, meſſengers were ſent all over England to promote the work. Lord Clarendon, and after him Dr. Nalſon, and others of that party complain of great Diſingenuity on the ſide of the Puritans: His Lordſhip ſays, "That the paper which "contained the Miniſters Petition was filled with a very "few hands, but that many other ſheets were annexed, "for the reception of numbers that gave credit to the un- "dertaking; but that when their names were ſubſcribed, "the petition itſelf was cut off, and a new one, of a very "different nature, annexed to the long liſt of names; and "when ſome of the Miniſters complained to the Reverend "Mr. Marſhall, with whom the petition was lodged, that "they never ſaw the petition to which their hands were an- "nexed, but had ſigned another againſt the Canons, Mr. "Marſhall is ſaid to reply, that it was thought fit by thoſe "that underſtood buſineſs better than they; that the lat- "ter petition ſhould be rather preferred than the former." This is a charge of a very high nature, and ought to be well ſupported: If it had been true, why did they not complain to the Committee which the Houſe of Commons appointed to enquire into the irregular methods of procuring Hands to Petitions? His Lordſhip anſwers, that "They "were prevailed with to ſit ſtill and paſs it by;" for which we have only his Lordſhip's word, nothing of this kind being to be found in Ruſhworth, Whitlock, or any diſintereſted Writer of thoſe times.

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 204.

The Folly of it.

It cannot be denied, but there was a great deal of art and perſuaſion uſed to get hands to the Petitions on both ſides.

ſides, and many ſubſcribed their names that were not capable to judge of the Merits of the Cauſe. The Petitions againſt the Hierarchy were of two ſorts; ſome deſiring that the whole Fabrick might be deſtroyed; of theſe, the chief was the Root and Branch Petition, ſigned by the hands of about fifteen thouſand Citizens and inhabitants of London. Others petitioned only for a Reformation of the Hierarchy; of theſe, the chief was the Miniſters Petition, ſigned with the names of ſeven hundred beneficed Clergymen, and followed by others with an incredible number of hands, from Kent, Glouceſterſhire, Lancaſhire, Nottingham, and other Counties. The Petitions in favour of the preſent Eſtabliſhment were not leſs numerous; for within the compaſs of this and the next year, there were preſented to the King and Houſe of Lords, no leſs than nineteen, from the two Univerſities, from Wales, Lancaſhire, Staffordſhire, and other Counties, ſubſcribed with about one hundred thouſand Hands, whereof, according to Dr. Walker, ſix thouſand were Nobility, Gentry, and dignified Clergy. One would think, by this account, that the whole Nation had been with them; but can it be ſuppoſed, the honeſt Freeholders of Lancaſhire and Wales could be proper judges of ſuch Allegations in their Petitions as theſe?----That there can be no Church without Biſhops----that no Ordination was ever performed without Biſhops;---- that without Biſhops there can be no Preſbyters, and by conſequence no Conſecration of the Lord's Supper----that it has never been cuſtomary for Preſbyters to lay hands upon Biſhops, from whence the diſparity of their function is evident----that a Biſhop has a character that cannot be communicated but by one of the ſame Diſtinction---- and, that the Church has been governed by Biſhops, without interruption, for fifteen hundred years. Theſe are topicks fit to be debated in a Synod of learned Divines, but the tacking a hundred thouſand names of Freeholders on either ſide, could prove no more, than that the honeſt countrymen acted too much by an implicit faith in their Clergy. Loud complaints being made to the Parliament of unfair methods of getting names to Petitions, the Houſe appointed a Committee to examine into the matter; but there being great faults (as I apprehend) on both ſides, the affair was dropt.

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The Root and Branch Petition was preſented to the Houſe Decemb. 11, 1640, by Alderman Pennington, and others, in the name of his Majeſty's Subjects in and about the City of London, and adjacent counties. It was thought to be the

Root and Branch Petition for taking away the whole Hierarchy.

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the contrivance of the Scots Commiſſioners, who were become very popular at this time. The Petition ſheweth, "That whereas the government of Archbiſhops, and Lord "Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons, &c. with their Courts, "and Miniſtrations in them, have proved prejudicial, and "very dangerous to the Church and Commonwealth; "They themſelves having formerly held, that they have "their juriſdiction or power of human authority, till of "late they have claimed their Calling immediately from "Chriſt, which is againſt the laws of this Kingdom, and "derogatory to his Majeſty's State Royal. And whereas "the ſaid Government is found, by woful experience, to "be a main cauſe and occaſion of many foul evils, preſ-"ſures, and grievances of a very high nature, to his Ma-"jeſty's Subjects, in their conſciences, liberties, and eſtates, "as in a ſchedule of particulars hereunto annexed, may "in part appear,

"We therefore moſt humbly pray and beſeech this "honourable Aſſembly, the premiſes conſidered, that the "ſaid Government, with all its dependancies, Roots and "Branches, may be aboliſhed, and all Laws in their be-"half made void, and that the government, according to "God's Word, may be rightly placed among us; and "we, your humble Supplicants, as in duty bound, ſhall "ever pray, &c."

The Schedule annexed to the Petition contained twenty eight Grievances and Preſſures, the chief of which were, the Biſhops ſuſpending and depriving Miniſters for non-conformity to certain Rites and Ceremonies; their diſcountenancing preaching; their claim of Jure Divino; their adminiſtring the Oath Ex Officio; the exorbitant power of the High Commiſſion, with the other innovations already mentioned.

The friends of the Eſtabliſhment oppoſed this Petition, with one of their own, in favour of the Hierarchy, in the following words.

To the honourable the Knights, Citizens, &c. the humble Petition of, &c.

Humbly ſheweth,

Counter Petitions for continuing the Hierarchy.

"THAT whereas of late, a Petition ſubſcribed by "many, who pretend to be Inhabitants of this city, "hath been delivered, received, and read in this honourable "Houſe, againſt the ancient, preſent, and by law eſta-"bliſhed,

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" bliſhed, Government of the Church; and that not ſo " much for the reformation of Biſhops, as for the utter ſub- " verſion and extirpation of Epiſcopacy itſelf; we whoſe " names are underwritten, to ſhew there be many, and " thoſe of the better ſort of the inhabitants of this city, " otherwiſe, and better minded, do humbly repreſent unto " this honourable Houſe, theſe Conſiderations following,

1. " That Epiſcopacy is as ancient as Chriſtianity itſelf " in this Kingdom.

2. " That Biſhops were the chief inſtruments in the re- " formation of the Church againſt Popery, and afterwards " the moſt emsnent Martyrs for the Proteſtant Religion, " and ſince, the beſt and ableſt champions for the de- " fence of it.

3. " That ſince the Reformation the times have been " very peaceable, happy, and glorious, notwithſtanding " the Epiſcopal Government in the Church, and there- " fore that this Government can be no cauſe of our un- " happineſs.

4. " We conceive, that not only many learned, but divers " other godly perſons, would be much ſcandalized, and " troubled in conſcience, if the Government of Epiſco- " pacy, conceived by them to be an Apoſtolical Inſtitution, " were altered; and ſince there is ſo much care taken, " that no man ſhould be offended in the leaſt Ceremony, " we hope there will be ſome, that ſuch men's Conſciences " may not be preſſed upon in a matter of an higher na- " ture and conſequence, eſpecially conſidering, that this " Government by Epiſcopacy is not only lawful, and conve- " nient for edification, but likewiſe ſuitable to, and agree- " able with the civil policy and government of this State.

5. " That this Government is lawful, it appears by the " immediate, univerſal, and conſtant practice of all the " Chriſtian World, grounded upon Scripture, from the " Apoſtles time to this laſt Age, for above fifteen hundred " years together, it being utterly incredible, if not impoſ- " ſible, that the whole Church for ſo long a time, ſhould " not diſcover, by God's Word, this Government to be " unlawful, if it had been ſo; to which may be added, that " the moſt learned Proteſtants, even in thoſe very Churches, " which now are not governed by Biſhops, do not only " hold the government by Epiſcopacy to be lawful, but " wiſh, that they themſelves might enjoy it.

" Again, that the Government by Epiſcopacy is not " only lawful, but convenient for edification, or as much, or

" more

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" more conducive to Piety and Devotion than any other, " it appears, becauſe no modeſt Man denies, that the pri- " mitive Times were moſt famous for Piety, Conſtancy, " and Perſeverance in the Faith, notwithſtanding more " frequent, and more cruel Perſecutions than ever have " been ſince, and yet it is confeſſed, that the Church, in " thoſe times was governed by Biſhops.

" Laſtly, That the Government of the Church by Epiſ- " copacy is moſt ſuitable to the form and frame of the " Civil Government here in this Kingdom, it appears by " the happy and flouriſhing Union of them both, for ſo long " a time together; whereas no Man can give us an aſſu- " rance how any Church Government beſides this (where- " of we have ſo long experience) will ſuit and agree with " the civil policy of this State. And we conceive it may " be of dangerous conſequence for Men of ſettled fortunes, " to hazard their Eſtates, by making ſo great an altera- " tion, and venturing upon a new form of Government, " whereof neither we nor our Anceſtors have had any " trial or experience, eſpecially conſidering, that thoſe who " would have Epiſcopacy to be aboliſhed, have not yet " agreed, nor (as we are verily perſuaded) ever will or can " agree upon any other common form of Government to " ſucceed in the room of it; as appears by the many dif- " ferent and contrary Draughts and Platforms they have " made and publiſhed, according to the ſeveral humours and " Sects of thoſe that made them; whereas, ſeeing every " great alteration in a Church or State muſt needs be dan- " gerous, it is juſt and reaſonable, that whoſoever would " introduce a new Form inſtead of an old one, ſhould " be obliged to demonſtrate and make it evidently appear " aforehand, that the Government he would introduce is " proportionably ſo much better than that he would abo- " liſh, as may recompenſe the Loſs we may ſuſtain, and " may be worthy of the hazard we muſt run in aboliſhing " the one, and in introducing and ſettling of the other; " but this we are confident can never be done, in regard of " this particular.

" And therefore our humble and earneſt requeſt to at his " Honourable Houſe is, that as well in this conſideration, " as all the aforeſaid, we may ſtill enjoy that Govern- " ment which moſt probably holds its Inſtitution from the " Apoſtles, and moſt certainly, its plantation with our " Chriſtian Faith itſelf in this Kingdom, where it hath

" ever

" ever ſince flouriſhed, and continued for many ages with- King Charles I. 1640.
" out any interruption or alteration; whereby it plainly
" appears, that as it is the moſt excellent Government in
" it ſelf, ſo it is the moſt ſuitable, moſt agreeable, and
" every way moſt proportionable to the civil Conſtitution
" and Temper of this State; and therefore we pray and
" hope, will always be continued and preſerved in it and
" by it, notwithſtanding the abuſes and corruptions which
" in ſo long a tract of time, through the errors or negli-
" gence of Men, have crept into it; which abuſes and
" corruptions being all of them (what, how many ſoever
" they may be) but merely accidental to Epiſcopacy, we
" conceive and hope there may be a reformation of the
" one, without a deſtruction of the other;

" Which is the humble Suit

" of, &c. &c. &c."

A third Petition was preſented to the Houſe, Jan. 23. by ten or twelve Clergymen, in the name of ſeven hundred of their Brethren who had ſigned it, called the Miniſters Petition, praying for a Reformation of certain grievances in the Hierarchy, but not an entire ſubverſion of it; a Schedule of theſe Grievances was annexed, which being referred to the Committee, Mr. Crew reported three following, as proper for the Debate of the Houſe; 1. " The ſecular Employments of the Clergy. 2. The " ſole Power of the Biſhops in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and " particularly in Ordinations and Church Cenſures. 3. The " large Revenues of Deans and Chapters, with the incon- " veniencies that attend the application of them. Miniſters Petition for Reformation of the Hierarchy.

Two days after the delivery of this Petition [Jan. 25.] his Majeſty came to the Houſe, and very unadviſedly interrupted their Debates by the following Speech; ——— The King interpoſes.

" There are ſome Men that more maliciouſly than igno-
" rantly will put no difference between Reformation and
" Alteration of Government: Hence it comes to paſs,
" that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted, and Pe-
" titions in an ill way given in, neither diſputed nor deni-
" ed, againſt the preſent eſtabliſhed Government, in the
" names of divers Counties, with Threatnings againſt the
" Biſhops, that they will make them but cyphers. Now,
" I muſt tell you, that I make a great difference between
" Reformation and Alteration of Government; though I

" am

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" am for the firſt, I cannot give way to the latter. If " ſome of them have over-ſtretched their Power, and en- " croached too much on the temporality, I ſhall not be " unwilling that theſe things ſhould be redreſſed and re- " formed; nay further, if you can ſhew me, that the " Biſhops have ſome temporal Authority inconvenient for " the State, and not neceſſary for the Government of the " Church, and upholding Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, I ſhall not " be unwilling to deſire them to lay it down; but this " muſt not be underſtood that I ſhall any ways conſent that " their Voices in Parliament ſhould be taken away, for in " all the times of my Predeceſſors, ſince the conqueſt and " before, they have enjoyed it, as one of the fundamental " Conſtitutions of the Kingdom." This unhappy method, of the King's coming to the Houſe, and declaring his Reſolutions before-hand, was certainly unparliamentary, and did the Church no Service; nor was there any occaſion for it at this time, the Houſe being in no diſpoſition, as yet, to order a Bill to be brought in for ſubverting the Hierarchy.

In the Months of February and March ſeveral days were appointed for the Debate of theſe Petitions; and when the Bill for the utter extripating the Epiſcopal Order was brought into the Houſe in the Months of May and June, ſeveral warm Speeches were made on both ſides; I will ſet the chief of them before the reader in one view, though they were ſpoken at different times.

Speeches for Root and Branch. Sir H. Vanes's Speech. Nalſon's, p. 276.

Among thoſe who were for Root and Branch, or the total extirpating of Epiſcopacy, were Sir Henry Vane, who ſtood up and argued, " That ſince the Houſe had voted " Epiſcopal Government a great Impediment to the Re- " formation and Growth of Religion, it ought to be " taken away, for it is ſo corrupt in the Foundation (ſays " he) that if we pull it not down, it will fall about the " Ears of thoſe that endeavour it within a few years. This " Government was brought in by Antichriſt, and has let " in all kinds of Superſtition into the Church——It has " been the Inſtrument of diſplacing the moſt godly and " conſcientious Miniſters, of vexing, puniſhing, and ba- " niſhing out of the Kingdom, the moſt religious of all " Sorts and Conditions, that would not comply with their " ſuperſtitious Inventions and Ceremonies. In a word, it " has turned the edge of the Government againſt the very " Life and Power of Godlineſs, and the Favour and Pro- " tection of it, towards all profane, ſcandalous, and ſu-

" perſtitious

" perſtitious Perſons, that would uphold their Party—— " It has divided us from the foreign Proteſtant Churches, " and has done what it could to bind the Nation in perpe- " tual Slavery to themſelves and their ſuperſtitious Inven- " tions, by the late Canons.———Further, this Govern- " ment has been no leſs prejudicial to the Civil Liberties " of our Country, as appears by the Biſhops preaching up " the Doctrine of arbitrary Power, by their encouraging " the late illegal Projects to raiſe Money without Parlia- " ment, by their kindling a War between England and " Scotland, and falling in with the Plots and Combinati- " ons that have been entered into againſt this preſent Par- " liament." Sir Harry concludes from theſe premiſes, " that the Proteſtant Religion muſt always be in danger, " as long as it is in the Hands of ſuch Governors; nor " can there be any hopes of Reformation in the State, " while the Biſhops have Votes in Parliament; " That " the Fruit being ſo bad the Tree muſt be bad." Let us " not then halt between two opinions (ſays he) but with " one Heart and Voice give Glory to God, by complying " with his Providence, and with the Safety and Peace of " the Church and State, which is by paſſing The Root " and Branch Bill."

Serjeant Thomas's Nalſon, p. 211, &c.

Mr. Serjeant Thomas gave the Houſe a long Hiſtorical Narration of the Viciouſneſs and Miſbehaviour of the Biſhops, in the times of Popery; of their treaſonable and rebellious conduct towards their Sovereigns; of their Antipathy to the Laws and Liberties of their Country; of their Ignorance, Pride, and Addictedneſs to the Pomp of this World, to the apparent neglect of their ſpiritual Functions; and of their enmity to all methods of Reformation to this day.

Mr. Bagſhaw's Speech for the Root and Branch Bill.

Mr. Bagſhaw ſtood up to reply to the Objections made againſt aboliſhing the Order of Biſhops.

'Tis aſſerted, ſays he, " That it is of Divine Right," " which is contrary to the Statute 37 of Henry VIII. " cap. 17, which ſays, they have their Epiſcopal Au- " thority, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction what- " ſoever, ſolely and only, by and from, and under the " King.

" 'Tis argued, " That Epiſcopacy is inſeparable from " the Crown," and therefore it is commonly ſaid, " No " Biſhop, no King; which is very ridiculous, becauſe the " Kings of England were long before Biſhops and may ſtill " depoſe them.

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"'Tis ſaid, That Epiſcopacy is a third State in Parliament; but this I deny, for the three States are the King, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons. Kings of England have held ſeveral Parliaments without Biſhops; King Edward I. in the 24th of his Reign, held a Parliament Excluſo Clero; and in the Parliament of the 7th Richard II. there is mention made of the conſent of the Lords Temporal and the Commons, but not a word of the Clergy; ſince therefore the preſent Hierarchy was of mere human Inſtitution, and had been found a very great Grievance to the Subject, he enclined to the Root and Branch Petition."

And Mr. White's.

Mr. White entered more fully on the merits of the cauſe, and conſidered the preſent Biſhops of the Church with regard to their Baronies, their Temporalities, and their Spiritualities.

"The former (ſays he) are merely of the Kings Favour, and began in this Kingdom the 4th of William the Conqueror, by virtue whereof they have had place in the Houſe of Peers in Parliament; but in the 7th Henry VIII. (1846. Kel.) it was reſolved by all the Judges of England, that the King may hold his Parliament by himſelf, his Temporal Lords and Commons, without any Biſhop, for a Biſhop has not any place in Parliament by reaſon of his Spiritualities, but merely by reaſon of his Barony, and accordingly Acts of Parliament have been without them, as 2 Richard II. cap. 3. and at other times; nor were they ever called Spiritual Lords in our Statutes, till 16 Richard II. cap. 1.

"By the Biſhop's Spiritualities I mean thoſe ſpiritual Powers which raiſe him above the Order of a Preſbyter; and here I conſider, Firſt, His Authority over Preſbyters, by the Oath of Canonical Obedience, by which he may command them to collect Tenths granted in Convocation, according to 20 Henry VI. cap. 13. Secondly, His Office, which is partly judicial, and partly miniſterial; by the former, he judges in his Courts of all matters Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual within his Dioceſe, and of the fitneſs of ſuch as are preſented to him to be inſtituted into Benefices; by the latter he is to ſacred Places dedicated to Divine Service. 9 Henry VI. cap. 17. he is to provide for officiating of Cures in the Avoidance of Churches, on neglect of the Patron's preſenting thereunto. He is to certify Loyal Matrimony, general Baſtardy,

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" ſtardy, and Excommunication. He is to execute Judg-
" ments given in " Quare impedit," upon the Writ " ad
" admittendum Clericum." He is to attend upon Trials
" for Life, to report the ſufficiency or inſufficiency of ſuch
" as demand Clergy; and laſtly, he is to ordain Deacons
" and Preſbyters.

" Now all theſe being given to thoſe Biſhops " Jure hu-
" mano, ſays Mr. White, I conceive, may, for juſt rea-
" ſons, be taken away. He affirms, that according to
" Scripture, a Biſhop and Preſbyter is one and the
" ſame Perſon; for, (1.) Their Duties are menti-
" oned as the ſame, the Biſhop being to teach and rule
" his Church, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 5. and the Preſbyter be-
" ing to do the very ſame, 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. (2.) Preſby-
" ters in Scripture are ſaid to be Biſhops of the Holy
" Ghoſt, Acts xx. 28. And St. Paul charges the Preſ-
" byters of Epheſus to take heed to the Flock over
" which the Holy Ghoſt had made them Biſhops, or Over-
" ſeers; and other Biſhops the Holy Ghoſt never made.
" (3.) Among the Enumeration of Church-Officers, Eph.
" iv. 11. whereof the three former were extraordinary,
" and are ceaſed, there remains only the Paſtor and Teach-
" er, which is the very ſame with the Preſbyter. The
" Biſhop, as he is more than this is no Officer given by
" God; and it is an encroachment upon the Kingly Office
" of Chriſt, to admit other Officers into the Church than he
" himſelf has appointed.

" Seeing then Epiſcopacy may be taken away in all,
" wherein it exceeds the Preſbyters Office, which is
" certainly Jure Divino, we ought to reſtore the Preſ-
" byters to their Rights which the Biſhops have taken from
" them, as particularly to the Right of Ordination, Ex-
" communication, and a Liberty to preach the whole Coun-
" ſel of God, without reſtraint from a Biſhop; they ſhould
" have their ſhare in the Diſcipline and Government of
" the Church; and, in a word, all ſuperiority of order be-
" tween Biſhops and Preſbyters ſhould be taken away."
Mr. White is further of opinion, that the Biſhops ſhould be deprived of their Baronies, and all intermeddling with Civil Affairs: That Inſtitution and Induction, the Juriſdiction of Tithes, Cauſes Matrimonial and Teſtamentary, and other Uſurpations of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts ſhould be reſtored to the Civil Judicature, and be determined by the Laws of the Land.

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Speeches for the Miniſters Petition.

In order to take off the force of theſe arguments, in favour of the Root and Branch Petition, the friends of the Hierarchy ſaid, that the very beſt things might be corrupted; that to take away the order of Biſhops was to change the whole conſtitution for they knew not what; they therefore urged the Miniſters Petition for Reformation, and declaimed with vehemence againſt the corruptions of the late times.

Lord Falkland, who in the judgment of the noble Hiſtorian, was the moſt extraordinary perſon of his age, ſtood up and ſaid;

Ld Falkland's Speech for Reformation of the Hierarchy. Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 184.

Mr. Speaker,

"HE is a great ſtranger in our Iſrael, who knows not "that this Kingdom has long laboured under many "and great oppreſſions, both in Religion and Liberty; and "that a principal cauſe of both has been ſome Biſhops and "their adherents, who under pretence of uniformity have "brought in ſuperſtition and ſcandal, under the title of "decency; who have defiled our Churches by adorning "them, and ſlacken'd the ſtrictneſs of that union that was "between us and thoſe of our Religion beyond the ſea; an "action both unpolitick and ungodly.

"They have been leſs eager on thoſe who damn our "Church, than on thoſe who on weak conſcience, and, "perhaps, as weak reaſon, only abſtain from it. Nay, it "has been more dangerous for Men to go to a neighbouring pariſh, when they had no Sermon in their own, than "to be obſtinate and perpetual Recuſants. While Maſs "has been ſaid in ſecurity, a Conventicle has been a crime; "and which is yet more, the conforming to Ceremonies "has been more exacted than the conforming to Chriſtianity; and while Men, for ſcruples, have been undone, "for attempts upon Sodomy they have only been admoniſhed.

"Mr. Speaker, they have reſembled the Dog in the Fable, they have neither practiſed themſelves, nor employed thoſe that ſhould, nor ſuffered thoſe that would. They "have brought in catechizing only to thruſt out preaching; "cried down Lectures by the name of faction, either becauſe other Men's induſtry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect, or with intent to have brought in "darkneſs, that they might the eaſier ſow their Tares "while it was Night.

'In

" In this they have abuſed his Majeſty as well as his " people, for when he had with great wiſdom ſilenced on " both parts thoſe opinions, that will always trouble the " Schools, they made uſe of this declaration to tie up one " ſide and let the other looſe. The truth is, Mr. Speaker, " as ſome Miniſters in our ſtate firſt took away our money, " and afterwards endeavoured to make our money not " worth taking, by depraving it; ſo theſe Men, firſt de- " preſs'd the power of preaching, and then labour'd to " make it ſuch, as the harm had not been much if it had " been depreſs'd; the chief ſubjects of their Sermons be- " ing the " jus Divinum" of Biſhops, and tithes; the ſacred- " neſs of the Clergy; the ſacrilege of impropriations; the " demoliſhing of Puritaniſm; the building up of the pre- " rogative, &c. In ſhort, their work has been to try how " much of the Papiſt might be brought in without Pope- " ry, and to deſtroy as much as they could of the Goſpel, " without bringing themſelves in danger of being deſtroyed " by the law. King Charles I. 1640.

" Mr. Speaker, theſe Men have been betrayers of our " rights and Liberties, by encouraging ſuch Men as Dr. " Beal and Manwaring; by appearing for monopolies and " ſhip-money; ſome of them have laboured to exclude all " perſons and cauſes of the Clergy from the temporal Ma- " giſtrate, and by hindering prohibitions, to have taken " away the only legal bounds to their arbitrary power; " they have encouraged all the Clergy to ſuits, and have " brought all ſuits to the Council Table, that having all " power in eccleſiaſtical matters, they might have an " equal power in Temporals; they have both kindled and " blown the common fire of both Nations, and have been " the firſt and principal cauſe of the breach ſince the paci- " fication at Berwick.

" Mr. Speaker, I have repreſented no ſmall quantity, " and no mean degree of guilt, but this charge does not lie " againſt Epiſcopacy, but againſt the perſons who have " abuſed that ſacred function; for if we conſider, that the " firſt ſpreaders of Chriſtianity, the firſt defenders of it, " both with their ink and blood, as well as our late Re- " formers, were all Biſhops; and even now, in this great " defection of the order, there are ſome that have been " neither proud nor ambitious; ſome that have been lear- " ned oppoſers of Popery, and zealous ſuppreſſers of Ar- " minianiſm, between whom and their inferior Clergy " there has been no diſtinction in frequent preaching; whoſe

King Charles I. 1640.

" lives are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice; I " ſay, if we conſider this, we ſhall conclude, that Biſhops " may be good Men, and let us but give good Men good " rules, and we ſhall have good Government and good " Times.

" I am content to take away from them all thoſe things " which may in any degree of poſſibility occaſion the like " miſchiefs with thoſe I have mentioned; I am ſure, nei- " ther their Lordſhips, their judging of Tithes, Wills, " and Marriages, no, nor their " Voices in Parliament, " are Jure Divino." If their revenues are too great, let " us leave them only ſuch proportion, as may ſerve in ſome " good degree, for the ſupport of the dignity of Learning, " and the encouragement of Students. If it be found " they will employ their laws againſt their weaker Bre- " thren, let us take away thoſe Laws, and let no Ceremo- " nies which any number count unlawful, and no Man " counts neceſſary, be impoſed upon them; but let us not " aboliſh, upon a few days debate, an order that has laſt- " ed in moſt Churches theſe ſixteen hundred years. I do " not believe the order of Biſhops to be " Jure Divino," " nor do I think them unlawful; but ſince all great changes " in Government are dangerous, I am for trying if we " can't take away the inconveniencies of Biſhops, and the " inconveniencies of no Biſhops. Let us therefore go up- " on the debate of Grievances, and if the Grievances " may be taken away, and the order ſtand, we ſhall not " need to commit the London Petition at all; but if it " ſhall appear, that the abolition of the one can't be but by " the deſtruction of the other, then let us not commit " the London Petition but grant it."

Lord George Digby, an eminent Royaliſt, ſpoke with great warmth againſt the Root and Branch Petition, and with no leſs zeal for a reformation of Grievances.

Ld. Digby's Speech on the ſame ſide. Ruſhw. p. 172.

" If the London Petition (ſays his Lordſhip) may be " conſidered only as an Index of Grievances, I ſhould " wink at the faults of it, for no Man within theſe Walls " is more ſenſible of the heavy Grievances of Church Go- " vernment than myſelf; nor whoſe affections are keener " for the clipping thoſe Wings of the Prelates, whereby " they have mounted to ſuch inſolency; but having reaſon " to believe, that ſome aim at the total extirpation of Bi- " ſhops, I can't reſtrain myſelf from labouring to divert it.

" I look

King Charles I. 1640.

"I look upon the Petition with terror, as on a Comet "or Blazing Star, raiſed and kindled out of the poiſonous "exhalations of a corrupted Hierarchy: Methoughts the "Comet had a terrible tail, and pointed to the North, and "I fear all the prudence of this Houſe will have a hard "work to hinder this Meteor from cauſing ſuch diſtempers "and combuſtions as it portends by its appearance; what-"ever the event be, I ſhall diſcharge my conſcience free-"ly, unbiaſs'd both from popularity and Court Reſpect."

His Lordſhip then goes on to argue the unreaſonableneſs of aboliſhing a thing, becauſe of ſome abuſes that attend it; he complains of the preſumption of the Petitioners, in deſiring the repeal of ſo many Laws at once, and not applying in a more modeſt manner for a redreſs of Grievances, as the Miniſters have done. On the other hand, he allows the behaviour of the Prelates had given too juſt an occaſion for it: That no people had been ſo inſulted as the people of England had lately been, by the inſolencies of the Prelates; "Their vengeance has been ſo laid, as if it were meant, "no Generation, no Degree, no Complexion of Man-"kind, ſhould eſcape it. Was there a Man of tender "conſcience (ſays his Lordſhip) him they loaded with un-"neceſſary impoſitions; was there a Man of a legal con-"ſcience, him they nettled with Innovations, and freſh "introductions to Popery; was there a Man of an humble "Spirit, him they trampled to dirt in their pride; was "there a Man of proud Spirit, him they have bereft of "reaſon, with indignation at their ſuperlative inſolence; "was there a Man faithfully attached to the Rights of the "Crown, how has he been galled by their new Oath; "was there a Man that durſt mutter againſt their inſolen-"cies, he may enquire for his Lugs. They have been "within the Biſhops Viſitation as if they would not only "derive their brandiſhment of the Spiritual Sword from "St. Peter, but of the material one too, and the right to "cut off Ears; for my part, I am ſo inflamed with theſe "things, that I am ready to cry with the loudeſt of "the fifteen Thouſand, down with them to the ground.

"But, Mr. Speaker, we muſt diveſt ourſelves of paſſi-"on; we all agree a Reformation of Church Govern-"ment is neceſſary; but before I can ſtrike at the Root, "and agree to a total extirpation of Epiſcopacy, it muſt "be made manifeſt to me, (1.) That the miſchiefs we "have felt ariſe from the nature of Epiſcopacy, and not

King Charles I. 1640.

" from its abuſe. (2.) Such a form of Government muſt " be ſet before us as is not liable to proportionable inconve- " niencies. (3.) It muſt appear that the Utopia is practi- " cable. Let us therefore lay aſide the thoughts of ex- " tirpating Biſhops, but reduce them to their primitive " Standard; let us retrench their Dioceſes; let them go- " vern by Aſſemblies of their Clergy; let us exclude them " from intermeddling in ſecular affairs, and appoint a ſtan- " ding Committee to collect all the grievances of the " Church, and no Man's Votes ſhall be given with more " zeal for redreſſing them than mine."

Remarks.

Surely the Biſhops muſt have behaved very ill in the late times, that their very beſt friends could load them with ſuch reproaches! Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Surveyor of the Court of Wards; Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, with a great many others of unqueſtionable duty and loyalty to the King, ſpoke the ſame language, and it deſerves to be remember'd (ſays Lord Clarendon) that in the midſt of theſe complaints, the King was never mentioned but with great honour; all the Grievances being laid at the door of his Miniſters, and all hopes of redreſs being placed in his Majeſty alone. At the cloſe of the Debate it was ordered, that the Root and Branch Petition ſhould remain in the hands of the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, with direction, that no copy ſhould be delivered out; but after the throwing out of the Bill to deprive the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, it was revived, and a Bill brought in by Sir Edward Deering [May 20, 1641.] for the utter extirpating of the whole order, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 203.

It was in this Debate that ſome ſmart Repartees paſſed between the Members; Mr. Grimſtone argued thus, that Biſhops are " Jure Divino," is a queſtion; that Archbiſhops are not " Jure Divino," is out of queſtion; now that Biſhops, which are queſtioned whether " Jure Divino," or Archbiſhops, which out of queſtion are not " Jure Divino," ſhould ſuſpend Miniſters which are " Jure Divino," I leave to you to be conſidered——To which Mr. Selden anſwered, that the Convocation is " Jure Divino" is a queſtion; that Parliaments are not " Jure Divino" is out of queſtion; that Religion is " Jure Divino" is no queſtion; now that the Convocation, which is queſtionable, whether " Jure " Divino," and Parliaments, which out of queſtion are not " Jure Divino," ſhould meddle with Religion, which queſtionleſs is " Jure Divino," I leave to your conſideration. In both

both which, I apprehend, there is more of a jingle of words than ſtrength of argument.

King Charles I. 1640.

But the Houſe was unanimous for a Reformation of the Hierarchy, which was all that the body of Puritans, as yet wiſhed for or deſired. The Miniſters Petition was therefore committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, and on March 9, they came to this reſolution, " That the legiſlative " and judicial power of Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, is a " great hindrance to the diſcharge of their ſpiritual function, " prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken " away by Bill; and that a Bill be drawn up to this pur- " purpoſe." March 11, it was reſolved farther, " That " for Biſhops, or any other Clergymen, to be in the com- " miſſion of Peace, or to have any judicial power in the " Star-chamber, or in any Civil Court, is a great hindrance " to their ſpiritual Function, and fit to be taken away by " Bill." And not many days after it was reſolved, that they ſhould not be Privy Counſellors, or in any temporal Offices.

Reſolution of the H. of Commons.

While the Houſe of Commons were thus preparing to clip the Wings of the Biſhops, they were not unmindful of the Roman Catholicks; theſe were criminals of a higher Nature, and had a deep ſhare in the preſent Calamities; their numbers were great, and their pride and inſolence inſufferable: They flocked in great numbers about the Court, and inſulted the very Courts of Judicature; the Queen protected them, and the King and Archbiſhop countenanced them, as friends of the Prerogative. Andreas ab Harbernsfield, the Queen of Bohemia's Chaplain, adviſed his Grace of a popiſh Confederacy againſt the King and the Church of England; but when the names of Montague, Sir Kenelm Digby, Winter, Windebank and Porter, all Papiſts, and Officers about the Court, were mentioned as Parties, the whole was diſcredited and ſtifled. When the Houſe of Commons petitioned the King to iſſue out a Proclamation, for putting the Laws in execution againſt Papiſts, it was done in ſo defective a manner, that the Committee reported it would avail nothing; for in the Clauſe which enjoins all popiſh Recuſants to depart the City within fifteen Days, 'tis added, " Without ſpecial Licenſe had " thereunto;" ſo that if they could obtain a Licenſe from his Majeſty, or from the Lords of the Council, the Biſhop, the Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenant of the County, then they were not within the Penalty. Beſides, the diſarming of all popiſh Recuſants was limited to Recuſants

Proceedings againſt Papiſts.

King Charles I. 1640.

Recuſants convict; ſo that if they were not convicted a Juſtice of Peace could not diſarm them. They obſerved further, that many Recuſants had Letters of Grace to protect their Perſons and Eſtates; that inſtead of departing from London there was a greater reſort of Papiſts at preſent than heretofore; and that their Inſolence and threatning Language was inſufferable and dangerous. A Gentleman having given Information in open Court, to one of the Judges of the King's Bench, that in one Pariſh of the City of Weſtminſter there were above ſix thouſand Recuſants, the Committee appointed Mr. Heywood, an active Juſtice of Peace, to collect and bring in a liſt of the Names of all Recuſants within that City and Liberties; for which purpoſe all the Inhabitants were ſummoned to appear and take the Oaths in Weſtminſter Hall: But while the Juſtice was in the execution of his office, and preſſing one James a Papiſt to take them, the Wretch drew out his knife and ſtabbed the Juſtice in open Court, telling him, "He gave him that for perſecuting "poor Catholicks." The old Gentleman ſunk down with the wound, but by the care of Surgeons was recovered, and the Criminal taken into cuſtody. This Mr. Heywood was the very perſon, who being commmanded by King James I. to ſearch the Cellars under the Parliament Houſe, at the time of the Gun-Powder Plot, took Guy Vaux with his dark Lanthorn in his Hand, which Lanthorn is preſerved among the Archives of Oxford, with Mr. Heywood's name upon it in Letters of Gold.

The King favours them.

The Parliament alarmed at this daring attempt, ſent orders to all the Juſtices of Peace of Weſtminſter, London and Middleſex, requiring them to command the Church-wardens, to make a return of the names of all Recuſants within their pariſhes, in order to their being proceeded againſt according to law; a few days after the like orders were ſent to the Juſtices in the remoter Counties. The houſes petition'd his Majeſty to diſcharge all popiſh officers in garriſons, or in the army, that refuſed to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to fill up their places with Proteſtants. March 16, they petition'd his Majeſty to remove all Papiſts from Court, and particularly Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Matthews, Sir John Winter, and Mr. Montague, and that the whole body of Roman Catholicks might be diſarmed; but all the anſwer they received was, that his Majeſty would take care that the Papiſts about the Court ſhould give no juſt cauſe of Scandal; and as for diſarming them, he was content it ſhould be done according to Law. So

that

that their Addreſſes had no other effect, than to exaſperate the Papiſts againſt themſelves, the King and Queen being determined to protect them as long as they were able. King Charles I. 1640.

There was at this time one Goodman, a Seminary Prieſt under Sentence of Condemnation in Newgate, but the King, inſtead of leaving him to the Law, reprieved him in the face of the Parliament; whereupon both Houſes agreed upon the following Remonſtrance. Goodman a Prieſt reprieved by the King.

"That conſidering the preſent juncture, they conceived "the ſtrict Execution of the Laws againſt Recuſants more "neceſſary than formerly,

1. "Becauſe by divers Petitions from ſeveral parts of "the Kingdom, complaints are made of the great increaſe "of Popery and Superſtition; Prieſts and Jeſuits ſwarm in "great abundance in this Kingdom, and appear as boldly as "if there were no Laws againſt them. Jan. 29. 1640. Remonſtrance of the Parliament againſt it.

2. "It appears to the Houſe, that of late years many "Prieſts and Jeſuits condemned for High Treaſon have "been diſcharged out of Priſon.

3. "That at this time the Pope has a Nuncio or Agent "in this City; and Papiſts go as publickly to Maſs at Den-"mark Houſe, and to St. James's, and the Ambaſſadors "Chapels, as others do to their Pariſh Churches.

4. That the putting the Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts, "is for the Preſervation and Advancement of the true Re-"ligion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom; for the ſafety of their "Majeſties Perſons, and the ſecurity of the Government.

5. 'Tis found that Goodman the Prieſt has been twice "formerly committed and diſcharged; that his Reſidence "now at London was in abſolute contempt of his Majeſty's "Proclamation; that he was formerly a Miniſter of the "Church of England; and therefore they humbly deſire he "may be left to the Juſtice of the Law."

To this Remonſtrance the King replied.

"That the increaſe of Popery and Superſtition, if any "ſuch thing had happen'd, was contrary to his inclination; "but to take off all occaſions of Complaint he would order "the Laws to be put in Execution. King's Anſwer.

"That he would ſet forth a Proclamation, to command "Jeſuits and Prieſts to depart the Kingdom within a Month, "and in caſe they either failed, or returned, they ſhould be "proceeded againſt according to Law.

As touching the Pope's Nuncio Roſetti, his Commiſſion "reached only to keep up a correſpondence between the "Queen and the Pope, in things relating to the Exerciſe of "Religion;

King Charles I. 1640.

" Religion; that this correſpondence came within the " compaſs of the full liberty of Conſcience, ſecured her by " the Articles of Marriage; however, ſince Roſetti's Cha- " racter happened to be miſunderſtood, and gave offence, " he had perſuaded the Queen to conſent to his being " recalled.

" Further his Majeſty promiſed to take care, to re- " ſtrain his Subjects from going to Maſs at Denmark " Houſe, St. James's, and the Chapels of the Am- " baſſadors.

" Laſtly, Touching Goodman, he was content to re- " mit him to the pleaſure of the Houſe; but he puts them " in mind, that neither Queen Elizabeth, nor King James, " ever put any to Death merely for Religion; and deſired " them to conſider the inconveniencies that ſuch a conduct " might draw upon his Subjects, and other Proteſtants in " foreign Countries."

Remarks

How ſtrange is this aſſertion! Let the Reader recollect the many Executions of Papiſts for denying the Supremacy; the burning the Dutch Anabaptiſts, for whom Mr. Fox the Martyrologiſt interceded in vain; and the hanging of Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, &c. in Queen Elizabeth's Reign; let him alſo remember, the burning of Bartholomew Legat, and Edward Wightman, for the Arian Hereſy, by King James I. (of all which, and ſome others, the Commons, in their Reply, put his Majeſty in mind;) and then judge of the truth of this part of his Declaration. Nor did the Jeſuits regard the other parts of it, for they knew they had a friend in the King's boſom that would protect them, and therefore inſtead of removing out of the Land, they lay concealed within the Verge of the Court. Even Goodman himſelf was not executed, though the King promiſed to leave him to the Law, and tho' he himſelf petitioned like Jonah the Prophet, to be thrown overboard to allay the Tempeſt between the King and his Subjects. Such was his Majeſty's attachment to this People! to the apparent hazard of the Proteſtant Religion and the Peace of his Kingdoms; and to the ſacrificing all good correſpondence between himſelf and his Parliament!

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

From the Impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, to the Receſs of the Parliament upon the King's Progreſs into Scotland.

'TIS impoſſible to account for the prodigious changes of this, and the following years, without taking a ſhort view of ſome civil Occurences that led to them. In purſuance of "the Deſign of bringing corrupt Miniſters to Juſtice," the Parliament began with Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, an able Stateſman, but a moſt dangerous Enemy of the Laws and Liberties of his Country, whom they impeached of High Treaſon, November 11, 1640. and brought to his Trial the 22d of March following. The grand Article of his Impeachment was, "For endeavouring "to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of England and Ireland, "and to introdnce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government." This was ſubdivided into ſeveral Branches, and proved by a multiplicity of Facts, none of which were directly Treaſon by Law, but being put together, were conſtrued to be ſuch by Accumulation. The Earl's Reply to the Facts conſiſted partly in excuſes and evaſions; with an humble acknowledgment, that in ſome things he had been miſtaken; but his principal defence reſted upon a point of Law, "Whe-"ther an endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental form of Go-"vernment, and the Laws of the Land, was high Treaſon "at common Law, or by any Statute in force". Mr. "Lane, the Counſel for the Priſoner maintained, (1.) That all Treaſons were to be reduced to the particulars ſpecified in the 25th Edw. III. cap. 2. (2.) That nothing elſe was or could be Treaſon; and that it was ſo enacted by the 1ſt Henry IV. cap. 10. (3.) That there had been no Precedent to the contrary ſince that time. And, (4.) That by 1 Mary, cap. 12. an endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Land is declared to be no more than Felony.

King Charles I. 1641.

Impeachment and Trial of the Earl of Strafford.

The Commons felt the weight of theſe arguments; but not being willing to enter into debate with a private Counſellor, they changed their Impeachment into a Bill of Attainder, which they had a right to do by virtue of a Clauſe in the 25th Edw. III. cap. 12. which refers the Deciſion of what is Treaſon in all doubtful Caſes, to the King and Parliament. The Attainder paſt the Commons April 19. Yeas 204, Noes 59. but 'tis thought would have been

King Charles I. 1641.

been loſt in the Houſe of Lords, had it not been for the following accident, which put it out of the power of the Earl's friends to ſave him.

Plot to bring the Army to London. Claren. Vol. I. p. 248.

The King being weary of his Parliament, and deſirous to preſerve his Servant, conſented to a project of ſome perſons in greateſt Truſt about the Court, to bring the army that was raiſed againſt the Scots up to London, in order to awe the two Houſes, to reſcue the Earl, and to take Poſſeſſion of the City of London. Lord Clarendon ſays, the laſt motion was rejected with abhorrence, and that the Gentleman that made it was the perſon that diſcovered the whole plot. The Conſpirators met in the Queen's Lodgings at Whitehall, where a petition was drawn for the Officers of the Army to ſign, and to preſent to his Majeſty; with a tender of their readineſs to wait upon him in defence of his Prerogative, againſt the turbulent Spirits of the Houſe of Commons; the Draught was ſhewn to the King, and ſigned in teſtimony of his Majeſty's Approbation, C. R. but the plot being diſcovered to the Earl of Bedford, to the Lords Say and Kimbolton, and to Mr. Pym, with the names of the Conſpirators, all of them abſconded, and ſome fled immediately into France.

Rapin, p. 120.

Mr. Pym opened the Conſpiracy to the Houſe of Commons, May 2, and acquainted them, that among other branches of the plot, one was to ſeize the Tower to put the Earl of Strafford at the head of the Iriſh Army of Papiſts, who were to be tranſported into England, and to ſecure the important town of Portſmouth, in order to receive Succours from France; Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, confeſſed that the King had ſent him expreſs orders, to receive a hundred Men into that Garriſon, under the Command of Captain Billingſly, to favour the Earl's eſcape; and that the Earl himſelf offered him twenty thouſand Pounds in money, and to advance his Son in marriage to one of the beſt fortunes in the Kingdom. Lord Clarendon has uſed all his Rhetorick to colour over this Conſpiracy, and make poſterity believe it was little more than the idle chat of ſome Officers at a Tavern; but they who will compare the depoſitions in Ruſhworth, with his Lordſhip's account of that matter (ſays Biſhop Burnet) will find, that there is a great deal more in the one than the other is willing to believe. Mr. Eachard confeſſes, that the Plot was not wholly without a Foundation. The Court would have diſowned it, but their keeping the Conſpira-

Ruſhw. p. 291. May's Hiſt. p. 98.

tors

tors in their places, made the Parliament believe that there was a great deal more in it than was yet diſcovered; they therefore ſent orders immediately to ſecure the Town and Haven of Portſmouth, and to diſband the Iriſh Army; they voted that all Papiſts ſhould be removed from about the Court; and directed Letters to Sir Jacob Aſhley, to induce the Army to a dutiful Behaviour, and to aſſure them of their full pay. King Charles I. 1641.

The conſequences of this Plot were infinitely prejudicial to the King's affairs, the Court loſt its reputation; the reverence due to the King and Queen was leſſened; and the Houſe of Commons began to be eſteemed the only Barrier of the People's Liberties; for which purpoſe they entered into a ſolemn Proteſtation to ſtand by each other with their Lives and Fortunes; the Scots Army was continued for their Security; a bill for the continuance of the preſent Parliament was brought in, and urged with great advantage; and laſt of all, by the diſcovery of this plot, the fate of the Earl of Strafford was determined; great numbers of people crouded in a tumultuous manner to Weſtminſter, crying Juſtice! Juſtice! and threatning violence to thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons that had voted againſt his attainder. In this ſituation of Affairs, and in the abſence of the Bench of Biſhops (as being a caſe of Blood) the bill paſſed with the diſſent only of eleven Peers. The King had ſome ſcruples about giving it the Royal Aſſent, becauſe, though he was convinced the Earl had been guilty of "High Crimes and Miſdemeanors," he hid not apprehend, that an "Endeavour to ſubvert the "fundamental Form of Government, and to introduce an "arbitrary Power was High Treaſon;" his Majeſty conſulted his Biſhops and Judges, but was not ſatisfied, till he received a Letter from the Earl himſelf, beſeeching his Majeſty to ſign the Bill, in order to make way for an happy Agreement between him and his Subjects. Mr. Whitlock inſinuates, that this Letter was but a feint of the Earl's; for when Secretary Carlton acquainted him with what the King had done, and with the Motive, which was "his own Conſent," he roſe up in a great Surprize, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, ſaid, "Put not your Truſt "in Princes, nor in the Sons of men, for in them there "is no Salvation." Two days after this [May 12,] he was executed upon Tower Hill, and ſubmitted to the Ax with a Roman Bravery and Courage; but at the Reſtoration of King Charles II. his Attainder was reverſed, and the Article of Miſchievous Conſequences of it. Nalſon, p. 203.

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of Accumulative Treaſon declared null, becauſe what is not Treaſon in the ſeveral parts cannot amount to Treaſon in the whole.

Character of the Earl of Strafford.

This was the unhappy end of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, once a great Patriot, and defender of the Liberties of his Country, but after he was called to Court, the moſt arbitrary Miniſter of State that this Nation has produced. He was certainly a Gentleman of great abilities, as appears by the incomparable defence he made for his life, which gained him more reputation and eſteem with the people, than all the latter actions of his life put together; but ſtill he was a publick enemy of his Country, and had as great a ſhare in thoſe fatal Counſels that brought on the Civil War as any Man living. "The Earl (ſays "Mr. Eachard) was of a ſevere Countenance, inſufferably "proud and haughty, having a Sovereign Contempt of the "People, whom he never ſtudied to gratify in any thing; "the ancient Nobility looked upon his ſudden riſe, and "univerſal influence in publick affairs, with envy; ſo that "he had but few friends, and a great many enemies."

Lord Digby, in his famous Speech againſt the bill of Attainder, wherein he waſhes his Hands of the blood of the Earl of Strafford, has nevertheleſs theſe Expreſſions; "I confidently believe him the moſt dangerous Miniſter, "and the moſt inſupportable to free Subjects that can be "charactered. I believe his practices in themſelves have "been as high and tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured upon; and the malignity of them are greatly aggravated by theſe Abilities of his, whereof God has "given him the uſe, but the Devil the Application. In a "word, I believe him ſtill that "grand Apoſtate to the "Commonwealth, who muſt not expect to be pardoned "in this world, till he be diſpatched to the other."

Lord Falkland ſays, "That he committed ſo many "mighty, and ſo manifeſt Enormities and Oppreſſions in "the Kingdom of Ireland, that the like have not been "committed by any Governor, in any Government, ſince "Verres left Sicily; and after his Lordſhip was called "over from being Deputy of Ireland, to be in a manner "Deputy of England, he and the Junctillo gave ſuch "Counſels, and purſued ſuch courſes, as 'tis hard to ſay, "whether they were more unwiſe, more unjuſt, or more "unfortunate."

Lord

Lord Clarendon ſays, "That he had been compell'd, for reaſons of State, to exerciſe many Acts of Power, and "had indulged ſome to his own appetite and paſſion, as in "the caſe of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and the Lord "Mount Norris, the former of which was "Satis pro "Imperio," but the latter the moſt extravagant piece of "Sovereignty that in a time of peace had been executed "by any Subject." From whence the Reader may con- "clude, that whatever encomiums the Earl might deſerve as a Gentleman and a Soldier, yet as a Stateſman he deſerved the fate he underwent. King Charles I. 1641. Vol. I. p. 250.

The execution of this great perſon ſtruck terror into all the King's late Miniſters; ſome of them laid down their places, and others retired into France; among the latter was the Lord Keeper Finch and Secretary Windebank. Six of the Judges were impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors, "for interpreting away the Laws of their Coun- "try;" but the Parliament had too much buſineſs upon their hands to attend their proſecution at preſent. Thus the unhappy King was deprived of thoſe Counſellors who were in his own arbitrary Sentiments, and left as in a manner to himſelf, and the powerful influences of his bigotted Queen and her cabal of Papiſts; for the new Miniſters that ſucceeded, were ſuch in whom the King would place no Confidence. So that moſt men expected that theſe vigorous proceedings would oblige the King to put a ſpeedy end to the Seſſion. The King's late Miniſters terrified

But that which hindered it was the want of money to pay off the armies in the North; his Majeſty preſſed the Houſes to diſpatch this affair, and relieve the Country from the Burden of Contribution; but the Commons looked upon the Scots as their ſecurity, and that if they were ſent home, they ſhould again be at the mercy of the Prerogative ſupported by a ſtanding Army. However, they began to borrow money of the City of London towards the expence; but when the Plot to diſſolve the Parliament broke out, the Citizens declared, they would lend nothing upon Parliamentary Security, becauſe their ſitting was ſo precarious. This gave riſe to a motion "for the Continuance of the "preſent Parliament, till they ſhould diſſolve themſelves," which was preſently turned into a ſhort Bill, and paſt both Houſes with very little oppoſition, as the only expedient "that could be thought of to ſupport the publick Credit: It enacts, "That this preſent Parliament ſhall not be ad- "journed, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own Con- "ſent:" Reaſons for not diſſolving the Parliament. Act for its Continuance.

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" ſent:" And was ſigned by Commiſſion with the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of Strafford.

Remarks.

All men ſtood amazed at the King's great Weakneſs in this Affair, for by this haſty and unadviſed Action he changed the whole Conſtitution, giving the two Houſes a co-ordinate power in the Legiſlature with himſelf, for as long Time as they pleaſed: If his Majeſty had fixed their Continuance to a limited time, it might have ſatisfied the People and have ſaved the Prerogative; but by making them perpetual he parted with the Scepter out of his own hands, and put it into the hands of the Parliament. " This (ſays Mr. Eachard) has made ſome Writers doubt, " whether thoſe who afterwards took up Arms againſt the " King could be legally termed Rebels? For by paſſing " this Act his Majeſty made the two Houſes ſo far inde- " pendent upon himſelf, that they immediately acquired an " uncommon authority, and a ſort of natural right to in- " ſpect and cenſure his actions, and to provide for the ſafe- " ty of the Kingdom."

While the Commons were alarmed with the diſcovery of the Plot, and the flight of the Conſpirators, Mr. Pym moved, That both Houſes might join in ſome band of defence, for the Security of their Liberties, and of the Proteſtant Religion; accordingly the following Proteſtation was drawn up, and ſubſcribed the very next day by the whole Houſe, [May 3.]

Solemn Vow and Proteſtation taken by both Houſes. Claren. Vol. I. p. 251, &c.

" I A. B. do in the Preſence of Almighty God vow " and proteſt, to maintain and defend, as far as law- " fully I may, with my Life, Power and Eſtate, the true " reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doc- " trine of the Church of England, againſt all Popery " and Popiſh Innovations in this Realm, contrary to the " ſaid Doctrine; and according to the duty of my Alle- " giance, I will maintain and defend his Majeſty's Royal " Perſon, Honour and Eſtate; alſo the Power and Privi- " ledge of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of " the Subject, and of every Perſon who ſhall make this " Proteſtation in whatſoever he ſhall do, in the lawful pur- " ſuance of the ſame. And to my power, as far as law- " fully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good ways and " means, endeavour to bring to condign Puniſhment all " ſuch, who ſhall by Force, Practice, Counſel, Plot, " Conſpiracy, or otherwiſe, do any thing to the contrary " in this proteſtation contained. And further, that I ſhall

" in

" in all juſt and honourable ways endeavour to preſerve " the Union and Peace between the three Kingdoms of " England, Scotland, and Ireland; and neither for hope, " fear, or any other reſpect, ſhall relinquiſh this Promiſe, " Vow and Proteſtation. King Charles I. 1641.

May 4. This Proteſtation was taken by all the Peers preſent in Parliament, except the Earl of Southampton and Lord Roberts; even by the Biſhops themſelves, though (as Lord Clarendon obſerves) it comes but little ſhort of the Scots Covenant. Their Lordſhips, indeed, would have interpreted thoſe Words, " The true reformed Proteſtant " Religion, expreſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of " England," to have included the Government or Hierarchy of the Church; but both Houſes declared, that by thoſe words was and is meant, " only the publick Doctrine " profeſſed in the ſaid Church, ſo far as it is oppoſite " to Popery and Popiſh Innovations; and that the ſaid " words are not to extend to the maintenance of any " Form of Worſhip, Diſcipline or Government, nor of " Rites and Ceremonies. Within two days the Proteſtation was taken by eighty Temporal Lords, ſeventeen Biſhops, nine Judges, and four hundred and thirty eight of the Houſe of Commons. Next day it was printed, and ſent to the Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace in the ſeveral Counties of England, to be taken by the whole Nation with the following Directions. Vol. I. p. 253. Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 250.

------" That it be taken in the Afternoon of ſome Lord's " Day after Sermon, before the Congregation be diſmiſſed, " by all Maſters of Families, their Sons that are of a pro- " per age, and Men Servants in the manner following. " Firſt, that notice be given to the Miniſter by the " Church-Wardens of the Intention.-----Secondly, That " the Miniſter acquaint the people in his Sermon of the " nature of the Proteſtation.-----Thirdly, That the Mini- " ſter firſt take it himſelf, reading it diſtinctly with an au- " dible Voice, that all preſent may hear it; then the Aſ- " ſembly ſhall take the Writing in their Hands, ſaying " with a diſtinct and audible Voice, " I A. B. do in the " Preſence of Almighty God vow and proteſt the ſame, " which the leading perſon that reads it did, naming the " perſon." Fourthly, The Names of all that take it ſhall " be ſubſcribed in a Regiſter; and the names of thoſe that " refuſe ſhall be entered." Ordered to be taken all over England.

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The Cities of London and Weſtminſter obſerved theſe directions, but the remoter Counties were complained of for neglect; upon which the Houſe of Commons paſt a Bill, to oblige all perſons to take it throughout the Kingdom; but it was loſt in the Houſe of Lords, the whole bench of Biſhops oppoſing it; whereupon the Commons came to this reſolution, that "whoſoever would not take "the Proteſtation, was unfit to bear offices in the Church "or Commonwealth."

But prevented by the Biſhops.

Remarks.

This was carrying matters to a very great length; there had been a Parliamentary Aſſociation in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which her Majeſty confirmed, and a ſolemn League and Covenant in Scotland, which the King complied with; but the enforcing a Proteſtation or Vow upon his Majeſty's ſubjects, without his conſent, was aſſuming a power, which nothing but the dangerous criſis of affairs, and the uncommon authority with which this Parliament was inveſted by the late Act of Continuance, can ſupport or countenance. The odium of putting a ſtop to the Proteſtation, fell upon the Bench of Biſhops, who were already ſinking under their own weight; and his Majeſty's not interpoſing in this affair at all, was afterwards made uſe of as a Preſident for impoſing the ſolemn League and Covenant upon the whole Nation without his conſent.

Bills againſt the Biſhops Votes in Parliament.

The Puritans had always objected to the lordly titles and dignities of the Biſhops, but their votes in the Houſe of Peers were now found a very great grievance, and an effectual bar to the Proceedings of Parliament. It was remember'd, that they had been always averſe to Reformation; that they had voted unanimouſly againſt the Supremacy in King Henry the VIIIth's reign; and againſt the Act of Uniformity in Queen Elizabeth's. It was now obſerved, that they were the Creatures of the Court, and a dead Weight againſt all reformation in Church or State; twenty ſix Votes being ſufficient at any time to turn the ſcale in that Houſe, whoſe full number was not above an hundred; it was therefore moved, that a Bill might be brought in to take away their Seats in Parliament, which was readily agreed to. The Bill (ſays Lord Clarendon) was drawn up with great deliberation, and was entitled, an Act for "reſtraining Biſhops, and others of the Clergy in holy Orders, from intermeddling in ſecular affairs." It conſiſted of ſeveral Branches, as, that "no Biſhop ſhould have a vote in Parliament, nor any judicial power in the Star-Chamber, "nor be a Privy-Counſellor, nor a judge in any temporal "Courts;

Vol. I. p. 234, 246.

"Courts; nor ſhould any Clergyman be in the Commiſſion "of Peace." To make way for the paſſing of this Bill, it was ſaid, that if this was granted the Commons would be ſatisfied, and little or nothing further attempted to the prejudice of the Church. It therefore paſs'd the Houſe of Commons without oppoſition, and was ſent up to the Lords May 1. Mr. Fuller ſays, that Lord Kimbolton would have perſuaded the Biſhops to reſign their Votes in Parliament, adding, that then the Temporal Lords would be obliged in honour to preſerve their juriſdiction and revenues. The Earl of Eſſex alſo employed ſome body to deal privately with the Biſhops on the ſame head; but they rejected all methods of accommodation, reſolving to make their utmoſt efforts, and to keep poſſeſſion of their Seats till a ſuperior ſtrength ſhould turn them out; accordingly the Bill met with a vigorous oppoſition in their Houſe, and after a ſecond reading was thrown out, without ſo much as being committed; (a countenance frequently given to Bills they never intend to paſs) but the whole bench of Biſhops voting for themſelves, 'tis no wonder it was loſt by a conſiderable majority. Mr Fuller ſays, it would have been thrown out if the Biſhops had not voted at all; for though the Temporal Lords were content to exclude them from all ſecular offices and employments in the State, they were in no diſpoſition to take away their Suffrages in the Houſe of Peers.

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B. XI. p. 183.

Many learned Speeches were made in both Houſes upon this occaſion; the reaſons of the Commons for paſſing the Bill were theſe, (1.) Becauſe their attendance on ſecular affairs, not relating to the Church, is a great hindrance to their ſpiritual Function. "No man that warreth (ſaith St. "Paul to Timothy) entangleth himſelf with the affairs of "this life." (2.) Becauſe 'tis contrary to their Ordination Vow; for when they enter into holy Orders they promiſe to give themſelves Wholly to that vocation. (3.) Becauſe Councils and Canons in ſeveral Ages have forbid their meddling in ſecular affairs. (4.) Becauſe the twenty four Biſhops depend on the two Archbiſhops, and take an oath of Canonical Obedience to them. (5.) Becauſe their Peerage is not of the ſame nature with the Temporal Lords, being but for life. (6.) Becauſe they depend on the Crown for tranſlation to greater Biſhopricks. (7.) Becauſe 'tis not fit that twenty ſix of them ſhould ſet as Judges upon complaints brought againſt themſelves, and their order.

Arguments for the Bill. Rushw. p. 281. Nalſon, p. 260.

Biſhop Williams publiſhed an anſwer to theſe Reaſons, intitled, "The Abſtract," to which there preſently came

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out a Reply. The chief Speakers on behalf of the Biſhops, in the Houſe of Peers, were the Lord Viſcount Newark, afterwards Earl of Kingſton, Dr. Williams, Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, the Marquiſs of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton, Bath, and Briſtol. But inſtead of tranſcribing their Speeches, I will give the reader a ſummary of their Arguments and of their adverſaries Reply.

Arguments in favour of the Biſhops with the Replies. Nalſon, p. 251. &c.

Firſt, It was argued, that "the Biſhops had voted in "Parliament almoſt ever ſince the Conqueſt, according to "Matthew Paris, Sir Henry Spelman, and others." To which it was replied, that Time and Uſage ought to be of no weight with Law Makers, on the behalf of things which are allowed to be inconvenient: Abbots had voted as antiently in Parliament as Biſhops, and yet their votes were taken away.

Secondly, It was ſaid, that "the Biſhops voting was no "conſiderable hindrance to their ſpiritual function; for "Parliaments were to ſit but once in three years, and then "but for a month or two together; that though no Clergyman ſhould entangle himſelf with the affairs of this "life, the Apoſtle does not exclude him from intermeddling." To which it was anſwered, that the Epiſcopal Function, if well diſcharged, was enough for all their time and thoughts; and that their Dioceſes were large enough to employ all their labours, in Viſitation, Confirmation, Preaching, &c. The deſign of the Apoſtle Paul was certainly to exhort Timothy ſo withdraw himſelf as much as poſſible from the affairs of this life, that his thoughts might be more entire for his evangelical Work; and therefore in another place he exhorts him "To give himſelf Wholly "to theſe things."

Thirdly, It was ſaid, that "Clergymen had always been "in the Commiſſion of the Peace, from the firſt planting "of Chriſtianity, and that they were beſt qualified for it." To which it was anſwered, That they were moſt unfit for this employment, becauſe it had a direct tendency to hinder their uſefulneſs in their Pulpits; and to the fact it was replied, that the firſt Clergymen that were made Juſtices of the Peace, or had power in temporal Juriſdiction, were the Biſhops of Durham and York, 34 Edw. III. That before the Act of Conformity, 1 Edw. VI. the Clergy were not put in Commiſſion for the Peace; and that the reaſon of their being then admitted was, that they might perſuade the People to Conformity; but if in conſcience they held it not conſiſtent with their ſpiritual Calling, they might refuſe.

It

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It was further ſaid, that "the taking away one whole "Bench out of the Houſe of Peers was an ill precedent, and "might encourage the Commons one time or other to cut "off the Barons, or ſome other degree of the Nobility." To which it was replied, that the Peerage of the Biſhops did not ſtand upon the ſame foot with the reſt of the Nobility, becauſe their Honour does not deſcend to their Poſterity, and becauſe they have no right to vote in caſes of Blood; if they had the ſame right of Peerage with the temporal Lords, no Canon of the Church could deprive them of it; for it was never known, that the Canons of the Church pretended to deprive the Barons of England of any part of their inherent Juriſdiction.

It was argued further, that "if the Bench of Biſhops were "deprived of their Votes, they would be left under very "great diſadvantages; for whereas the meaneſt Commoner "is repreſented in the lower Houſe, the Biſhops will be "thrown out of this common Benefit; and if they have no "ſhare in conſenting to the Laws, neither in their Perſons nor Repreſentatives, what juſtice can oblige them to "keep thoſe laws?" To which it was replied, that they have the ſame ſhare in the Legiſlature with the reſt of the Freeholders of England; nor is there any more reaſon that the Biſhops, as Biſhops, ſhould be a part of the Legiſlature, than the Judges, as ſuch, or the Lawyers, or any other incorporated Profeſſion of learned Men.

Whether Biſhops are one of the three Eſtates in Parliament.

But the principal Argument that was urged in favour of the Biſhops was, that "they were one of the three States "in Parliament; that as ſuch they were the repreſentatives "of the whole Body of the Clergy, and therefore to turn "them out would be to alter the Conſtitution, and to take "away one whole Branch of the Legiſlature: the Parliament would not then be the compleat repreſentative Body "of the Nation, nor would the Laws which were enacted in "their abſence be valid." To ſupport this Aſſertion it was ſaid, (1.) That the Clergy in all other chriſtian Kingdoms of theſe northern parts, make up a third Eſtate, as in Germany, France, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Scotland; and therefore, why not in England? (2.) When King Henry V. was buried, 'tis ſaid, the three Eſtates aſſembled, and declared his Son Henry VI. his Succeſſor. The Petition to Richard Duke of Glouceſter, to accept the Crown, runs in the name of the three Eſtates; and in his Parliament 'tis ſaid expreſly, that at the requeſt of the three Eſtates, i. e. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, he

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was declared undoubted King of these Realms; to which may be added, the Statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 3. where the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons are said to represent the three Estates of this Realm.

It was replied to this, that the Bishops did not sit in the House as a Third State, nor as Bishops, but only in right of their Baronies annexed to their Bishopricks, 5 Will. I. All the Bishops have Baronies except the Bishop of Man, who is as much a Bishop, to all intents and purposes of Jurisdiction and Ordination, as the others, but has no place in Parliament, because he does not hold "Per integram Baroniam." It must be admitted, that in ancient times the Lords Spiritual are sometimes mentioned as a Third State of the Realm, but it could not be intended by this, that the Clergy, much less the Bishops, were an essential part of the Legislature; for if so, it would then follow, that no Act of Parliament could be valid without their consent; whereas divers Acts are now in force, from which the whole bench of Bishops have dissented, as the Act of Conformity, 1 Edw. VI. and the Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz. If the major part of the Barons agree, and the House of Commons concur, any Bill may pass into an Act, with the consent of the King, though all the Bishops dissent, because their votes are over-ruled by the major part of the Peers. In the Parliament of Northampton under Henry II. when the Bishops challenged their Peerage, they said, "Non sedimus hic Episcopi sed Barones, We sit not here "as Bishops, but as Barons; We are Barons, and you are "Barons here, therefore we are Peers." Nor did King Charles himself apprehend the Bishops to be one of the three States, for in his Declaration of June 16. 1642. he calls Himself one, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, the other two. In ancient time the Prelates were sometimes excluded the Parliament, as in 25 King Edw. I. when they would not agree to grant an Aid to his Majesty in the Parliament at Carlisle; and before that time several Acts had past against the oppressions of the Clergy, in which the Entry in the Records stands thus, "the King "having consulted with the Earls, Barons, and other the "Nobles; or, by the assent of the Earls, Barons, and other "Lay People;" which shews the Bishops did not consent, for if they had, they would have been first named, the Order of the Nobility in all ancient Records being Prelates, Earls, and Barons. When the Coevocation had cited Dr. Standish before them,

Nalson, p. 502, &c.

Fuller's Appeal.

Rushw. p. 396.

them for ſpeaking words againſt their power and privilege, in the 7th of King Henry VIII. it was determined by all the Judges of the Land, in preſence of the King, that his Majeſty might hold his Parliament without calling the Biſhops at all. It appears therefore from hence, that the Biſhops never were accounted a third State of the Realm, in ſuch a ſenſe as to make them an eſſential branch of the Legiſlature; nor are they the Repreſentatives of the Clergy, becauſe then the Clergy would be twice repreſented, for as many of them as are Freeholders, are repreſented with their Fellow-Subjects in the Houſe of Commons; and as Clergymen they are repreſented in convocation, the Writ of election to convocation being, to ſend two Clerks Ad conſentiendum, &c. Beſides, none can properly be called Repreſentatives of others, but ſuch as are choſen by them; the Biſhops therefore not being choſen for this purpoſe, cannot properly be the Repreſentatives of the Clergy in Parliament; they ſit there not in their ſpiritual Character, but by virtue of the Baronies annexed to their Biſhopricks; and if the King, with conſent of Parliament, ſhould annex Baronies to the Courts of Juſtice in Weſtminſter-Hall, or to the ſupreme magiſtracy of the City of London, the Judges and the Lord Mayor, for the time being, would have the ſame right of Peerage. But none of theſe arguments were of ſufficient weight with the Lords to vote them out of the Houſe.

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The loſs of this Bill, with the reſolute behaviour of the Biſhops, who were determined to part with nothing they were in poſſeſſion of, inflamed the Commons, and made them conclude, that there was no hopes of Reformation while they were a Branch of the Legiſlature. It was obſerved, that the Biſhops were unuſually diligent in giving their attendance upon the houſe at this time, and always voted with the Court. Some of the leading Members therefore, in the warmth of their reſentments, brought in a Bill in purſuance of the Root and Branch Petition, which had been laid aſide for ſome time, for "the utter extirpation of "all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Preben-"daries, Chantors, with all Chancellors, Officials, and "Officers belonging to them; and for the diſpoſing of their "Lands, Manors, &c. as the Parliament ſhall appoint." A raſh and inconſiderate attempt! For could they expect, that the Biſhops ſhould aboliſh themſelves? Or, that the temporal Lords ſhould conſent to the utter extirpating an Order of Churchmen, when they would not ſo much as give up one branch

Bill for the Extirpation of Bps. Deans and Chapters, and Prebendaries, brought in by Sir Edward Deering. Nalſon, p. 248, 295, 300.

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branch of their privilege? The Bill being drawn up by Mr. St. John, was delivered to the Speaker, by Sir Edward Deering, with a ſhort Speech in which he took notice of the moderation of the Houſe in the late Bill, hoping, that by pruning and taking off a few unneceſſary branches from the Biſhops, the tree might proſper the better; but that this ſoft method having proved ineffectual, by reaſon of their incorrrigible obſtinacy, it was now neceſſary to put the Ax to the Root of the Tree. "I never was for ruin (ſays he) as "long as there was any hopes of reforming; and I now "profeſs, that if thoſe hopes revive and proſper, I will di-"vide my ſenſe upon this Bill, and yield my Shoulders to "underprop the primitive lawful and juſt Epiſcopacy." He concluded with a Sentence in Ovid;

Claren. Vol I. p. 237. Nalſon p. 248.

"Cuncta prius tentanda, ſed immedicabile vulnus
"Enſe recidendum eſt, ne pars ſincera trahatur.

The reading this Bill was very much oppoſed, becauſe it was brought in contrary to cuſtom, without firſt aſking leave; however, it was once read, and then laid aſide for almoſt two Months; a little before the King went to Scotland it was carried by a Majority of thirty one Voices to read it a ſecond time, and commit it to a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which Mr. Hyde [Lord Clarendon] was Chairman, who made uſe of ſo much art and induſtry to embarraſs the affair, that after twenty days the Bill was dropt.

His Speech in the Committee. Nalſon, p. 295, &c.

Sir Edward Deering's Speech in the Committee will give light into the ſentiments of the Puritans of theſe times; "The ambition of ſome Prelates (ſays he) will not let them "ſee how inconſiſtent two contrary functions are in one and "the ſame Perſon, and therefore there is left neither Root "nor Branch of that ſo good and neceſſary a Bill which we "lately ſent up, and conſequently no hope of ſuch a Refor-"mation as we all aim at; what hopes then can we have, "that this Bill which ſtrikes at Root and Branch, both of "their ſeats of juſtice, and of their epiſcopal Chairs in the "Church, will paſs as it is, and without a tender of ſome "other Government in lieu of this, ſince the voices are ſtill "the ſame which threw out your former Bill——" Sir Edward therefore propoſed another form of Government, if the Houſe ſhould think fit to aboliſh the preſent, which was in a manner the ſame with Archbiſhop Uſher's, hereafter mentioned, "As, Firſt, That every Shire "ſhould be a diſtinct Dioceſe or Church. Secondly, "That in every Shire or Church twelve or more able Di-

"vines

" vines ſhould be appointed, in the nature of an old pri- King Charles I. 1641.
" mitive, conſtant Preſbytery. Thirdly, That over eve-
" ry Preſbytery there ſhould be a Preſident, let him be call-
" ed Biſhop, or Overſeer, or Moderator, or Superinten-
" dent, or by what other name you pleaſe, provided there
" be one in every ſhire, for the government and direction
" of the Preſbytery, in the nature of a Speaker in the
" Houſe of Commons, or Chairman of a Committee."
Accordingly it was reſolved, July 10. " That Eccleſiaſtical
" power for the government of the Church be exerciſed by
" Commiſſioners." July 31. reſolved, " That the mem-
" bers for every county bring in the names of nine perſons
" to be Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, on whom the power
" of Church Government ſhall be devolved; but that no
" Clergyman be of the Commiſſion." This was to be on-
ly a temporary proviſion, but ſhews, that the Puritans of
theſe times did not intend the Preſbyterian government, but
only a reduction of Epiſcopacy to what they apprehended a
more primitive ſtandard; and if the Biſhops would have
yielded up ſome part of their juriſdiction, the miſchiefs that
befel them afterwards might have been prevented; howe-
ver, for the preſent, the proſecution of it was laid aſide.

But the Houſe went more readily into the debate " for Debates about Deans and Chapters.
" aboliſhing Deans and Chapters," and applying their re-
venues to better purpoſes. This alarmed the Cathedral
men, and put them upon conſulting how to ward off the Fuller. B. XI. p. 176.
danger that threaten'd them; for this purpoſe one Divine
was deputed from every Cathedral in England to ſolicit their
friends in the houſes on behalf of their ſeveral foundations;
and it muſt be owned, they did all that men could do, leav-
ing no ſtone unturned that might be for their advantage.
Addreſſes were preſented from both Univerſities in their fa- Nalſon, p. 305.
vour: The Addreſs from Oxford prays " for the continu-
" ance of the preſent Form of Church Government, as
" the moſt ancient and apoſtolical; and for the continuance
" of Cathedral Churches, with their lands and revenues, as
" dedicated to the ſervice of God, ſoon after the firſt
" plantation of Chriſtianity here; as Foundations thought
" fit to be preſerved, when the nurſeries of ſuperſtition
" were demoliſhed at the Reformation; as confirmed by
" the laws of the land; as nurſeries of ſtudents and learn-
" ed men in divinity; as the upholders of divers ſchools,
" hoſpitals, highways, bridges, and other pious works; as
" beneficial to thoſe cities where they are ſituate, by hoſpi-
" tality,

King Charles I. 1641.

" tality, by relief of the poor, and by occaſioning the " reſort of many ſtrangers, to the benefit of the tradeſmen " and inhabitants of the places where they are built; as " the chief ſupport of many thouſand families of the laity, " who enjoy eſtates from them in a free way, and as yield- " ing an ample revenue to the Crown, and a maintenance " to many learned profeſſors in the Univerſity." The addreſs of the Univerſity of Cambridge was to the ſame purpoſe, and therefore prays, " That the religious bounty of " their anceſtors, for the advancement of learning, and " of learned men, may be preſerved from ruin and aliena- " tion; but withal, to take order, that they may be redu- " ced to the due obſervation of their ſtatutes, and that all " innovations and abuſes may be reformed." The deputies from the ſeveral Cathedrals drew up a petition to the Lords and Commons for Council; but being informed, that the Houſe would not allow them that benefit, but that if they had any thing to offer they ſhould appear and plead their own cauſe; they made choice of Dr. John Hackett, Prebendary of Paul's, and Archdeacon of Bedford for their Counſel, who being admitted to the bar of the Houſe, May 12. after the petitions from the two Univerſities had been read, made a laboured ſpeech in their behalf, inſiſting chiefly on the topicks of the Oxford Addreſs.

Dr. Hackett's Def. of Dean's and Chapters. Fuller, B. XI. p. 177.

He recommended Cathedrals, " as fit to ſupply the de- " fects of private prayer;" the publick performance whereof ſhould be in ſome place of diſtinction. And whereas the exquiſiteneſs of the muſick gave offence to ſome ears, as hindring their devotion, he requeſted, in the name of his brethren, that it might be moderated to edification, and reduced to the form that Athanaſius recommends, " Ut le- " gentibus ſint quam cantantibus ſimiliores."

He alledged, that " at the Reformation, preaching be- " gan in Cathedrals;" and whereas ſome have ſaid, that Lecture Preachers were an upſtart Corporation; the Dr. obſerved, that the local Statutes of all the Cathedrals required lectures on the week days; and he requeſted, in the name of his brethren, that the godly and profitable performance of preaching might be more exacted.

He urged, " that Cathedrals were ſerviceable for the " advancement of Learning, and training up perſons for " the defence of the Church;" and that, the taking them away would diſſerve the cauſe of Religion, and be a pleaſure to their adverſaries.

He

He added, that "the ancient and genuine uſe of "Deans and Chapters was as Senatus Epiſcopi," to aſſiſt the Biſhop in his juriſdiction; and whereas ſome of his reverend Brethren had complained, that Biſhops had for many years uſurped the ſole Government to themſelves and their Conſiſtories; the continuing of Chapters rightly uſed would bring it to a plurality of Aſſiſtants. King Charles I. 1641.

He then put them in mind of "The antiquity of the "Structres, and the number of Perſons maintained by "them," amounting to many thouſands; he inſtanced in their Tenants, who by their Leaſes enjoyed ſix parts in ſeven pure gain, and had therefore petitioned for their Landlords; and ſhewed, that the Cities in which Cathedrals were built, were inriched by the hoſpitality of the Clergy, and the reſort of Strangers.

He enlarged further, "Upon their Endowments, as en-"couragements to Induſtry and Virtue;" that ſeveral famous Proteſtants of foreign Parts had been maintained by being inſtalled Prebendaries, as Caſaubon, Saravia, Dr. Peter Du Moulin, Voſſius, and others; that the Crown had great benefit from theſe Foundations, paying greater ſums into the Exchequer for firſt Fruits and Tenths, according to proportion, than other Corporations.

And laſtly, he put them in mind, "That theſe Struc-"tures and Eſtates were conſecrated to Divine Service, "and barred all Alienation with the moſt dreadful Impreca-"tions."

In the Afternoon Dr. Cornelius Burges appeared on the other ſide of the Queſtion, and made a long Speech concerning the unprofitableneſs of thoſe Corporations; he complained of the debauchery of ſinging Men, and of their vicious Converſation; he ſpoke againſt Muſick in Churches as uſeleſs and hurtful. He made a large anſwer to the Particulars of Dr. Hackett's Speech; and in concluſion ſaid, "Though he apprehended it neceſſary to apply theſe foun-"dations to better Purpoſes, it was by no means lawful to "alienate them from publick and pious Uſes, or to convert "them to any private perſon's Profit." Dr. Burges's Speech againſt them.

The further debate of this Bill was adjourned for a week, and then committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, when the two following remarkable Speeches were made againſt theſe Foundations. Ruſhw. p. 285. Nalſon, p. 282.

The

King Charles I. 1641.

Serjeant Thomas's Speech againſt Deans and Chapters. Original of Deans, &c.

The firſt by Mr. Serjeant Thomas, who admits, "That there were Deans in St. Auſtin's time, but that they were not Officers of the Church 'till ſome Centuries after. St. Auſtin gives this account of their Original; that the Monks, for their more convenient retirement and contemplation, appointed Officers, whom they called Deans, Eo quod Denis ſunt præpoſiti;" becauſe every Dean had the care of ten Monks, and was to provide them with all neceſſaries of Life, that their devotions might not be interrupted with worldly cares. In the following ages of darkneſs and ſuperſtition, Princes, and others, beſtowed large revenues upon theſe Monks, from the opinion they had of the auſterity and ſanctity of their Lives; and as the Monks grew rich, the Office of the Dean, who was the Præpoſitus or Steward, grew more conſiderable, till in St. Bernard's time it was ordained, that none but a Preſbyter ſhould be a Dean: "Ne ſit Decanus niſi Preſbyter." At the reformation of Religion, when many other religious Foundations were broke up, theſe were preſerved, and in the Conſtitutions of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. 'tis ordained, that all Deans ſhould be Preſbyters, Men of gravity, learning and prudence, that they ſhould govern the Cathedral Churches according to their ſeveral Statutes; that they ſhould preſerve diſcipline, and ſee that the holy Rites be performed in a grave and decent manner; that they be aſſiſtants to the Biſhops within their ſeveral Cathedrals, as the Archdeacons are abroad, for which reaſon they ſhould not be abſent from their Cathedrals without the moſt urgent neceſſity, to be allowed by the Biſhop, but one or other of them is to preach in their Cathedrals every Lord's Day." The Serjeant then obſerved, how unlike our preſent Deans were to their Anceſtors; how little they obſerved the Statutes of their Inſtitution, and gave it as his opinion, that it was not reaſonable that ſuch vaſt revenues ſhould be allowed to perſons who were of ſo little uſe to the Church or Commonwealth.

Ald. Pury's Speech againſt them. Nalſon p. 289.

Mr. Pury, Alderman of Glouceſter, purſued the ſame argument; he produced a copy of the Statutes of the Dean and Chapter of Glouceſter, with their original Grant about the time of the Reformation, "We have erected (ſays the King) Cathedrals and Colleges in the place of Monaſteries, that where ignorance and ſuperſtition reigned, the ſincere Worſhip of God might flouriſh, and the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus be purely preached; and further, that the

"en-

King Charles I. 1641.

" encreaſe of the Chriſtian Faith and Piety, the inſtructi-
" on of Youth in good learning, and the ſuſtentation of the
" Poor may be for ever kept, maintained, and continued."
He then produced the Statutes, which ordained, " That
" the ſaid Deans, Prebends, and Canons, ſhall always re-
" ſide and dwell in the Houſes of the ſaid Cathedrals, and
" there keep a Family, with good hoſpitality to feed the
" Poor, and to diſtribute Alms. That they ſhould preach
" the Word in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, eſpecially in the
" Cathedral Church, and have Youth profitably taught
" there. To this end they are to have a common Table
" in the common Hall of the Cathedral, where the Canons,
" Scholars, Choriſters, and under Officers, are to eat to-
" gether. The ſaid Dean and Chapter are to give yearly
" 20 l. to the Poor, beſides what is given to their own poor
" Alms-men, and 20 l. more to the repairing Bridges and
" Highways thereabouts. For the performance of the ſaid
" Statutes and Premiſes, the Deans, Prebendaries, Canons,
" and other Miniſters of the Cathedral, are obliged to
" take an Oath, and every one of them doth ſwear,
" that to the utmoſt of his power, he will obſerve them
" inviolably."

The Alderman obſerves from hence, " That not one
" of the above-mentioned Statutes are, or have been kept,
" or the matters in any of them contained, performed by
" any of the Deans or Prebendaries of the ſaid Cathedral
" in his Memory. That they come once a year to receive
" the Rents and Profits of the Lands, but do not diſtribute
" to the Poor their proportion; nor do they mend the
" Highways and Bridges; nor do they keep any common
" Table; and inſtead of preaching in ſeaſon and out of
" ſeaſon, they neither practiſe it themſelves, nor encourage
" it in others. Infinite are the preſſures that many Cities
" near unto Deans and Chapters, have endured by them,
" and their procurement; ſo far have they been from a
" common benefit. Since then the ſaid Deans and Chap-
" ters are but Truſtees, and the profits of the ſaid Lands
" have been ſo ill employed, contrary to the truſt in them
" repoſed, the Alderman was of Opinion, that by a legiſ-
" lative Power in Parliament it was fit to take them away,
" and to put them into the hands of Feoffees, to be diſpoſed
" of, to ſuch pious and charitable uſes as they were firſt
" intended for; by which means the preaching of the Goſ-
" gel might be effectually encouraged, ſmaller Livings

" augmented,

King Charles I. 1641.

"augmented, and the neceſſities of the Poor better ſup-
"plied."

Reſolutions of the houſe, but the Bill loſt.

Theſe Speeches made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Houſe, that after a long Debate they came to theſe Reſolutions, "That all Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Pre-
"bendaries, Chaunters, Canons, and petty Canons, and
"their Officers, ſhall be utterly aboliſhed and taken away
"out of the Church; and that all the Lands taken by this
"Bill from Deans and Chapters, ſhall be put into the
"hands of Feoffees, to be employed for the ſupport of a fit
"number of preaching Miniſters for the ſervice of every
"Church, and for the reparation of the ſaid Churches,
"proviſion being made, that his Majeſty be no loſer in his
"Rents, firſt Fruits, and other Duties; and that a com-
"petent Maintenance ſhall be made to the ſeveral perſons
"concern'd, if they appear not Delinquents to this Houſe."
But none of theſe Votes paſſed into a Law; nor was there the leaſt proſpect of their being received by the Lords, as long as the Biſhops were in that Houſe, who ſtood together like a wall againſt every attempt of the Commons for alterations in the Church, till, by an unexpected providence, they were broken in pieces, and made way for their own ruin.

Committee of Accommodation.

The Firmneſs of the Biſhops againſt all abatements or relaxations in favour of the Puritans, exaſperated the people, and put an end to all proſpects of agreement. A Committee of Accommodation had been appointed by the Houſe of Lords, March 12, to conſider of ſuch Innovations in Religion as were proper to be taken away, which by the Plot of the Court to bring up the army, and the loſs of the late Bills for Reformation of the Hierarchy, was now broken up. It conſiſted of ten Earls, ten Biſhops, and ten Barons. "This Committee, ſays Archbiſhop Laud in his Diary,
"will meddle with Doctrine as well as Ceremony, and
"will call ſome Divines to them to conſider of the buſineſs,
"as appears by a letter hereunto annexed, ſent by the
"Lord Biſhop of Lincoln to ſome Divines to attend this
"ſervice. Upon the whole, I believe this Committee will
"prove the national Synod of England, to the great diſho-
"nour of the Church, and what elſe may follow upon it,
"Gods knows." At their firſt meeting they appointed a Sub-committee of Biſhops, and Divines of different perſua-ſions, to prepare matters for their debate; the Biſhop of Lincoln was Chairman of both, and was ordered to call together

The Sub-Committee.

together the Sub-committee with all convenient ſpeed; which he did, by a letter directed to each of them, in the following words: King Charles I. 1641.

"I Am commanded by the Lords of the Committee for "Innovations in matters of Religion, to let you know, "that their ſaid Lordſhips have aſſigned and appointed you "to attend them, as aſſiſtants in that Committee; and to "let you know in general, that their Lordſhips intend to "examine all innovations in Doctrine and Diſcipline intro-"duced into the Church, without Law, ſince the Refor-"mation; and (if their Lordſhips, ſhall find it behoveful "for the good of the Church and State) to examine after "that, the degrees and perfection of the Reformation it-"ſelf, which I am directed to intimate to you, that you may "prepare your thoughts, ſtudies, and meditations, accord-"ingly, expecting their Lordſhips pleaſure for the particu-"lar points, as they ſhall ariſe. Dated March 12th, "1640-1."

Their Names were theſe:

Their Names.

Dr. Williams, Bp. of Lincoln,	Dr. Brownrigge,
Dr. Uſher, Abp. of Armagh,	Dr. Holdſworth,
Dr. Morton, Bp. of Durham,	Dr. Hacket,
	Dr. Twiſſe,
Dr. Hall, Bp. of Exeter,	Dr. Burges,
Dr. Samuel Ward,	Mr. White,
Dr. John Prideaux,	Mr. Marſhall,
Dr. Sanderſon,	Mr. Calamy,
Dr. Featly,	Mr. Hill.

Some others were named, but theſe were all that appeared; they conſulted together ſix ſeveral days in the Jeruſalem Chamber at Weſtminſter, the Dean entertaining them all the while at his Table. The reſult of their conferences was drawn up for the debate of the Committee, in certain Propoſitions and Queries, under the following heads:

I. Innovations in DOCTRINE.

Their Propoſitions and Queries.

1. "Quære, Whether in the 20th Article theſe words "are not inſerted, "The Church hath authority in con-"troverſies of Faith?"

King Charles I. 1641.

2. "Several falſe Doctrines have been preached, even all "the Doctrines of the Council of Trent, abating only "ſuch points of State Popery againſt the King's Supremacy, as were made treaſon by the Statute; for example, "ſome have preach'd juſtification by Works; others, that "works of penance are ſatisfactory before God; that private confeſſion is neceſſary to ſalvation, Neceſſiate medii; that abſolution of a Prieſt is more than declaratory; "that the Lord's Supper is a true and proper Sacrifice. "Some have defended prayer for the dead, and the lawfulneſs of monaſtic Vows; ſome have denied the morality of the Sabbath; ſome have preached, that Subjects "are bound to pay taxes, contrary to the laws of the "Realm; ſome have defended the whole ſubſtance of Arminianiſm; and others have given juſt occaſion of being "ſuſpected of Socinianiſm.

3. "Several dangerous and reproveable Books have been "printed," which are mentioned in the copy of their proceedings, now before me.

II. Innovations in DISCIPLINE.

As, 1. "Turning the holy Table into an Altar.

2. "Bowing towards it, or to the Eaſt many times, with "three Congees, at acceſs or receſs in the Church.

3. "Placing candleſticks on Altars in parochial Churches "in the day time, and making canopies over them, with "curtains, in imitation of the Vail of the Temple; advancing Crucifixes and Images upon the Parafront or Altar-"cloth, and compelling all communicants to come up before the rails.

4. "Reading the Litany in the body of the Church, and "ſome part of the Morning Prayer at the Altar, when "there is no Communion; and the Miniſter's turning his "Face to the Eaſt when he pronounces the Creed, or reads "Prayers.

5. "Offering Bread and Wine by the hands of the "Church-Wardens, or others, before the Conſecration of "the Elements. Having a Credentia or Side-table for the "Lord's Supper. Introducing an Offertory before the "Communion, beſides the giving Alms to the Poor afterwards.

6. "Prohibiting Miniſters to expound the Catechiſm; "ſuppreſſing Lectures on the week day, and Sermons on "Sunday Afternoon. Prohibiting a direct Prayer before "Sermon; and Bidding of Prayer.

7. "Sing-

King Charles I. 1641.

7. " Singing Te Deum in proſe in Pariſh Churches. " Standing up at the hymns of the Church; and always " at Gloria Patri. Carrying children from Baptiſm to the " Altar, to offer them to God; and prohibiting the build- " ing Galleries in Churches, where the Pariſhes are very " populous.

8. " Introducing Latin Service in the Communion at " Oxford; and into Morning and Evening Prayer in Cam- " bridge.

9. " Pretending for their Innovations the Injunctions and " Advertiſements of Queen Elzabeth, which are not in " force, but appertain to the Liturgy, printed in the 2d " and 3d of Ed. VI. which the Parliament hath reformed " and laid aſide."

Memorandum for Reformation.

1. " That in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches two " Sermons be preached every Sunday, and likewiſe every " Holiday; and one Lecture at leaſt on working days every " week in the year.

2. " That the muſick uſed in the Cathedral and Collegi- " ate Churches be framed with leſs curioſity; and that no " hymns or anthems be uſed where ditties are framed by " private Men, but ſuch as are contained in the holy Scrip- " tures, or in our Liturgy or Prayers, or have publick al- " lowance.

3. " That the Reading Deſk be placed in the Church, " where Divine Service may be beſt heard of the Peo- " ple."

III. Conſiderations upon the Book of Common Prayer.

1. " Whether the names of ſome departed Saints ſhould " not be ſtruck out of the Calendar?

2. " Whether the Rubrick ſhould not be mended, where " all thoſe Veſtments are commanded which were uſed in " the 2d year of Edw. VI.?

3. " Whether Leſſons of Canonical Scripture ſhould " not be inſerted into the Calendar inſtead of Apocry- " pha?

4. " In the Rubrick for the Lord's Supper, whether " it ſhould not be inſerted, that ſuch as intend to com- " municate ſhall ſignify their names to the Curate over " Night, or in the Morning before Prayers?

King Charles I. 1641.

5. "The next Rubrick to be explained, how far a Mini-
"ſter may repulſe a ſcandalous and notorious ſinner from
"the Communion?

6. "Whether it be not fit to inſert a Rubrick, touching
"kneeling at the Communion, that it is to comply in all
"humility with the Prayer which the Miniſter makes,
"when he delivers the Elements?

7. "Whether there ſhould not be a Rubrick to take
"away all offence from the Croſs in Baptiſm? or, whe-
"ther it be more expedient that it be wholly diſuſed? and,
"whether this reaſon ſhall be publiſhed, that in ancient
"Litugies no Croſs was ſigned upon the party but where
"Oil alſo was uſed, and therefore Oil being now omitted,
"ſo may that which was concomitant with it, the ſign of
"the Croſs?

8. "Whether the Catechiſm may not receive a little
"more enlargement?

9. "Whether the times prohibited for Marriage are
"quite to be taken away? whether thoſe words in the Of-
"fice, "With my Body I thee worſhip," ſhould not be
"thus altered, "I give thee power over my Body?" and,
"whether that part of the Rubrick, which obliges the new
"married perſons to receive the Communion the ſame day
"of their marriage, might not be changed for the next
"Sunday, when the Communion is celebrated?

10. "Whether in the Abſolution for the Sick it were
"not better to ſay, "I pronounce thee abſolved? and in
"the Office for the Dead, inſtead of thoſe words, "In
"ſure and certain hope of the Reſurrection to Eternal Life,"
"whether it were not better to ſay, "Knowing aſſuredly,
"that the Dead ſhall riſe again?"

Some other amendments of ſmaller moment were pro-poſed, but theſe were the chief. No mention was made of a Reformation of Epiſcopacy, becauſe their Chairman, the Biſhop of Lincoln, had undertaken that Province, and accordingly preſented the Houſe of Lords with a reconciling Scheme, which was dropt after the firſt Reading. It conſiſted of ten Articles.

Bp. William's Scheme of Church Diſcipline.

1. "That every Biſhop being within his Dioceſe, and
"not diſabled by ill health, ſhall preach once every Lord's
"Day, or pay five Pounds to the Poor, to be levied by the
"next Juſtice of Peace.

2. "That

2. " That no Biſhop ſhall be a Juſtice of Peace, except " the Dean of Weſtminſter in Weſtminſter and St Martin's. " [This ſeems to be a proviſo for himſelf.] King Charles I. 1641.

3. " That every Biſhop ſhall have twelve Aſſiſtants be- " ſides the Dean and Chapter; four to be choſen by the " King, four by the Lords, and four by the Commons, for " Juriſdiction and Ordination.

4. " That in all Vacancies, theſe Aſſiſtants, with the " Dean and Chapter, ſhall preſent to the King, three of the " ableſt Divines in the Dioceſe, who ſhall chooſe one to " be Biſhop.

5. " That Deans and Prebendaries ſhall not be Non-reſi- " dents at their Cathedrals above ſixty days.

6. " That Sermons ſhall be preached in the Cathedrals " twice every Lord's Day, once every Holiday, and a Lecture " on Wedneſdays, with a Salary of one hundred Marks per " Annum.

7. " That all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Collegiate " Churches, &c. ſhall be obliged to give a fourth part " of their fines, and improved rents, to buy in impropri- " ations.

8. " That all double beneficed Men ſhall pay the value " of half their Living to the Curate.

9. " No Appeal ſhall be made to the Court of Arches, " or Court of Audience.

10. " It is propoſed, that Canons and Eccleſiaſtical " Conſtitutions ſhall be drawn up, and ſuited to the Laws " of the Realm, by ſixteen learned Perſons, ſix to be no- " minated by the King, five by the Lords, and five by the " Commons."

Archbiſhop Uſher offered another ſcheme, " For the " reduction of Epiſcopacy into the Form of Synodical Go- " vernment, received in the ancient Church;" in which his Grace ſuppoſes, that of the many Elders that ruled the Church of Epheſus, there was one ſtated Preſident whom our Saviour calls the Angel; and whom Ignatius, in one of his Epiſtles, calls the Biſhop, to whom, in Conjunction with the Elders or Preſbyters, the whole Government of the Church, both as to Doctrine and Diſcipline, was committed. He therefore propoſes, that theſe be continued; and for a regulation of their Juriſdiction, that Suffragans ſhould be appointed to hold monthly Synods of Preſbyters, from whom there ſhould be an Appeal to Dioceſan, Provincial, and National ones; and more particularly, Archbiſhop Uſher's Reduction of Epiſcopacy to Synodical Government.

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1. "That the Rector of every Pariſh, with the Church-
" Wardens ſhould admoniſh and reprove ſuch as live ſcan-
" dalouſly, according to the quality of their offence; and
" if by this means they are not reclaimed, to preſent them
" to the next monthly Synod, and in the mean time debar
" them the Lord's Table.

2. "Whereas by a Statute of 26th Henry VIII. Suffra-
" gans are appointed to be erected in twenty ſix ſeveral
" places of this Kingdom, the number of them may be con-
" formed to the number of the ſeveral Rural Deanries, in-
" to which every Dioceſe is ſubdivided; which being done,
" the Suffragan may every Month aſſemble a Synod of the
" ſeveral Rectors or incumbent Paſtors within the Precinct,
" and according to the major Part of their Votes con-
" clude all matters that ſhould be brought into Debate be-
" fore them.

3. "A Dioceſan Synod might be held once or twice a
" year, wherein all the Suffragans, and the reſt of the Rec-
" tors and incumbent Paſtors, or a certain ſelect number out
" of every Deanry, within that Dioceſe, might meet, with
" whoſe conſent all things might be concluded by the Bi-
" ſhop or Superintendent; or in his Abſence by one of his
" Suffragans, whom he ſhould appoint as Moderator in his
" room; and here the Tranſactions of the monthly Synods
" may be reviſed and reformed.

4. "The Provincial Synod may conſiſt of all the Bi-
" ſhops and Suffragans, ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould be
" elected out of every Dioceſe within the Province: The
" Primate of either Province might be Moderator, or in
" his room, one of the Biſhops appointed by him. This
" Synod might be held every third year, and if the Par-
" liament be ſitting, both the Primates and Provincial Sy-
" nods might join together, and make up one National Sy-
" nod, wherein all Appeals from inferior Synods might be
" received, and all their Acts examined, and all Eccleſia-
" ſtical Affairs relating to the State of the Church in ge-
" neral, eſtabliſhed."

Other reconciling Schemes. Nalſon, p. 203.

Several other Propoſals were made to the Houſe of Commons by thoſe Puritans, who were for altering ſome things in the Church, but not for Root and Branch; as that his Majeſty ſhould be moved to call a National Synod, or a ſelect number of Divines of the three Nations under his Majeſty's Government; with an intimation to all the reformed Churches to ſend their Deputies, to ſettle an uniform mo-

del

del of Government for the Church of England, to be confirmed by Parliament, leaving to other Nations a Chriſtian Liberty in thoſe Forms of Diſcipline which are maſt agreeable to their Civil Government. King Charles I. 1641.

Others propoſed, "That the preſent Liturgy might be "continued, but that the Apocryphal Leſſons be entirely "omitted; that all Sentences of Holy Scripture be accord-"ing to the laſt Tranſlation; that the Word Miniſter be uſed "inſtead of Prieſt; with ſome other Amendments——That, "with regard to Epiſcopal Government, Biſhops be oblig-"ed to conſtant preaching in their Metropolitan or Paro-"chial Churches; ———that they never ordain without "conſent of three or four Preſbyters at leaſt; —— that "they do not ſuſpend by their ſole Authority, but with "conſent of Preſbyters, and that for weighty cauſes;—— "that none may be excommunicated but by the Biſhop "himſelf, with conſent of the Paſtor in whoſe Pariſh the "Delinquent dwells; and that for heinous and very ſcanda-"lous crimes only. —— That the fees of Eccleſiaſtical "Courts be regulated, and that Biſhops, Chancellors, and "their Officials, may be ſubject to the cenſure of Provin-"cial Synods and Convocations."

But all theſe attempts for Accommodation were blaſted, by the ſtiffneſs of the Biſhops againſt all Relaxations, and by the diſcovery of the plot to bring the Army to London to diſſolve the Parliament; this put the Nation into a Ferment, and widened the diſtance between the King and the two Houſes, upon which the Committee broke up about the middle of May, without bringing any thing to Perfection. Mr. Fuller has obſerved very juſtly, "That the "moderation and mutual compliance of theſe Divines, "might have ſaved the Body of Epiſcopacy, and prevent-"ed the Civil War; but the Court Biſhops expected no "good from them, ſuſpecting the doctrinal Puritans (as "they nick-named thoſe Biſhops and Epiſcopal Divines) "joined with the Diſciplinary Puritans, would betray the "Church between them. Some hot Spirits would abate "nothing of Epiſcopal Power or Profit, but maintained, "that the yielding any thing was granting the day to the "oppoſite party." 'Tis the Obſervation of another learn-"ed Writer, upon the Committee's agreeing to have the "Pſalms in the Liturgy printed according to the new "Tranſlation; to expunge all Apocryphal Leſſons; to "alter certain paſſages in the Book of Common Prayer; The Committe of Accommodation breaks up. Biſhop Kennet.

King. Charles I. 1641.

and ſome other things, with which divers of the Preſbyterians ſaid they were ſatisfied, "That if the Epiſcopal Men "had made theſe conceſſions when they were in full Pow-"er, they had prevented the miſchiefs that were coming "upon them; but as things were at preſent, neither ſide "appeared very well ſatisfied."

Remarks.

There were deep Reſentments in the Breaſts of both Parties; the Biſhops were incenſed at the bold attacks of the Houſe of Commons upon their Peerage and Spiritual Juriſdiction; and the Puritans had a quick ſenſe of their former Sufferings, which made them reſtleſs till they had clipt their wings. 'Tis very remarkable, and looks like an Appearance of the Divine Diſpleaſure againſt "the Spirit of theſe "Times," that Archbiſhop Uſher's ſcheme, for the Reduction of Epiſcopacy, which would have ſatisfied the chief Body of the Puritans, could not be obtained at this time from the King and the Biſhops; that afterwards, when the King offered this very Scheme at the Treaty of the Iſle of Wight, the Parliament and Puritan Divines would not accept it, for fear of breaking with their Scots Brethren. Again, when the Preſbyterian Miniſters, at the Reſtoration of King Charles II. preſented it to his Majeſty as a Model with which they were ſatisfied, and which would comprehend in a manner their whole Body, both the King and Biſhops rejected it with contempt, and would not ſuffer it to be debated.

Remarks upon Mr. Rapin.

It may not be improper in this place, to make a few Remarks upon this part of Mr. Rapin's Accurate and judicious Hiſtory of England, who in his Account of theſe Times ſeems to repreſent the Body of the Puritans to be Preſbyterians, and as having formed a Conſpiracy againſt the whole Fabrick of the Church, from the very beginning of the Parliament; whereas the State of the Controverſy was now changed: In the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. the Puritans were for the moſt part Preſbyterians, though even then there were many Epiſcopalians among them; but from the time that Arminianiſm prevailed in the Church, and the whole Body of the Calviniſts came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Doctrinal Puritans, both Parties ſeemed to unite in a moderate Epiſcopacy, for there was little or no mention of the old Book of Diſcipline for twenty years before the beginning of the Civil War, all the Controverſy being upon Points of Calviniſm; upon a Reduction of the exorbitant Power of the Biſhops; and

upon

upon Innovations (as they were called) and Ceremonies. There were few either among the Clergy or Laity, that had a zeal for Presbytery, or desired any more than to be rid of their oppressions. But Mr. Rapin is of opinion, that "among "the Members of Parliament there were real Presbyterians, "who thought, no doubt, of altering the whole government "of the Church. These are represented as deep Politi- "cians, as working under ground, and making use of all "kinds of artifices to accomplish their designs, which they "took care not to discover." He owns, indeed, that "the "Presbyterians were not very numerous in the House, but "that they were supported by a pretty great Party in the "Kingdom, and particularly by the Scots." All which seems to me to require stronger Evidence than he has been able to produce. I have shewn from Lord Clarendon, that both Houses of Parliament at their first sitting down, were almost to a Man for the constitution of the Church; that they aimed at no more than a Redress of Grievances; and that there were not above two or three in both Houses that were for Root and Branch. That all the Members received the Communion according to the usage of the Church of England, at their first setting down, and brought a certificate of their having so done. That the Petition of the Puritan Ministers was not for setting up Presbytery, but only for reforming the grievances of the Hierarchy; the controversy between Bishop Hall and the Smectymnuan Divines, proceeded on the same foot, as did the Committee of Accommodation. In short, when the Parliament was obliged to fly to the Scots for their Assistance in the War, and to receive their Covenant; and when afterwards they found it necessary to pay the utmost deference to their advices, lest they should withdraw their Army, and leave them to the mercy of an enraged King; they could never, in the worst of times, be induced to establish their Discipline in the Church of England, without a reserve of the Ecclesiastical Power to themselves. And as to the Ministers that made up the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, though in a course of time they carried things very high, yet I am of opinion with Mr. Fuller, that at first "they rather favoured the "Presbyterian Discipline, or were brought over to em- "brace it by the Scots," than that they came thither possessed with sentiments of its Divine Authority. However 'tis certain, that at the Restoration these very Divines offered to give it up for Archbishop Usher's Model of Primitive Episcopacy.

King Charles I. 1641.

Vol. XI. p. 63, 65, 560.

B. IX. p. 198.

It

King Charles I. 1641.

It must be confessed, that soon after the beginning of the Parliament there were many among the common People that were for Root and Branch, being supported by the Scots Commissioners, who had conceived an implacable antipathy against the Order of Bishops, which they had voted contrary to the Word of God. But this was not the case with the Puritan Clergy, who wanted only to get rid of the tyranny of the Bishops, and were willing to leave the Parliament to model the government of the Church as they pleased. But as the influence of the Scots over the two Houses encreased, Presbytery prevailed; and when the Parliament were at their mercy, and forced to submit to what conditions they would impose upon them for their assistance, the Kirk Discipline was in its ascendant, and at length advanced into a Divine Right in the assembly of Divines; but the Parliament would never come into it, and when the Scots were gone home it dwindled by degrees, till it was almost totally eclipsed by the rising greatness of the Independants.

It appears therefore to me, that there was no formed design as yet, either in the House of Commons, or among the Puritan Clergy, to subvert the Hierarchy, and erect the Presbyterian Government upon its Ruins; there were no considerable number of Presbyterian Ministers in the Nation and the leading Members in both Houses were known to be of another Stamp. "We are confident (says the King, in his Letter to the Council of Scotland, Aug. 26.) "that the most considerable persons in both Houses of Par- "liament, and those who make the fairest pretensions to "you of uniformity in Church Government, will no sooner "embrace a Presbyterial than you an Episcopal." And Bishop Burnet speaks the same language. So that what was done in the House of Commons afterwards, was the result of the situation of their affairs, and not of any formed design: As that changed, so did their Councils and Measures. The contrary to this ought not to be supposed, but proved by incontestible matters of fact, which neither Mr. Rapin, nor any other Historian that I have read, has yet done. And I will venture to say, that if there were such invisible Presbyterians behind the curtain, that designed the subversion of the Hierarchy, and blew it up as it were without hands, they must have been abler Statesmen, and masters of much more worldly Politicks, than their Posterity have ever been remarkable for.

Ham. Mem. B. IV. p. 197.

To

King Charles I. 1641.

To return to the Parliament; there were two Bills that affected the Prerogative now ready for the Royal Aſſent; one "to aboliſh the Court of High Commiſſion, and regu- "late the Privy Council; the other, "to take away the "Star Chamber." To induce the King to paſs them more readily, the Commons ſent up a Money Bill with them; but when the King came to the Houſe [July 3.] he paſſed the Money Bill, but told the Houſes, he muſt take ſome time to conſider of the others; which diſguſted the Commons ſo much, that they returned to their Houſe and immediately adjourned. At their next meeting, they fell into new heats, which his Majeſty being informed of, came to the Houſe of Peers, and having ſent for the Commons, reprimanded them for their jealouſies, and then paſſed the Bills; he alſo put them in mind what he had done this Seſſion; "That he had yielded, that the Judges ſhould "hold their places Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint; that he "had given away his Right to Ship Money; granted a law "for Triennial Parliaments, and for ſecuring the money "borrowed for disbanding the Armies; in a word, that he "had hitherto given way to every thing, and therefore they "ſhould not wonder, if in ſome things he began now to "refuſe." Lord Clarendon inſinuates, that the King paſſed theſe Bills with reluctance; from whence another ingenious Writer concludes, that if ever the Miniſtry could regain their power, 'twas likely they would adviſe his Majeſty to declare them void, as being extorted from him by force and violence.

King's Conduct at paſſing the Bills for aboliſhing the High Commiſſion and Star Chamber.

Nalſon, P. 327.

Act for aboliſhing the Court of High Commiſſion.

The Act for aboliſhing the High Commiſſion Court repeals that branch of the Statute, 1 Eliz. cap. 1. upon which this Court was founded, and then enacts, "That no Arch- "biſhops, Biſhops, Vicars General, Chancellor, or Offi- "cial, nor Commiſſary of any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, or "Vicar General, or any other ſpiritual, or eccleſiaſtical "Officer, ſhall by any grant, licenſe or commiſſion from "the King, his Heirs or Succeſſors, after the 1ſt of Auguſt, "1641. award, impoſe, or inflict any pain, penalty, fine, "amercement, Impriſonment, or other corporal puniſh- "ment, upon any of the King's ſubjects, for any contempt, "miſdemeanor, crime, matter or thing whatſoever, be- "longing to ſpiritual, or eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, or ſhall "Ex Officio tender or admiiniſter to any perſon, any cor- "poral oath, to make any preſentment of any crime, or "to confeſs or accuſe himſelf of any crime, offence, delin- "quency, or Miſdemeanor, whereby he or ſhe may be "liable

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"liable to any puniſhment whatſoever, under penalty of treble charges, and one hundred pounds to him or them who ſhall firſt demand or ſue for the ſame. And it is further enacted, that after the ſaid firſt of Auguſt, 1641. no new Court ſhall be erected, or deemed, or appointed, that ſhall have the like power, juriſdiction, or authority, as the High Commiſſion Court had, or pretended to have, but all ſuch Commiſſions, Letters Patents, &c. from the King, or his Succeſſors; and all Acts, Sentences and Decrees, made by virtue thereof, ſhall be utterly void."

Remarks.

By the paſſing this Bill all coercive power of Church Conſiſtories was taken away, and the Spiritual Sword, that had done ſuch terrible execution in the hands of ſome Biſhops, was put into the Scabbard. It was very extraordinary that the Biſhops, who were then in the Houſe of Lords, ſhould ſo ſupinely ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized out of their power. Some were ready to obſerve a hand of juſtice, (ſays Mr. Fuller) that ſeeing many ſimple ſouls, by captious interrogatories, had been circumvented by the High Commiſſion Court into a ſelf accuſation, an unſuſpected clauſe in this Statute ſhould aboliſh all their lawful authority; for there is no proviſo in the Act to confine it only to the High Commiſſion, but it extends to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical Officers in any of their Courts. Lord Clarendon ſays, that the King was apprehenſive that the body of the Bill exceeded the title, and therefore made a pauſe in conſenting to it, but that ſome Biſhops prevailed with his Majeſty to ſign it, to take off the odium from that Bench, of their being enemies to all Reformation; for it was inſinuated (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) that ſince they oppoſed a due regulation of their power, there would be no way but to cut them off Root and Branch.

Book XI. p. 181.

Clarend. Vol I. p. 284.

Star Chamber aboliſhed

The Act for taking away the Star Chamber, and regulating the Privy Council, diſſolves the ſaid Court from the firſt of Aug. 1641. "and repeals all thoſe Acts, or clauſes "of Acts of Parliament, by which any juriſdiction, Power, "or authority, is given to the ſaid Court, or to any of "the Officers or Miniſters thereof. And it ordains fur-"ther, that neither his Majeſty, nor his Privy Council, "have, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, or au-"thority, by Engliſh Bill, Petition, Articles, Libel, or "other arbitrary way, to examine or draw in queſtion, "determine, or diſpoſe of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods or chattles, of any of the Subjects of this "Kingdom."

Thus

King Charles I. 1641.

Thus fell the two chief Engines of the late arbitrary proceedings in Church and State, which had the Liberties and Eſtates of many religious and pious Families to anſwer for. By the Proviſo in the Act for aboliſhing the High Commiſſion, that " no new Court ſhall be erected with " like power for the future :" It appears how odious their Proceedings were in the eyes of the Nation. Lord Clarendon admits, that the taking away the Star Chamber at this time was very popolar ; but is of opinion, that it would be no leſs politick in the Crown to revive it when the preſent diſtempers are expired ; but I ſhould hope an Engliſh Parliament would never conſent to it. Vol. I. p. 285.

Manifeſto in favour of the Palatine Family.

When the King had ſigned the two Bills, he deſired the advice of his Parliament, concerning a Manifeſto which he intended to ſend to the Diet of Ratiſbon in favour of the Palatine Family, in which he declares, that he will not abandon the intereſts of his Siſter and Nephews, but will employ all his force and power in their behalf unleſs they are reſtored. This was highly acceptable to the Puritans, who had always the Intereſt of that Houſe at heart. The Manifeſto was read July 7, when the Commons declared their approbation of it, and reſolved, to give his Majeſty ſuch aſſiſtance therein, as ſhall ſtand with the Honour of his Majeſty, and the Intereſt and Affections of his Kingdom, if the preſent Treaty does not ſucceed. The Peers concurred in the ſame Vote, and both Houſes deſired the King to recommend it to the Parliament of Scotland ; which his Majeſty promiſed. Many warm Speeches were made on this occaſion in favour of the Queen of Bohemia, by Sir Simon D'Ewes, Mr. Denzil Hollis, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard. " The reſtoring the Prince to his Electo- " rate (ſays Sir Benjamin) will reſtore the Proteſtant Reli- " gion there ; it will ſtrengthen and encreaſe it in Germa- " ny, which is of great and vaſt conſequence. It will " likewiſe refreſh and comfort the needful heart of that " moſt noble, virtuous, and magnanimouſly ſuffering Queen " of Bohemia his Majeſty's Siſter, and his Highneſs's Mo- " ther, who is ever to be highly and tenderly regarded by " this Houſe, and by this Kingdom.-----Mr. Denzil Hollis ſaid, " The Houſe of Commons looks upon thoſe diſtreſſed " Princes of ſo glorious an Extraction, with an eye of " tenderneſs, wiſhing every drop of that Princely Blood " may ever be illuſtrated with honour and happineſs----- " To hear that theſe Princes ſhould have their patrimony " taken from them, and ſuffer things ſo unworthy of their " Birth

Ruſhw. p. 310.

Nalſon, p. 368, 378.

King Charles I. 1641.

" Birth and Relation, is a thing that makes our ears to " tingle, and our hearts to riſe within us---But there is ano- " ther motive which has an irreſiſtible operation with us, which " is the advancement of the Proteſtant Religion---The Pro- " teſtant Religion and this Kingdom muſt live and die toge- " ther; and 'tis madneſs to ſuppoſe the Proteſtant Religi- " on can continue here, if we ſuffer it to be deſtroyed and " eradicated out of the Neighbour Countries------Religion " is the heart of England, and England is the heart of " the Proteſtant Religion in all the other parts of Chriſten- " dom; let us therefore, like wiſe men, that foreſee the " evil afar off, rather meet it at a diſtance, than ſtay till " the Auſtrian Ambition and Popiſh Power comes to " our door." Theſe were the ſentiments of the Puritans in this Parliament, with reſpect to the Anceſtors of his preſent Majeſty, and the Proteſtant Religion. The Queen of Bohemia was ſo ſenſible of their particular regards for her family, that ſhe ſent them her thanks; but the Manifeſto came to nothing.

Ruſhw. p. 316.

Ibid. p. 357.

Further Attacks upon the Biſhops.

The Commons not being able to come at their intended alterations in the Church, while the Bench of Biſhops remained intire in the Houſe of Peers, formed ſeveral ſchemes to divide them: It was firſt propoſed to ſet large fines upon both Houſes of Convocation for compiling the late Canons, and a bill was brought in for that purpoſe; but upon better conſideration it was thought more effectual for the preſent, to make examples of thoſe Biſhops only, that were the principal movers in that affair; agreeably to this Reſolution a Committee was appointed, July 31, to draw up an Impeachment againſt one half of the Bench, (viz.) Dr. Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Curle Biſhop of Wincheſter, Dr. Wright Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, Dr. Goodman Biſhop of Glouceſter, Dr. Hall Biſhop of Exeter, Dr. Owen Biſhop of St. Aſaph, Dr. Pierſe Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Wren Biſhop of Ely, Dr. Roberts Biſhop of Bangor, Dr. Skinner Biſhop of Briſtol, Dr. Warner Biſhop of Rocheſter, Dr. Towers Biſhop of Peterborough, Dr. Owen Biſhop of Landaff. The Impeachment was of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, " For " making and publiſhing the late Canons, contrary to the " King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws of the " Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, and to the proper- " ty and liberty of the Subject; and containing matters " tending to Sedition, and of dangerous conſequence; and " for granting a Benevolence or Contribution to his Ma- " jeſty,

Thirteen Biſhops impeached for compiling the Canons. Ruſhw. p. 359.

"jeſty, to be paid by the Clergy of that Province, con- "trary to Law." It was carried up to the Lords Auguſt 4, by Serjeant Wild, who demanded, in the name of all the Commons of England, the Biſhops might be forthwith put to anſwer the Crimes and Miſdemeanors abovementioned, in the preſence of the Houſe of Commons; and that ſuch further proceedings might be had againſt them as to Law and Juſtice appertained. The Commons were in hopes, that the Biſhops would have quitted their Votes in Parliament to be diſcharged of the Præmunire; but they reſolved to abide by their right, and therefore only deſired time to prepare their anſwer, and Council for their aſſiſtance; accordingly they were allowed three months time to put in their anſwer, and Council of their own Nomination, (viz.) Serjeant Jermin, Mr. Chute, Mr. Herne, and Mr. Hales.

King Charles I. 1641.

Fuller, B. XI. p. 183.

But from this time the Biſhops fell under a general diſregard; the cry of the populace was againſt them, as the chief Impediments of all Reformation in Church and State; and even the Temporal Peers treated them with neglect, expreſſing their diſlike at the Biſhop of London's being ſtiled Right Honourable. Beſides the Lords Spiritual were not diſtinctly mentioned in the Bills that paſſed this Seſſion, according to the ancient uſage; the Clerk of the Parliament, in reading the Bills to the Houſe, turned his back upon the Bench of Biſhops; and when the Houſes went in a body to Church on a Faſt Day, the Temporal Barons gave themſelves precedency of the Biſhops. Theſe were the preludes to their downfal, which happened about ſix months forward, though from this time they were little better than Cyphers in the Houſe.

They fall into neglect.

Theſe reſolute proceedings againſt the Biſhops put the Court upon forming new projects to break up the Parliament. It was obſerved, that the ſtrength and courage of the Houſe of Commons roſe from their Confederacy with the Scots, whoſe Army in the North was entirely in their intereſt; it was therefore reſolved in Council, to diſunite that Nation (if poſſible) from the Parliament, and to bring them over to the King, by yielding every thing they ſhould deſire; for this purpoſe his Majeſty declared his Reſolution to the two Houſes, to viſit his native Country in perſon within fourteen days, and deſired them to finiſh the Bills that were before them by that time. The Commons being aware of the deſign, and apprehenſive of danger, if the King ſhould put himſelf at the head of the Engliſh Army

The King reſolves upon a Progreſs into Scotland to diſunite that Nation from the Parliament.

King Charles I. 1641.

Army in the North, ſent away the Earl of Holland immediately with money to pay them off, which was done without mutiny or diſturbance; but the buſineſs of the Houſes being very urgent, and the time ſhort, they voted, that in this caſe of great neceſſity, concerning the peace of the Kingdom, they would ſit the next day, being Sunday, by ſix a clock in the morning; which they did, and having heard a Sermon, returned to the Houſe about nine, and ſat all day long on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, [Auguſt 8, 1641.] But leſt this might be miſconſtrued as a profanation, or be drawn into example, they publiſhed the following declaration;

Ruſhw. p. 362. Nalſon, p. 436.

"WHereas both Houſes of Parliament upon the 8th of "Auguſt, being Lord's Day, for many urgent occaſions, being ſtraiten'd in time, by his Majeſty's Reſolution to go within a day or two to Scotland, they think "fit to declare, that they would not have done this but "upon inevitable neceſſity; the peace and ſafety of both "Church and State being ſo deeply concerned, which they "do hereby declare, to this end, that neither any other inferior Court or Council, or any other perſon, may draw "this into example, or make uſe of it for their encouragement, in neglecting the due obſervation of the Lord's "Day."

The ſame Vote paſſed the Houſe of Lords Nemine Contradicente, and was ordered to be printed.

Auguſt 10, his Majeſty came to the Houſe, and gave his Aſſent to a Bill concerning Knighthood; againſt the oppreſſions of the Stannary Courts; for regulating the Clerks of Markets; and for confirming and ratifying the peace [or pacification] with the Scots. This laſt being an affair of great conſequence, I ſhall give the reader an abſtract of the Treaty, which had been depending ever ſince Nov. 23, 1640, between the Commiſſioners of both Nations, who agreed to the following concluſions [Auguſt 7.] which the King ratified and confirmed, the very day he ſet out for Scotland.

Abſtract of the Pacification with Scotland.

"That the Acts of Parliament held at Edinburgh, June "2. be publiſhed by his Majeſty's Authority, and have in "all time to come the full ſtrength of Laws.

"That

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" That the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and other Forts of " Scotland, ſhould be furniſhed and uſed for the defence " of the Kingdom, with the advice of the States of Par- " liament.

" That all thoſe who in England or Ireland have been " impriſoned, or otherwiſe cenſured for ſubſcribing the Co- " venant, and for refuſing to take the oath contrary to " the ſame, ſhall be releaſed and freed from ſuch cenſures; " and for the time to come, the Subjects of Scotland living " in Scotland, ſhall not be obliged to any oaths contrary " to the Laws or Religion of that Kingdom; but if they " come to reſide in England or Ireland, they ſhall be ſub- " ject to the Laws, as others are.

" That all his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice ſhall be free " and open againſt all evil Counſellors and Delinquents; " that the Parliament of Scotland ſhall have liberty to " proceed againſt ſuch; and that his Majeſty will not em- " ploy any perſon, in any office or place, who ſhall be " judged incapable by ſentence of Parliament; nor make " uſe of their ſervice, nor grant them acceſs to his Royal " Perſon, without conſent of Parliament.

" That all Ships and Goods on both ſides be reſtored, " and that three hundred thouſand Pounds be given to the " Scots by the Engliſh, for their friendly aſſiſtance and " relief.

" That all Declarations, Proclamations, &c. that have " been publiſhed againſt the Loyalty and Dutifulneſs of " his Majeſty's Subjects of Scotland be recalled and ſup- " preſſed; and that at the cloſe of the Treaty of peace, " the Loyalty of his Majeſty's ſaid Subjects ſhall be made " known at the time of publick Thankſgiving in all places, " and particularly in all pariſh Churches of his Majeſty's " Dominions.

" That the Garriſons of Berwick and Carliſle be remov- " ed, and all things be reduced to the State they were in " before the late troubles.

" Whereas Unity in Religion, and Uniformity in Church " Government has been deſired by the Scots, as a ſpecial " means for preſerving the peace between both Kingdoms; " his Majeſty, with the advice of both Houſes of Parlia- " ment, doth approve of the affection of his Subjects of " Scotland, in their deſire of having a conformity of " Church Government between the two Nations. And " as the Parliament hath already taken into conſideration " the Reformation of Church Government, ſo they will

King Charles I. 1641.

" proceed therein in due time, as ſhall beſt conduce to the " glory of God, the peace of the Church, and of both " Kingdoms.

" That the Prince of Wales ſhall be permitted to re- " pair into Scotland, and reſide there, as there ſhall be " occaſion.

" That his Majeſty will give ear to the informations of " Parliament, and when that is not ſitting, to the Council " and College of Juſtice, ſo far as to make choice of " ſome one of ſuch, as they, by common conſent, ſhall " recommend to places of truſt in the Council, the Seſſion, " and other Judicatures. Or if his Majeſty ſhall think " any other perſon fit, he ſhall acquaint his Parliament, " to the intent, that if by their information any juſt excep- " tion ſhall be made to the ſaid perſon, his Majeſty may " nominate another.

" That ſome Noblemen, &c. of the Scots Nation, ſhall " be placed about the King; and that his Majeſty will en- " deavour to give juſt Satisfaction to his people, with re- " gard to his placing none but perſons of the Reformed " Religion about his own and the Prince's perſon."

Then follows an Act of Oblivion, with exception to the Scots Prelates, and four others; and in the cloſe the Ratification of the whole, in theſe Words;

" Be it enacted by his Majeſty, with the aſſent of the " Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſem- " bled, that the ſaid Treaty, and all the Articles thereof, " be, and ſtand for ever ratified and eſtabliſhed, and have " the force, vigour, ſtrength and authority of a Law, " Statute, and Act of Parliament-----And his Majeſty for " himſelf and his Succeſſors, promiſes in verbo principis, " never to come in the contrair of this Statute and Sanc- " tion, nor any thing therein contained, but to hold the " ſame in all points firm and ſtable, and cauſe it to be tru- " ly obſerved, according to the tenor and intent thereof, " now and for ever-----And the Parliaments of both King- " doms reſpectively give full aſſurance, and make publick " Faith, for the true and faithful obſervation of this Trea- " ty, &c. hinc inde, in all times to come."

Biſhop Burnet very juſtly obſerves a colluſion in the King's approving the deſire of his Scots Subjects for Uniformity of Church Government; his Majeſty wiſhed it as much as they, but with a very different View; the King was for bringing them to the Engliſh Standard, whereas the

the Scots intended to bring the Engliſh to theirs; but, as has been obſerved, his Majeſty was reſolved to contradict them in nothing, that he might break the confederacy between the two Nations; for Lord Saville had now informed him of the correſpondence of ſome of the Engliſh Nobility with the Scots, which encouraged them to raiſe an Army and march to the borders; he had ſhewn him a copy of the Letter, with the forged names of Eſſex, Bedford, Mandeville, and others, exciting them to aſſert the Liberties of their Church and Nation, and promiſing all the aſſiſtance they could give with ſafety to themſelves. His Majeſty therefore reſolved to gain over the Scots, that he might be at liberty to proſecute the Inviters, and recover his Prerogative in England, which he knew he could accompliſh by the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh, if the Engliſh Puritans were but left to themſelves. The Parliament were aware of the deſign, and therefore appointed one Lord and two Commons to follow his Majeſty to Scotland, in order to keep up a good correſpondence with the Parliament of that Nation, and to exhort them, ſince they had gained their own Liberties by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Parliament, not to deſert them till the Engliſh alſo had recovered theirs. King Charles I. 1641.

The King fet out poſt Auguſt 10, and arrived at Edinburgh in three or four days; the Parliament met Auguſt 19, when his Majeſty acquainted them in a moſt gracious Speech that the end of his coming into his native Country, was to quiet the diſtractions of the Kingdom, "and "this I mind (ſays his Majeſty) fully and chearfully to per- "form, for I aſſure you, I can do nothing with more "cheerfulneſs, than to give my people a general Sa- "tisfaction; wherefore not offering to endear myſelf to "you in words, which is not my way, I deſire in the firſt "place to ſettle that which concerns Religion, and the juſt "Liberties of this my native Country, before I proceed "to any other Act." Accordingly his Majeſty allowed of their late proceedings in oppoſing the Engliſh Liturgy, and erecting Tables in defence of their Liberties; he confirmed the acts of their Aſſembly at Glaſgow, which declared, that "the Government of the Church by Arch- "biſhops and Biſhops was contrary to the Word of God, "and was therefore aboliſhed." The Reverend Mr. Henderſon waited on the King as his Chaplain, and was appointed to provide Preachers for him while he was in that King's Progreſs into Scotland. Ruſhw. p. 382. His Conceſſions.

King Charles I. 1641.

Country, his Majeſty having declared, that he would conform to their manner of Worſhip while he was among them. Mr. Henderſon had the Rent of the Royal Chapel; Mr. Gilleſpie had a penſion, and the profeſſors of the ſeveral Univerſities had their proviſions augmented, by the Revenues formerly belonging to the Biſhops. His Majeſty conferred Titles of Honour upon many of their Gentry; and all parties were ſo well pleaſed, that it was ſaid, when his Majeſty left the Kingdom, That he departed a contented King from a contented People.

Upon his return to England he repents of them.

No ſooner was the King returned home but the Engliſh Biſhops reproached his Majeſty with his Conceſſions, eſpecially for admitting the Engliſh Hierarchy to be contrary to the Word of God. They told him, he had unravelled that Web which his Father and himſelf had been weaving in that Country for above forty years, and inſtead of making the Scots his Friends, that he had only created a new thirſt in the Engliſh Parliament to follow their example. Theſe Remonſtrances had ſuch an influence upon the unhappy King, that he repented heartily of what he had done, and told Dr. Saunderſon, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, when he was in the Iſle of Wight, that two errors did much afflict him, "his conſenting to the Earl "of Strafford's Death, and his aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in "Scotland;" and that if God ſhould ever reſtore him to the peaceable poſſeſſion of his Crown, he would demonſtrate his Repentance by a publick confeſſion, and a voluntary penance, (I think ſays the Dr.) by going barefoot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, and deſiring the people to intercede with God for him. This ſhews, how much Superſtition ſtill remained in his Majeſty's Make and Conſtitution, when he could imagine, the going barefoot through the ſtreets could atone for his miſtakes; and how little dependance was to be had upon his promiſes and declarations, that even in the year 1648, when the neceſſity of his affairs obliged him to conſent to an Uniformity of Preſbyterian Government in both Nations, he could declare in private to his Chaplain, that if "he was ever reſtored to his Throne, he would do pub-"blick penance for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in Scotland. Upon the whole, the King's Journey into his native Country did him no ſervice; for though the Scots were pleaſed with his Majeſty's Conceſſions, they durſt not depend upon them as long as he was under the direction of the Queen and

and the Engliſh Biſhops, but thought themſelves obliged, from gratitude, affection, and intereſt, to cultivate a good underſtanding with the Engliſh Parliament, and aſſiſt them in recovering their Religion and Liberties. King Charles I. 1641.

Upon the day of thankſgiving for the Pacification between the two nations [September 7.] Biſhop Williams, Dean of Weſtminſter, without any direction from his ſuperiors, compoſed a Form of Prayer for the ſervice of the day, with which the Houſe of Commons were offended, and came to this reſolution, "That the Biſhop of Lincoln "had no power to ſet forth any prayer to be read on the "publick Thankſgiving; and that no Miniſter is obliged "to read the ſaid prayer; and the Houſe is of opinion, "and do order, that the ſaid prayer be not read in the liber-"ties of Weſtminſter, or elſewhere." Dr. Burges and Mr. Marſhall preached before the Commons, and read the following order, appointed by both Houſes to be publiſhed in all the Churches throughout England, with his Majeſty's conſent. Thankſgiving for the Pacification. Nalſon, p. 477.

"WHereas according to the Act of this preſent Parliament, for confirmation of the Treaty of Pacification, it was deſired by the Commiſſioners of Scotland, "that the loyalty and faithfulneſs of his Majeſty's ſubjects "[of Scotland] might be made known at the time of "thankſgiving, in all places, and particularly in all Pariſh "Churches of his Majeſty's dominions; "which requeſt "was graciouſly condeſcended to by his Majeſty, and con-"firmed by the ſaid Act:" It is now ordered and com-"manded by both Houſes of Parliament, that the ſame be "effectually done in all Pariſh Churches throughout this "kingdom, on Tueſday, Sept. 7. at the time of the pub-"lick thankſgiving, by the reſpective Miniſters of each "pariſh, or their Curates, who are hereby required to read "this preſent order in the Church. Scots declared to be the King's faithful ſubjects.

The Order being read, the Miniſters declared, that notwithſtanding all that had paſt in the late Commotions, the Scots nation were ſtill his Majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects. Thus as the calling and continuance of an Engliſh Parliament, after twelve years interval, was owing to the marching of the Scots army into the north of England, it was by the powerful ſupport and aſſiſtance of that Parliament, and the expence of a million of money, that the Scots obtained the preſent Pacification,

King Charles I. 1641.

with the full recovery of their Kirk Diſcipline and Civil Liberties.

Unſettled State of Religion.

In the midſt of this ferment of the ſpirits of men, the workings of oppoſite councils, and the taking the ſword out of the hands of the Spiritual Courts, it is not to be wonder'd that the ſtate of Religion was unſettled, and that men began to practiſe with ſome latitude in points of Ceremony and Forms of Worſhip. It has been obſerved, that in the beginning of the year the Houſe of Commons had ordered Commiſſions to be ſent into all the Counties of England, for removing the late innovations; June 28. It was further ordered, "That neither Univerſity ſhould do reverence to "the Communion Table." And Aug. 31. "That the "Church Wardens of the ſeveral pariſhes ſhall forthwith "remove the Communion Table from the eaſt end of the "Churches where they ſtand Altarwiſe, and take away the "Rails, and level the Chancels, as before the late innova-"tions." Upon complaint of the want of Sermons, and that the incumbents, in many places, would not admit Preachers into their Pulpits, though the Pariſh maintained them, it was order'd, June 14. "That the Deans and "Chapters of all Cathedrals be required, and enjoined, "to ſuffer the inhabitants to have free liberty to have a "Sermon preached in their Cathedrals every Sunday in the "afternoon." July 12. ordered, "That in all Parochial "Churches where there is no preaching in the afternoon, if "the Pariſhioners will maintain a conformable Lecturer "at their own charge, the Parſon or Vicar ſhall give way "to it, unleſs he will preach himſelf." Sept. 6. order'd, "That it be lawful for the Pariſhioners of any Pariſh to ſet "up a Lecture, and to maintain an orthodox Miniſter at "their own charge, to preach every Lord's Day where "there is no preaching, and to preach one day every week "where there is no weekly Lecture." But notwithſtanding theſe votes, ſome Biſhops inhibited preaching on Sundays in the afternoon; and in particular Dr. Montague, Biſhop of Norwich, upon which the Commons voted, "That his Lordſhip's inhibition of the Reverend Mr. "Carter to preach in his own Pariſh Church, was void; "and that every Miniſter may preach in his own Pariſh "Church as often as he pleaſes."

Votes of the Houſe of Commons concerning the Communion Table. Nalſon, p. 288, 38.

For Encouragement of Preaching.

Committee for preaching Miniſters. Claren. Vol. I. p. 295.

Many petitions being ſent from divers counties for preaching Miniſters, a Committee of forty Members of the Houſe, called the "Committee for preaching Miniſters," was appointed

pointed to ſend Miniſters where there were vacancies, and to provide for their maintenance. Theſe Gentlemen recommended many of the late ſilenced Miniſters, as the Reverend Mr. Caſe, Mr. Marſhal, Sedgwick, Burroughs, whom ſome of the Vicars refuſed to admit into their Pulpits, or at leaſt diſſuaded their Pariſhioners from hearing them, for which ſome of them were required to attend the Committee; and becauſe great complaints were made to the Houſe, of the idleneſs and viciouſneſs of the Country Clergy, another Committee was appointed to examine into ſuch complaints, and was called the "Committee for ſcandalous Miniſters." King Charles I. 1641.

And for ſcandalous Miniſters.

The day before the receſs of the Parliament, [Sept. 8.] it was reſolved by the Commons, "That the Lord's Day "ſhould be duly obſerved and ſanctified; that all dancing, "or other ſports either before or after Divine Service, be "forborn and reſtrained; and that the preaching of God's "Word be promoted in the afternoon, in the ſeveral "Churches and Chapels of this Kingdom; and that Mini"ſters and Preachers be encouraged thereunto. The Chan"cellors of the two Univerſities, the heads of Colleges, "all Patrons, Vicars, and Church Wardens, are to make "certificate of the performance of theſe orders; and all "Defaulters to be returned to the Parliament before the "30th of October next——Order'd further, That all Cru"cifixes, ſcandalous Pictures of any one or more Perſons "of the Trinity; and all Images of the Virgin Mary ſhall "be taken away and aboliſhed, and that all Tapers, Can"dleſticks, and Baſons, be removed from the Communion "Table.——That all corporal reverences at the name of "Jeſus, or towards the eaſt end of the Church, Chapel, "or Chancel, or towards the Communion Table, be for"born." Theſe Orders to be obſerved in all Cathedral, and Collegiate Churches and Chapels, in the two Univerſities, by the reſpective Officers and Miniſters of theſe Places, and by the Readers and Benchers of the Inns of Court. Votes for the ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's Day. Nalſon, p. 482. Ruſhw. p. 386.

The Houſe of Lords conſented to ſome of theſe Reſolutions, but not to others; they agreed in their Committee, "That no Rails ſhould be placed about the Communion "Table, where there were none already, but not to the pull"ing down of all that were ſet up; that all Chancels raiſ"ed within fifteen years paſt ſhould be levell'd; that "Images of the Trinity ſhould be aboliſhed, without limi- House of Lords diſagree with the Commons. Nalſon, p. 481, 482, 483.

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"tation of time; and all Images of the Virgin Mary erected "within twenty years paſt." But as for bowing at the name of Jeſus, they inſiſted that it ſhould be left indifferent. So that when the Queſtion was put, to agree or not agree with the reſolutions of the Commons, it paſſed in the negative, eleven againſt nine. The Commons therefore publiſhed their Reſolutions apart, and deſired the people to wait patiently for the intended Reformation, without any diſturbance of the worſhip of God, and of the peace of the kingdom. Upon which the Lords in a heat appointed their Order of Jan. 16. 1640-1. already mentioned, to be printed,

Ruſhw. p. 387. Claren. Vol. I. p. 293.

"That Divine Service ſhould be performed as it is appointed by Act of Parliament; and that all that diſturb that "wholeſome Order ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed according to "law. That all Parſons, Vicars, and Curates, in their "ſeveral Pariſhes, do forbear to introduce any Rites or Ceremonies that may give offence, otherwiſe than thoſe

Nalſon, p. 485.

"that are eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land." This was voted by twelve of the Lords preſent, the other ſix entering their proteſt; after which both Houſes adjourned for

Vol. XI. p. 183.

ſix Weeks. Mr. Rapin obſerves, That there ſeems no neceſſity for the Lords to renew this order; but that it was done out of ſpleen and revenge, becauſe the Commons had made a declaration againſt Innovations, and it was not doubted but the Biſhops were the chief authors of it.

Their Votes put in execution.

Lord Clarendon repreſents the putting theſe Orders of the Houſe of Commons in execution, as a tranſcendent preſumption, and a breach of privilege of the Houſe of Lords; and tho' in one place his Lordſhip acknowledges, that little or nothing of Moment was done in purſuance of the Orders of the two Houſes, yet upon this occaſion he ſays,

Claren. Vol. II. p. 290, 295.

"That ſeditious and factious perſons cauſed the windows to "be broken down in Churches; tore away the rails, re"moved the Communion Tables, and committed many "inſolent and ſcandalous diſorders, and that if any oppoſed "them they were ſent for before the Committee." But the faireſt account of this Matter may be gathered from Mr. Pym's Report to the Houſe at their firſt meeting after the receſs. "The Committee of Religi"on (ſays he) have ſent down divers of your Declara"tions into the Cuuntry, and have found, that in ſome "places where there were good Miniſters they were "retained, and in other places neglected ——— We "cannot ſay there have been any great Tumults, "though

" though the execution of the Orders of the Houſe has oc- King Charles I. 1641.
" caſioned ſomething tending that way----In ſome Pariſhes
" they came to blows, and in others they would have done
" the like, if care had not been taken to prevent it. At
" St. Giles's Cripplegate, the Pariſhioners were almoſt
" at daggers drawing about the Rails of the Com-
" munion Table, which they would not ſuffer to be re-
" moved—The like oppoſition was made to the Orders of
" the Houſe at St. George Southwark, St. Mary Wool-
" noth, St. Botolph Alderſgate, and a few other places;
" but in moſt places they were quiet."

If the Innovations complained of were according to Law, neither Lords nor Commons had authority to remove them, for in a time of publick peace and tranquility a Vote of Parliament cannot ſuſpend or ſet aſide a Law; but if they were apparently contrary to Law, I don't ſee but either Houſe of Parliament, or even the Pariſhioners themſelves, by a vote of their Veſtry, might order them to be taken away. Remarkable are the words of Sir Edward Deering to this purpoſe; " The Orders of the Houſe (ſays he) are, doubtleſs, Remarks. Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 392.
" powerful, if grounded upon the Laws of the Land; upon
" this warrant we may, by an order, enforce any thing
" that is undoubtedly ſo grounded; and by the ſame rule
" we may abrogate whatſoever is introduced contrary to
" the undoubted Foundation of your Laws; but we may
" not rule and govern by arbitrary and diſputable or-
" ders, eſpecially in matters of Religion,"

The Commons diſallowed of the tumultuous attempts of private perſons, and puniſhed them ſeverely. Complaint being made by the Inhabitants of St. Saviour's Southwark, of certain perſons who had pulled down the Rails of the Communion Table in an inſolent and riotous manner, they were ſent for into Cuſtody, and having been heard by their Counſel at the Bar of the Houſe, the Church-wardens of the Pariſh were ordered to ſet up new Rails, at the coſts and charges of the offenders, in the manner they had ſtood for fifty years before, but not according to the model of the four or five laſt years. The Rioters alſo were enjoined to make a publick confeſſion of their fault in the body of the Church on a Sabbath Day, when the Congregation ſhould be preſent, and to ſtand committed to the Fleet, during the pleaſure of the Houſe. Upon another complaint of the Pariſhioners of St. Olave's Southwark, againſt others that had made a tumult in their Church, and uſed irreverent Speeches during the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament; Rioters puniſhed. Nalſon, p. 271. Ib. p. 291.

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Sacrament; the Delinquents were ſent for into cuſtody, and after hearing they were committed to the King's Bench for ſix months, without bail or mainprize; and ordered to ſtand upon an high ſtool in Cheapſide and in Southwark, for two hours on a market day, and to acknowledge their fault publickly: They were alſo fined twenty Pounds and to find ſureties for their good behaviour; but when they had been impriſoned about a month, upon their humble petition, and acknowledgment of their miſdemeanors, they were releaſed.

Ib. p. 395.

Sad repreſentation of the State of Religion by the Royaliſts

If we may give credit to the Petition from Canterbury, things were every where in great confuſion; for it ſays, "That the Religion and Government by Law eſtabliſhed, "has been of late moſt miſerably diſtracted by ill affected "perſons, by whoſe means the houſes of God, are pro-"faned, and in part defaced; the Miniſters of Chriſt are "contemned and deſpiſed; the Ornaments, and many "Utenſils of the Church are abuſed; the Liturgy and "Book of Common-prayer depraved and neglected; that "abſolute model of Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, vilified; "the Sacraments of the Goſpel, in ſome places, rudely "adminiſtered, in other places omitted; ſolemn days of "faſting obſerved, and appointed by private perſons; "Marriages illegally ſolemnized; Burials uncharitably per-"formed, and the very fundamentals of Religion ſub-"verted by the publication of a new Creed, and teaching "the abrogation of the moral Law; many offenſive Ser-"mons are preached, and many impious Pamphlets prin-"ted."—— Lord Clarendon ſays, "That the Pulpits "were ſupplied with ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Preachers. "That in order to poiſon the hearts of the King's Sub-"jects, care was taken to place ſuch Miniſters and Lec-"turers in the moſt popular Towns and Pariſhes, as ab-"horred the preſent government and temperature of the "Church and State;" and then adds, "I am confident "there was not from the beginning of this Parliament, "one orthodox or learned Man recommended by them "to any Church in England." Strange! when ſcarce one was recommended but had been educated in our own Univerſities, and had ſubſcribed all the doctrinal Articles of the Church! But his Majeſty's language is more ſevere in his Declaration of Aug. 12. 1642.—— "Un-"der pretence of encouraging Preaching (ſays he) "they have erected Lectures in ſeveral Pariſhes, and "commended ſuch Lecturers as were men of no "Learning

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And by the King.

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" Learning nor Conſcience, but furious promoters of the " moſt dangerous Innovations; many having taken no " Orders, yet were recommended by Members of either " Houſe to Pariſhes; and when mechanick perſons have " been brought before them for preaching in Churches, " and have confeſſed the ſame, they have been diſmiſſed " without puniſhment, and hardly with reprehenſion. All " perſons of learning, and eminency in Preaching, and of " ſober and virtuous converſation; of great examples in " their lives, and even ſuch as among theſe men had been " of greateſt Eſtimation, and ſuffered ſomewhat for them, " were diſcountenanced, and ſuch men cheriſhed, who " boldly preached againſt the government of the Church, " againſt the Book of Common-prayer, againſt our king- " ly, lawful Power, and againſt our Perſon—— Further, " a Licenſe even to Treaſon is admitted in Pulpits, and " perſons ignorant in learning and underſtanding, turbulent " and ſeditious in diſpoſition, ſcandalous in life, and un- " conformable in opinion to the laws of the land, are im- " poſed upon Pariſhes, to infect and poiſon the minds of " our people."——

Reply of the Commons. Nalſon, p. 265, 270.

What character the Parliament Divines had for Learning, for orthodoxy of Doctrine, and ſobriety of Manners, will appear hereafter. The Commons, in their Reply to his Majeſty's Declaration, denied the whole of this charge, and averred, " That they were careful in their enquiries " into the Learning and Morality of thoſe whom they re- " commended; that they were not for encouraging Faction " and Schiſm, but for preferring thoſe who were for a " parliamentary Reformation in Church and State. That " they had ſhewn their reſentments againſt the Mobs and " Tumults, and againſt the preaching of Laymen;" for when they were informed, that Mr. Robinſon, Spencer, Banks, Durant, and Green, being meer Laymen, had preſumed to preach publickly, they ſent for them [June 7.] and reprimanded them by their Speaker, in theſe words; " The Houſe has a great diſtaſte of your Proceedings; " and if you offend at any time in the like kind again, this " Houſe will take care you ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed."

Diſadvantages of the Parliament with reſpect to Miniſters.

Far be it from me to apologize for the furious Preachers of theſe times; though it will appear hereafter, that the complaints of the Royaliſts are very much exaggerated; but it was certainly a great diſadvantage to the Parliament's Cauſe, that they could not get a ſupply of learned and

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and able Preachers, becauſe the Keys of admiſſion into Holy Orders were in the hands of the Biſhops, who were very ſtrict at this time, in their examination into the political principles of thoſe whom they ordained; this reduced the Committee to the neceſſity of admitting ſome few that came well recommended from New England or Scotland, and had been only ordained by Preſbyters, or ſuch young Students, who producing their Teſtimonials from the Univerſities, were allowed to preach for ſome time as Candidates. They were under the like diſadvantage as to Preſentations or Inductions, moſt of which were in the hands of the King and the Biſhops.

Archbiſhop Laud ſuſpended from his Juriſdiction.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury continued to ordain Clergymen of his own principles in the Tower; upon which the Houſe of Lords ordered [Octob. 28.] that his Juriſdiction ſhould be ſequeſter'd, and adminiſter'd by his inferior Officers, till he ſhould be acquitted of the charge of High Treaſon that was againſt him. His Grace often admitted ſuch Clergymen to livings as were obnoxious to the two Houſes, inſomuch that the Lords found it neceſſary to enjoin him to acquaint their Houſe with the names of ſuch perſons as he nominated to any eccleſiaſtical Benefice, Promotion or Dignity within his diſpoſal, to be approved of firſt by the Houſe, before they were collated or inſtituted. On the other hand, when a Miniſter was choſen by the Pariſhioners, and recommended to his Grace for admiſſion, if he did not like his Principles and Character, he would either except againſt him, or ſuffer the Living to lapſe to the Crown. This created him new enemies, and kept alive the reſentments of the Commons. At length the Archbiſhop acquainted the King with his caſe, who ſent him a peremptory Letter, requiring him, "That as often as any "Benefice, or other ſpiritual Promotion, ſhould become "void within his Gift, to diſpoſe of it only to ſuch per"ſons as his Majeſty ſhould nominate; and that if either, or "both Houſes, ſhould command him otherwiſe, he ſhould "then let it fall in lapſe to the Crown." As ſoon as the Houſes were acquainted with this, they publiſhed an Order of their own, requiring the Archbiſhop to diſpoſe of no Benefice or ſpiritual Promotion that ſhould become void at any time before his Trial, but with the leave and order of the two Houſes at Weſtminſter. Such was the conteſt between the King and Parliament for the Pulpits! It being thought

thought of great conſequence on both ſides to fill them with Men of their own principles, who would be zealous in the cauſes in which they were ſeverally engaged. King Charles I. 1641.

All the Biſhops were under a cloud, and in no degree of favour either with the Parliament or People, except the Biſhop of Lincoln, who having been ſome years in priſon, had no ſhare in the late Innovations." This Prelate, in the receſs of Parliament, viſited his Dioceſe; and exhorted the people in his Sermons to keep their lawful Miniſter, and not go after "Tub Preachers in Conventicles." He acquainted them with the laws, and told them, that no power could protect them from the penalty of Statutes unrepealed. "Look back (ſays his Lordſhip) from the beginning of "Queen Elizabeth. Can the Goſpel ſtand better againſt "the Church of Rome than it has done under the Biſhops, "Liturgy, and Canons? therefore don't abandon the good "old way, for another which you do not know how much "evil may be in it." But his Rhetorick had very little effect; nor did the Parliament approve of his conduct, at a time when his Majeſty was out of the Kingdom, and when it was reſolved to attempt ſome conſiderable alterations in the Hierarchy of the Church. Biſhop of Lincoln's Viſitation.

The Diſtractions in the State were no leſs threatening than thoſe of the Church; for the plague was in the City of London, which diſperſed the Members, ſo that they could hardly make a Houſe. The diſbanding the Army infeſted the roads with highway Men, inſomuch, that it was hardly ſafe to travel from one Town to another. The Officers (many of whom were Papiſts) crouded to London, and took lodgings about Covent Garden and Whitehall, under pretence of receiving the remainder of their pay; theſe behaved with unuſual inſolence, and ſtruck terror into the minds of the common people. The Mob was frequently up in one part of the Town or another; one while they threaten'd the Pope's Nuncio, and another while the Queen Mother, upon which they retired out of the Kingdom; but the Queen herſelf ſtood by her Friends: She had a Convent of Capuchins in her Court, and protected great numbers of the King's Subjects, and others, from the force of the Laws. The Lord Mayor was commanded to bring in a liſt of popiſh Recuſants about London; and all the Papiſts in the ſeveral Counties were ordered to to be diſarmed; "which, though it had little or no effect (ſays Lord Clarendon) ſerved to keep up fears and apprehenſions in the people Diſtracted State of the Nation.

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"ple of dangers and deſigns;" that will appear preſently not to have been groundleſs. This was the melancholy State of the Nation, when on a ſudden it was Thunder-ſtruck with the ſurprizing news of one of the moſt barbarous maſſacres of the Proteſtants in Ireland, that the Records of any Age or Nation can produce.

Remarks.

Lord Clarendon is of opinion, that the Parliament, inſtead of adjourning, ſhould now have broken up and returned home, ſince the principal Grievances of Church and State were redreſſed, and the Conſtitution ſecured, by the act for Triennial Parliaments. But not to trouble the reader with affairs of State: What religious Grievances were redreſſed? except the ſhortening the power of the Spiritual Courts, by the acts for aboliſhing the Court of High Commiſſion and Star-chamber? not one of the late Innovations were aboliſhed by law; nor was there any alteration in the Liturgy, or form of Church Government. The ſole power of the Biſhops in Ordination and Juriſdiction was not regulated; nor was there any Reformation of Deans and Chapters, all which the Puritans expected and hoped for. In ſhort, the whole Government of the Church remained ſtill entire, notwithſtanding the fierce attacks of the Commons againſt it. The act for Triennial Parliaments will not appear to be a ſufficient ſecurity for the Conſtitution, if we conſider how many acts of Parliament the King and his arbitrary Miniſters had broke through the laſt fifteen years; that his Majeſty had ſtill the ſame principles, and was like to be in the ſame hands upon the breaking up of the Parliament. Beſides, it was ſaid, that theſe laws were extorted from him by force, and therefore not binding. And if a Parliament ſhould be called after three years, that it was diſſolvable at pleaſure; ſo that in all probability things would have returned to the old Channel if the Parliament had now diſſolved themſelves. Suppoſing therefore, but not admitting, that the principal Grievances of Church and State were redreſſed, I leave it with the reader, whether in the preſent ſituation of affairs, a meer redreſs of paſt Grievances was a ſufficient ſecurity againſt the return of the like, in time to come.

Death and Character of Biſhop Davenant.

Among the remarkable Divines that died about this time was Dr. John Davenant Biſhop of Saliſbury, born in London, and educated a Fellow-commoner in Queen's College, Cambridge, of which he was afterwards Maſter, and Lady Margaret Profeſſor in the ſame Univerſity. He was a celebrated

lebrated Calviniſt, and was one of thoſe Divines appointed by King James to repreſent the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, where he behaved with great prudence and moderation; and upon his return to England was preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of Saliſbury; but in the beginning of the reign of King Charles he became obnoxious to the Court, foa venturing to preach on the doctrine of Predeſtination, contrary to his Majeſty's Declaration, and was forced to make his ſubmiſſion before the Privy Council. He was a quiet and peaceable Prelate, humble and charitable, a ſtrict obſerver of the Sabbath, an enemy to the pomp and luxury of the Clergy, and one that lamented the high proceedings of the Court. He had a great reputation in foreign parts for profound learning, and an unblemiſh'd Life; and after he had enjoyed his Biſhoprick about twenty years, he ended his Days in peace and honour, April 20, 1641. a little before the beginning of the troubles that afterwards came upon the Church and Kingdom. He died of a conſumption, and a few hours before his death prayed pathetically for a quarter of an hour; "Bleſſing God for his fatherly cor-"rection, foraſmuch as his whole Life having been full of "mercy, he had been ready to doubt, whether he was a "true child of God till this laſt ſickneſs."

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Fuller's Worthies B. II. p. 207.

Dr. Richard Montague Biſhop of Norwich, was a Divine of a different character; he was born in Weſtminſter, educated in Eaton College, and afterwards Fellow of King's College. Mr. Fuller ſays he was a celebrated Grecian, and Church Antiquary, well read in the Fathers, but a ſuperſtitious admirer of Church Ceremonies. He was a thorough Arminian, a Creature of Archbiſhop Laud's, and an ill inſtrument between the King and Parliament in the late times, who voted him unfit for any Church preferment; but when the King reſolved to govern without Parliaments, his Majeſty preferr'd him firſt to the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter, and then to Norwich, where he ſhewed his zeal for the Church, by a vigorous and illegal proſecution of the Puritans. He was accuſed by the preſent Parliament, for ſuperſtitious Innovations; and would, no doubt, have felt their reſentments, if he had not gone (as Mr. Fuller expreſſes it) a more compendious way, to anſwer for all his proceedings in the high Court of Heaven. He died April 12th 1641.

Aud of Biſhop Montague.

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And of Mr. Eaton. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. p. 12.

The Reverend Mr. John Eaton, M. A. and Vicar of Wickham Market, was born in Kent, 1575, and educated in Trinity College, Oxford. He was a Divine of a peculiar mould (ſays Mr. Eachard) very paradoxical in his opinions, and reckon'd a great Antinomian, and one of the Founders of that Sect, for which he more than once ſuffered impriſonment. His chief performance was a Book, entituled, "The Honey Comb of free Juſtification by Chriſt "alone;" for which he was impriſon'd in the Gate-houſe at Weſtminſter. Mr. Eachard admits, that by means of his zeal, his exemplary patience and piety, he was exceedingly admired in the neighbourhood where he lived, and ſtrangely valued for many years after his Death. In truth, though he committed ſome Miſtakes in his aſſertions about the Doctrines of Grace, he was, nevertheleſs (ſays Mr. Archdeacon) a Pattern of Faith, Holineſs, and Chearfulneſs in his Sufferings, to ſucceeding Generations. He died in the 67th year of his age.

CHAP. X.

From the Re-aſſembling of the Parliament, to the King's leaving his Palace of Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1641-2.

Iriſh Inſurrection and Maſſacre.

BEfore his Majeſty left Scotland advice came to London [Nov. 1.] of a general inſurrection of the Papiſts in Ireland, and of a moſt cruel and bloody Maſſacre of the Proteſtants of that Kingdom. The project of an inſurrection was formed in the months of March and April, 1641, not without the privity of the Engliſh Court, and executed Oct. 23d following; no information of it having been given to the Proteſtants till the very night before it was to take place, when it was too late to prevent the effects of it in the Country, and almoſt to ſave the City of Dublin itſelf. When the expreſs that brought the news was read in the Houſe, it produced a general ſilence for a time, all Men being ſtruck with horror. When it was told without doors it flew like flaſhes of lightning, and ſpread univerſal Terror over the whole Kingdom. Every Day, and almoſt every hour, produced new meſſengers of miſery, who brought further intelligence of the mercileſs cruelty of the Papiſts towards the poor Proteſtants, whoſe very name they threaten'd to extirpate out of the Kingdom.

On

On the day appointed, between twenty and thirty thouſand of the Native Iriſh appeared in Arms in the Northern Counties, and having ſecured the principal Gentlemen, and ſeized their Effects, they murdered the common people in cold blood, forcing many thouſands to fly from their houſes and ſettlements, naked into the bogs and woods, where they periſhed with hunger and cold. No ties of Friendſhip, Neighbourhood or Conſanguinity, were capable of ſoftning their obdurate Hearts, in a cauſe which they called "The Cauſe of Loyalty and Religion." Some they whipped to death; others they ſtript naked and expoſed to Shame, and then drove them like herds of Swine to periſh in the Mountains; many hundreds were drowned in Rivers; ſome had their Throats cut; others were diſmembered. With ſome the execrable Villains made themſelves ſport, trying who could hack deepeſt into an Engliſh Man's Fleſh. Huſbands were cut to pieces in the Preſence of their Wives; Wives and young Virgins abuſed in the ſight of their neareſt Relations; nay, they taught their Children to ſtrip and kill the Children of the Engliſh, and daſh out their Brains againſt the Stones. Forty or fifty thouſand were maſſacred after this manner in a few days, without diſtinction of Age, Sex, or Quality, before they ſuſpected their danger, or had time to provide for their defence. In a few weeks the Inſurrection was ſo general, that they took Poſſeſſion of whole Counties, murdering the inhabitants, plundering their houſes, and killing or driving away their Cattle. Multitudes of poor diſtreſſed Creatures and Families fled naked and half ſtarved firſt to Dublin, and from thence to England, with death and deſpair in their Countenances. At length the Iriſh Army having ravaged all the Northern Counties blocked up the City of Dublin itſelf, with all the poor diſtreſſed Proteſtants that had taken Sanctuary in it; but not being Maſters of the Sea, the City was relieved, and part of the Country ſecured, till the Parliament was at leiſure to pour out all their vengeance upon the heads of the murderers, by the hands of the victorious and terrible Oliver Cromwell.

King Charles I. 1641.

The frequent expreſſes which came over to England, with the Multitudes of diſtreſſed Creatures that got paſſage into ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, filled the hearts of all true Proteſtants with infinite conjectures, and prodigious imaginations of treaſonable deſigns againſt this, as well as the neighbouring Kingdom: They were afraid, and not without rea-

Spreads Terror over England.

King Charles I. 1641.

ſon, that a ſecond part of this Tragedy might be acted on themſelves; the Parliament therefore ordered themſelves a Guard of Train Bands, and entered immediately into meaſures to ſecure the Nation from the impending ſtorm.

Authors of it. Prynne, Introd. p. 220, to 252. Burnet's Hiſt. Life and Times. Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 398, &c.

But before we diſmiſs the Iriſh Inſurrection and Maſſacre, it will not be improper to trace it from its Original, and enquire into the Authors, and the ſeveral Parties concerned in it. The Earl of Antrim, and Sir Phelim O Neal who were at the Head of the Iriſh Catholicks, having acquainted the Pope's Nuncio, and ſome of the Prieſts about the Queen, how eaſily they could aſſume the Government of Ireland, and aſſiſt the King againſt the Engliſh Puritans. Letters were writ in the Queen's Name, and, perhaps, in the King's authorizing them to take up Arms and ſeize the Government. The Iriſh received the Orders with Pleaſure; but concluded further among themſelves, that it was neceſſary at the ſame time to extirpate the Proteſtants, out of that Kingdom before they could with ſafety tranſport their Army into England. That this was their deſign, appears from their Remonſtrance publiſhed upon the very day of the Inſurrection, in which they ſay, "That "having ſome Liberty of Religion granted them by the "King, they perceived the Parliament was wreſting his "Majeſty's Prerogative from him, in order to extinguiſh "their Religion; therefore to ſupport his Majeſty's Prero-"gative, and to confirm his Royal and ever happy "Love to them, they had taken up Arms; and accord-"ingly bound themſelves to one another by the following "Oath.

"THAT they would maintain the Roman Catholick "Religion; that they would bear true Faith and Al-"legiance to the King and his Heirs, and defend him "and them with their Lives and Eſtates, againſt all Per-"ſons that ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs the Prerogative, or "do any acts contrary to Regal Government, to the power "and privilege of Parliaments, and to the rights and pri-"vileges of the Subject."

Concern of the Engliſh Court in it.

They called themſelves the Queen's Army, and publiſhed a Proclamation from their Camp at Newry, declaring, that they acted by the King's Commiſſion, under the Great Seal of Scotland, dated at Edinburg, October 1. and by letters under his Sign Manual of the ſame date with the Commiſſion; which I believe, with Lord Clarendon, was a forgery;

gery; though it is a little unaccountable, that his Majeſty ſhould never, by any publick Act or Declaration of his own, clear himſelf of ſo vile a calumny. But though the King gave out no Commiſſion, there is too much reaſon to believe, that the Queen and her Popiſh Council, and even the King himſelf, was not unacquainted with the deſign of an Inſurrection before it took place; and that her Majeſty gave it all the Countenance ſhe could with ſafety: But when theſe bloody Butchers over-acted their part to ſuch a degree, as to maſſacre near two hundred thouſand Proteſtants in cold Blood, to make way for their Empire, it was Time for all Parties to diſown them. King Charles I. 1641.

Biſhop Burnet obſerves, "That in the firſt deſign of an "Inſurrection there was no thought of a Maſſacre; this "came into their heads as they were contriving methods "of executing it; and as the People were governed by the "Prieſts, theſe were the Men that ſet on the Iriſh to all "the Blood and Cruelty that followed." There was a Conſultation at the Abbey of Multifernan, in the County of Weſt Meath, where it was debated, what Courſe ſhould be taken with the Proteſtants; ſome were for expelling them, as the King of Spain did the Moors; others preſſed to have them univerſally cut off; but not coming to a Concluſion, they left the Army to act at Diſcretion. How far the Pope's Nuncio and the Queen's Council might be conſulted about the Maſſacre, is a Secret; but if we diſtinguiſh between the Inſurrection, in order to aſſume the Government into the hands of the Iriſh Papiſts, and the Maſſacre which attended it, we may conclude, without any Breach of Charity, that the Engliſh Court admitted of the former, though they might waſh their hands of the latter. Nalſon, p. 633,

The Parliament, in their Declaration of March 9, ſay, that the Rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived in England, and that they had taken ſeveral Depoſitions, proving, that the Engliſh Papiſts were to riſe about the ſame time; that the Rebels ſaid they acted by the King's Authority; that they called themſelves the Queen's Army, and declared, "that their purpoſe was to come to Eng-"land after they had done in Ireland, to recover the Royal "Prerogative, wreſted from him by the Puritan Faction "in the Houſe of Commons." Mr. Pym declared in the Parliament Houſe, that ſeveral diſbanded Officers and Soldiers of the King's Army went over to Ireland, and liſted Rapin. p. 337.

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among the Rebels by the King's expreſs Warrant, which his Majeſty denied; but when the matter was examined, it appeared that his Authority had been abuſed by ſome very near his Perſon.

Earl of Eſſex's Account.

The concern of the Court in this dark affair is further evident, from the relation of the Earl of Eſſex, who told Biſhop Burnet, "That he had taken all the pains he could "to enquire into the Original of the Iriſh Maſſacre, but "could not ſee reaſon to believe the King was acceſſary to "it; but he did believe that the Queen did hearken to "the Propoſitions made by the Iriſh, who undertook to "take the Government of Ireland into their hands, which "they thought they could eaſily perform, and then they "promiſed to aſſiſt the King againſt the hot Spirits at Weſt-"minſter. With this the Inſurrection began, and all the "Iriſh believed the Queen encouraged it."

And the Marquis of Antrim's.

There was a further diſcovery of this Fact at the Reſtoration of King Charles II. when the Marquis of Antrim, who had been at the head of the Rebellion, and whoſe eſtate had been confiſcated, finding himſelf like to be excluded the Act of Indemnity, came to London to petition his Majeſty to examine the Warrants he had acted upon. Accordingly a Committee of Council was appointed, and the Marquis produced ſome Letters from the King which did not amount to full proof; but in one of them the King writ, that he was not then at leiſure, "but referred him-"ſelf to the Queen's Letter, and ſaid, that was all one as "if he writ himſelf." Upon this foundation the Marquis produced a Series of Letters writ by himſelf to the Queen, in which "he gave her an Account of every one of thoſe "particulars that were laid to his charge, and ſhewed the "Grounds he went upon, and deſired her Majeſty's Di-"rection to every one of thoſe;" and he had Anſwers ordering him to do as he did. This Affair (ſays the Biſhop) the Queen herſelf, who was then at Court, eſpouſed with great zeal, and ſaid, ſhe was bound to ſave him. So a report was drawn up by the Committee, declaring, That he had fully juſtified himſelf in every thing; but the Earl of Northumberland, who was Chairman, refuſed to ſet his Hand to it, ſaying, "He was ſorry the Marquis had "produced ſuch Warrants; but he did not think that "they ought to ſerve his turn, for he did not believe "that any Warrant from the King or Queen could ju-"ſtify

Burnet's Hiſt. Life and Times.

" ſtify ſo much bloodſhed, in ſo many black inſtances as " were laid againſt him." Upon the Earl's refuſing to ſign the report the reſt of the Committee declined it, and ſo it was dropt; but the King himſelf writ over to the Duke of Ormond, that he had ſo vindicated himſelf, that he muſt get him included in the Act of Indemnity; but the Lord Mazarine and others not being ſatisfied to give their vote in favour of ſuch a Criminal, notwithſtanding the Inſtructions they had from England, the Marquis was obliged in his own defence to produce in the Houſe of Commons a Letter from King Charles I. writ with his own hand, giving him expreſs Orders to take up Arms; upon which he was pardoned, and his eſtate reſtored.

King Charles I. 1641. Bennet's Mem. p. 197.

In the Letter of King Charles II. to the Duke of Ormond above-mentioned, writ with his Majeſty's own hand, and entered in the Signet Office, July 13, 1663, there is this remarkable paſſage, " That the Referees who had " examined the Marquis [of Antrim's] Caſe, had declar- " ed to him, that they had ſeen " ſeveral Letters, all of " them of the Hand-writing of our Royal Father to the " ſaid Marquis, and ſeveral inſtructions concerning his " treating with the Iriſh in order to the King's Service, by " reducing them to their Obedience, and by drawing ſome " forces from them for the ſervice of Scotland. That be- " ſides Letters and Orders under his Majeſty's own hand, " there was ſufficient evidence and teſtimony of ſeveral " Meſſengers and directions ſent from our Royal Father " and our Royal Mother, with the privity and direction " of the King our Father, by which it appears, that " whatever Correſpondence, or Actings the ſaid Marquis " had with the confederate Iriſh Catholicks, was directed " and allowed by the ſaid Letters and Inſtructions; and " that the King himſelf was well pleaſed with what the " Marquis did after he had done it, and approved of the " ſame."

K. Charles the IId's Letter. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 353.

I have been more particular in accounting for this Inſurrection, becauſe whoever were the Authors of it, are, in the Judgment of Lord Clarendon, anſwerable for all the " Calamities of the Civil War. " It was Ireland (ſays his " Lordſhip) that drew the firſt Blood. If they had not " at that time rebelled, and in that manner, 'tis very " probable all the miſeries which afterwards befel the King " and his Dominions, had been prevented." At whoſe

Vol. I. p. 299.

King Charles I. 1641.

Door then the Guilt of all this blood must be laid, I freely leave with the reader.

Proceedings of Parliament upon the Insurrection.

Upon the first news of the Irish Massacre the House of Commons turned themselves into a Committee, and came to the following Resolutions, "That all Roman Catholicks of Quality in the several Counties of England be secured, and that all Papists depart from London to their respective places of abode in the Country; that the House of Lords be desired to join with the Commons in a petition for dissolving the Convent of Capuchins, and sending them out of the Kingdom; that the foreign Ambassadors be desired to deliver up such Priests of the King's Subjects as are in their Houses; that a list be brought in of the Queen's Servants; and that a Proclamation be issued out for all Strangers that are not Protestants, to give an account of their names and places of abode, or depart the Kingdom." They also dispatched a Messenger to the King, beseeching him to concur with them in securing the Nation against any further attempts of the Papists; and not to employ any in his Councils who were favourers of Popery, Superstition, or Innovation in Religion. They voted two hundred thousand pounds to be borrowed immediately for the Service of Ireland, and appointed the Train Bands of Westminster to guard them from the insolence and affronts of vagrant Soldiers about the Court; and to secure them from other designs which they had reason to suspect. The Lords ordered all Romish Recusants to remove out of the Inns of Court and Chancery. The Commons ordered the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to be tender'd to all Irish Gentlemen within those Courts; "for it now appears (says Mr. Pym) that the Religion of the Papists is incompatible with any other Religion, it is destructive to all others, and will endure nothing that opposes it. There are other Religions that are not right, but not so destructive as Popery, for the principles of Popery are subversive of all States and Persons that oppose it."

Nalson, p. 667.

The King's imprudent Conduct. Nalson, p. 606.

But when the King returned from Scotland the latter end of November, and had been received with the acclamations of the Citizens of London, he was prevailed with by the Queen and her faction, to check the proceedings of the two Houses, since the Scots were easy, and the hearts of the English Nation seemed to be with him; his Majesty had recommended the suppressing the Irish

Iriſh Rebellion to the Scots Repreſentatives, and by Letter had committed the care of it alſo to the Engliſh Parliament; whereupon the Houſe of Commons, in the King's abſence, authorized the Earl of Leiceſter, by an ordinance of their own, to raiſe forces, and the Lord High Admiral to provide ſhipping for their Tranſportation from Cheſter, and other Ports; but when the King came to Whitehall he ſeemed ſo unwilling to act againſt the Papiſts, that the Parliament were afraid of ſending Proteſtant Soldiers out of the Kingdom, leſt his Majeſty ſhould take advantage of their abſence, and break up the Conſtitution; for he had already commanded away the Parliament's Guard, telling them, they had nothing to fear from the Papiſts, and that their jealouſies of Plots and Maſſacres were imaginary. He pardoned ſeven Popiſh Prieſts that were under ſentence of condemnation, contrary to the petition of the Houſe of Commons. He turned out the Earl of Leiceſter, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Sir William Parſons, one of the moſt active Proteſtant Juſtices in that Kingdom. He intercepted the Parliamentary Supplies in their way to Cheſter, and received a deputation from the Iriſh Catholicks with greater ceremony and reſpect than from his Proteſtant Subjects. Nor could his Majeſty be prevailed with to iſſue out a Proclamation declaring the Iriſh, Rebels, till the beginning of January, and even then but forty copies were printed, and not one to be diſperſed till further order. Indeed the King proclaimed a monthly faſt, and offered to raiſe an Army of Engliſh for the relief of Ireland, which the Commons declined; but inſtead thereof appointed a Committee to treat for ten thouſand Scots, which the Houſe of Lords, by direction from the King, put a ſtop to; ſo that between both, the relief of Ireland was neglected. The King would have perſuaded the Parliament to ſend over ten thouſand Engliſh, that they might find it more difficult to raiſe forces in caſe of a Breach with him; but the Commons prevailed with the Scots to offer ten thouſand of their Nation, that they might not be obliged to leave themſelves naked and defenceleſs in ſo critical a Juncture.

King Charles I. 1641.

Rapin, p. 280, 282.

Upon the whole it ſeems to me, that this barbarous Inſurrection and Maſſacre was formed by the Iriſh to diſtreſs the Parliament, after the failure of the deſign of doing it by the Engliſh Army; that the King was willingly ignorant of the progreſs of the affair, having intruſted the Correſpondence with his Queen and her Council; that when the

Remarks.

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King heard how the Iriſh had over-acted their part he was ſurprized, and thought it neceſſary to declare againſt them; but when he came to his Queen he appeared too favourable to their perſons and conduct, and inſtead of going briſkly into the meaſures that were propoſed to ſubdue them, his Majeſty played the Politician, and would have made uſe of the Iriſh Rebellion to put himſelf at the head of an Army to break up the Engliſh Parliament.

While the King was in Scotland it was given out by ſome ill deſigning people, that ſince his Majeſty had yielded ſo much to the Scots, he might be perſuaded to introduce Preſbytery into England at his return; upon which his Majeſty ſent the following Letter to Mr. Nichols, Clerk of the Council.

King's Letter in favour of the Hierarchy. Nalſon, p. 683.

"I Hear it is reported that at my return, I intend to "alter the Government of the Church of England, and "to bring it to that form it is in here; therefore I com- "mand you to aſſure all my Servants, that I will be con- "ſtant to the Church of England eſtabliſhed by Queen "Elizabeth and my Father; and that I reſolve, by the "Grace of God, to die in the maintenance of it." Edinburgh, Octob. 18, 1641.

Accordingly, his Majeſty reſolved to fill up the vacant Sees, and ordered five Congé D'Eſlires to be drawn for five Clergymen therein named; but the two Houſes joining in a petition to his Majeſty to ſuſpend his commands till he came home, the matter was delayed; but ſoon after his return he made the following removes and promotions.

He fills up the vacant Biſhopricks.

Dr. Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, was made Archbiſhop of York, in the room of Dr. Neile deceaſed, and Dr. Winniffe Dean of St. Paul's, a grave and moderate Divine, was made Biſhop of Lincoln; Dr. Duppa Biſhop of Chicheſter was tranſlated to Saliſbury, vacant by the death of Dr. Davenant, and Dr. King Dean of Rocheſter, was promoted to Chicheſter. Dr. Hall was tranſlated from Exeter to Norwich, in the room of Biſhop Montague; and Dr. Brownrigge, Maſter of Katharine Hall, Cambridge, an eminent and learned Divine, was advanced to Exeter. Dr. Skinner was tranſlated from Briſtol to Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. Bancroft; and Dr. Weſtfield Archdeacon of St. Albans, a very popular Preacher, was promoted to Briſtol; Dr. Prideaux,

King's

King's Profeſſor of Divinity in Oxford, was made Biſhop of Worceſter, in the room of Dr. Thornborough deceaſed. The Biſhoprick of Carliſle being vacant by the death of Dr. Barnabas Potter, a Puritan Biſhop, commonly called the Penitential Preacher, was given in Commendam to the moſt Reverend Dr. Uſher, Archbiſhop and Primate of Ireland, during the commotions in that kingdom. Moſt of theſe Divines ſtood well in the opinion of the people, but their accepting Biſhopricks at this time did neither the King nor themſelves any Service. After this his Majeſty nominated but two Biſhops throughout the courſe of his reign; one was Dr. Frewen Dean of Glouceſter, and Preſident of Magdalene College, Oxon, to the Biſhoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, 1644. and Dr. Howel, Prebendary of Windſor, to Briſtol, about ten months after.

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A Committee had been appointed a twelvemonth ago, at the motion of the Lord Digby, "to draw out of all the "grievances of the nation ſuch a Remonſtrance as might "be a faithful and lively Repreſentation to his Majeſty, of "the deplorable State of the kingdom;" but it was laid aſide till this time, when the proſpect of an agreement between him and his Parliament being almoſt at at end, after the breaking out of the Iriſh Inſurrection and Maſſacre; it was perfected and read in the Houſe of Commons, November 22. when it met with ſo ſtrong an oppoſition, that it was carried but by nine voices, after a long debate, from three in the afternoon till three in the morniug, which made One ſay, It look'd like the verdict of a ſtarv'd Jury. Many were of opinion, that thoſe grievances which had been redreſſed by the late Acts of Parliament ought to have been covered, leſt the reviving them ſhould make the breach wider between the King and Parliament; but others thought the mentioning them could do no harm if it was done with reſpect, and that it was in a manner neceſſary, in order to introduce the intended limitation of the Royal Power. However, this was the Criſis that diſcovered the ſtrength of the two parties, and was managed with ſuch warmth, that Oliver Cromwell is ſaid to tell Lord Falkland, that "if the "Remonſtrance had been rejected he would have ſold all "he had next morning, and never have ſeen England "more."

Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons.

It was difficult to ſay which ſide of the queſtion was right, Mr. Rapin will not take upon him to determine, whether it was neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom, "to "put it out of the King's Power to govern for the future "in

Remarks. Claren. Vol. II. p. 312. Rapin, p. 212.

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"in the ſame arbitrary manner as he had done for fifteen "years;" but he thinks the reaſons for it very plauſible, and does not well ſee what ſecurity they could have who were for leaving the King in poſſeſſion of the ſame power he had enjoyed before; eſpecially if it be conſidered, that his Majeſty had ſtill the ſame arbitrary principles, and the ſame inviolable attachment to his Queen and the Popiſh Faction, beſides the current report that the Court had fomented the Iriſh Inſurrection, which had filled the minds of people with diſtracting terrors. 'Tis certain the King had conceived an implacable averſion to the leading members of the Puritanical party in both houſes, and having quieted the Scots, was determined to make them examples; of which they were not ignorant. But, whether theſe and the like reaſons were ſufficient to juſtify the whole of the Parliament's conduct in this affair, I will not take upon me to determine.

It is preſented to the King. Ruſh. p. 438. Nalſon, p. 694

The Remonſtrance was preſented to the King at Hampton Court [Dec. 1.] about a week after his Majeſty's return from Scotland, with a petition for redreſs of the grievances therein contained. 'Tis eaſy to ſuppoſe it was not very acceptable, but the King gave the Committee his hand to kiſs, and took time to return an anſwer. The Remonſtrance enumerates the ſeveral grievances, oppreſſions and unbounded acts of the Prerogative, ſince his Majeſty's acceſſion, to the number of almoſt two hundred, and charges their riſe and progreſs, (1.) On the Jeſuited Papiſts. (2.) On the Court Biſhops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy. (3.) On ſuch corrupt Counſellors and Courtiers as for private ends had engaged themſelves in the intereſt of ſome foreign Princes, to the prejudice of the King and State. Theſe Miniſters are ſaid to carry on their deſigns, (1.) By ſuppreſſing the power and purity of Religion, and of ſuch perſons as were beſt affected to it. (2.) By cheriſhing the Arminian Party in thoſe points wherein they agree with the Papiſts, in order to widen the difference between the common Proteſtants and thoſe called Puritans; and by introducing ſuch opinions and ceremonies as tend to an accommodation with Popery. (3.) By fomenting differences and diſcontents between the King and his Parliament, and by putting him upon arbitrary and illegal methods of raiſing ſupplies.

I omit the grievances of the State; thoſe which related to the Church were ſuch as follow;

1. The

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Grievances of Religion.

1. The ſuſpenſions, excommunications, deprivations, and degradations of divers painful, learned and pious Miniſters of the Goſpel, by the Biſhops; and the grievous oppreſſion of great numbers of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

2 The ſharpneſs and ſeverity of the High Commiſſion, aſſiſted by the Council Table, not much leſs grievous than the Romiſh Inquiſition.

3. The Rigour of the Biſhops Courts in the Country, whereby great numbers of the meaner tradeſmen have been impoveriſhed, and driven out of the Kingdom, to Holland and New England. The advancing thoſe to Eccleſiaſtical preferments who were moſt officious in promoting ſuperſtition, and moſt virulent in railing againſt Godlineſs and Honeſty.

4. The deſign of reconciling the Church of England with Rome, and impoſing upon the Church of Scotland ſuch Popiſh ſuperſtitions and innovations as might diſpoſe them to join with England in the intended reconciliation.

5. The late Canons and Oath impoſed upon the Clergy under the ſevereſt penalties; and the Continuance of the Convocation by a new Commiſſion, after the diſſolution of the Parliament, wherein they raiſed Taxes upon the Subject for the maintenance of what was called Bellum Epiſcopale. The rooting out of the Kingdom by force, or driving away by fear, the Puritans; under which name they include all that deſire to preſerve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the power of it.

6. The exempting Papiſts from Penal Laws, ſo far as amounted to a toleration, beſides conferring upon them many other privileges and Court favours; Theſe (ſay they) have had a Secretary of State of their own Religion, and a Nuncio from the Pope, by whoſe authority the Popiſh Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, have been convocated after the manner of a Parliament; new juriſdictions have been erected of Popiſh Archbiſhops; Taxes have been levied; another State moulded within this State, independent in Government, and ſecretly corrupting the ignorant profeſſors of our Religion, &c. The Papiſts have been furniſhed with arms and ammunition, liſted in the King's ſervice, and encouraged by the weekly prayers of their Prieſts, for the proſperity of their deſigns to promote the Catholick Cauſe. They complain fnrther of a party of Biſhops and Popiſh Lords

King Charles I. 1641.

Lords in the Houſe of Peers, that have cauſed much oppoſition and delay in the proſecution of Delinquents, and hindred the paſſing ſome good Bills for the reforming abuſes and corruptions in Church and State; and of a malignant party that has countenanced the Rebellion in Ireland.

Declaration of their intentions.

After the recital of theſe Grievances they acknowledge with thankfulneſs, the many Acts that his Majeſty has paſſed this Seſſion for the publick good, and put his Majeſty in mind of the large ſums of money they have raiſed for his ſervice, amounting to no leſs than a million and half. They declare, "That it is far from their purpoſe or deſire "to let looſe the golden reins of diſcipline and government "in the Church, to leave private perſons, or particular "congregations, to take up what form of Divine Service "they pleaſe; for we hold it requiſite (ſay they) that there "ſhould be throughout the whole realm a conformity to "that order which the laws enjoin, according to the word "of God; and we deſire to unburden the Conſciences of "men from needleſs and ſuperſtitious ceremonies; to ſup-"preſs innovations, and to take away the monuments of "idolatry. To effect this intended Reformation, we deſire "there may be a general Synod of the moſt grave, pious, "learned, and judicious Divines of this iſland, aſſiſted with "ſome from foreign parts profeſſing the ſame Religion with "us, who may conſider of all things neceſſary for the peace "and good government of the Church, and repreſent the "reſult of their conſultations to the Parliament, to be "allowed and confirmed, and to receive the Stamp of Au-"thority.——It is our chief care to advance and promote "learning, and to provide a competent maintenance for "conſcionable and preaching Miniſters throughout the "Kingdom —— We intend likewiſe to reform and purge "the Fountains of Learning, the two Univerſities, that the "Streams flowing thence may be clear and pure, and an "honour and comfort to the whole land. And ſeeing that "the Religion of Papiſts has ſuch principles as certainly "tend to the deſtruction and extirpation of all Proteſtants, "when they have opportunity to effect it, 'tis neceſſary to "keep them in ſuch a condition, that they may not be able "to do us any hurt."

Petition preſented with the Remonſtrance. Nalſon, p. 692.

In the petition that attended this remonſtrance, after having aſſured his Majeſty, that they had not the leaſt intention to lay any blemiſh upon his Royal Perſon by the foregoing Declaration, but only to repreſent how his Royal

Royal Authority and truſt had been abuſed, they humbly beſeech his Majeſty to concur with his people in a Parliamentary way, (1.) "For the depriving the Biſhops of their "Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate "power, uſurped over the Clergy, and other your good "Subjects to the hazard of Religion, and prejudice of the "juſt Liberties of your people. (2.) For the taking away "ſuch oppreſſions in Religion, Church Government and "Diſcipline, as have been brought in and fomented by "them. (3.) For uniting all ſuch your loyal Subjects, as "agree in fundamentals, againſt Papiſts, by removing "ſome oppreſſions and unneceſſary Ceremonies, by which "divers weak conſciences have been offended, and ſeem "to be divided from the reſt. (4.) They conclude, with "beſeeching his Majeſty to remove from his Counſels all "followers of Popery and arbitrary Power, and promo-"ters of the above-mentioned preſſures and corruptions, "and to employ ſuch as his Parliament might confide in; "and that in his princely goodneſs he would reject all ſoli-"citations to the contrary, how powerful and near ſo-"ever. King Charles I. 1641.

His Majeſty, in his anſwer to this petition, about a week after, complains very juſtly of the diſreſpect of the Commons in printing their Remonſtrance before he had time to return an anſwer. To the preamble and concluſion of the Petition, he ſays, "that he knows of no wicked, arbitrary, "and malignant party prevalent in the Government, or "near himſelf and his Children;" and aſſures them, that the mediation of the Neareſt to Him has always concurr'd in ſuch perſons, againſt whom there can be no juſt cauſe of exception. To the ſeveral Articles his Majeſty replies; Firſt, concerning Religion, "That he is willing to concur "with all the juſt deſires of his people in a Parliamentary "way, for preſerving the peace of the Kingdom from the "deſign of the popiſh party. The King's Anſwer to the Petition.

"That for depriving the Biſhops of their Votes in Par-"liament, he thought their right was grounded on the "fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Conſtitution "of Parliament, but ſince you deſire our concurrence in "a Parliamentary way (ſays the King) we will give no fur-"ther anſwer at preſent.

"As for abridging the extraordinary power of the Cler-"gy, if there remain any exceſſes, or uſurpations in their "juriſdictions, we neither have, nor will protect them.

"Concerning

King Charles I. 1641.

" Concerning Church corruptions (as you ſtile them) and " removing unneceſſary ceremonies; we are willing to " concur in the removal of any illegal innovations which " may have crept in; and if our Parliament adviſe us to " call a national Synod for that purpoſe, we ſhall take it " into conſideration.

" But we are very ſorry to hear in ſuch general terms, " corruption in Religion objected, ſince we are perſuaded in " our own conſcience, that no Church can be found upon " Earth that profeſſeth the true Religion with more purity " of Doctrine, than the Church of England doth; nor " where the Government and Diſcipline are jointly more " beautified, and free from ſuperſtition, than as they are " here eſtabliſhed by Law, which, by the Grace of God, " we will with conſtancy maintain (while we live) in their " purity and glory, not only againſt all invaſions of Pope- " ry, but alſo from the irreverence of thoſe many Schiſ- " maticks and Separatiſts wherewith of late this Kingdom, " and this City abounds, to the great diſhonour and hazard " both of Church and State; for the ſuppreſſion of whom " we require your timely aid and active aſſiſtance."

And to the Remonſtrance. Nalſon, p. 746.

Some time after [Dec. 15.] his Majeſty publiſhed his anſwer to the Remonſtrance, with a Declaration to all his loving Subjects, in which he profeſſes himſelf fully ſatisfied, " That the Religion of the Church of England is " moſt agreeable to the word of God, and that he ſhould " be ready to ſeal it with his blood, if God ſhould call him " to it. That as for ceremonies in Religion, which are in " their own nature indifferent, he is willing, in tenderneſs " to any number of his Subjects, that a Law ſhould be " made for the exemption of tender conſciences from " puniſhment, or proſecution for ſuch ceremonies, as by " the judgment of moſt Men are held to be indifferent, " and of ſome to be abſolutely unlawful, provided the " peace of the Kingdom be not diſturbed, nor the preſent " decency and comelineſs of God's Service eſtabliſhed in " the Church, diſcountenanced; nor the pious, ſober, " and devout actions of thoſe Reverend Perſons, who " were the firſt labourers in the bleſſed Reformation, be " ſcandalized and defamed. His Majeſty then adds, that " he cannot without grief of heart, and ſome tax upon " himſelf and his Miniſters, for not executing the laws, " look upon the bold licence of ſome Men, in printing " Pamphlets and Sermons ſo full of bitterneſs and malice

" againſt

" againſt the preſent Government, and the law eſtabliſh- King Charles I. 1641.
" ed; ſo full of ſedition againſt himſelf and the peace of
" the Kingdom, that he is many times amazed to conſider
" by what Eyes theſe things are ſeen, and by what Ears
" they are heard; he therefore commands again all his
" Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice to proceed againſt them
" with all ſpeed, and put the laws in execution." Agree- Ruſhw. p. 456.
ably to this declaration his Majeſty iſſued out his Royal Proclamation December 10th, requiring obedience to the Laws aud Statutes ordained for the eſtabliſhing true Religion in this Kingdom, and commanding that divine ſervice be performed as heretofore; and that all Officers and Miniſters eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, do put the ſaid Laws in due execution againſt all wilful contemners and diſturbers of Divine Worſhip, contrary to the ſaid Laws and Statutes.

Thus matters ſtood between the King and Parliament, Iſſue of the Impeachment of the 13 Biſhops.
when all Men expected the " Court Intereſt in the Houſe
" of Peers" would be broken, by the iſſue of the impeachment of the thirteen Biſhops, for compiling the late Canons, which was now at hand. The Lords had reſolved, that ſuch Biſhops as were impeached ſhould not ſit in the Houſe when the merits of their cauſe was in debate, but that when the manner of proceeding was to be ſettled they might be preſent, but not vote. To enable them the better to make their Defence it was reſolved further, that the Biſhop of Rocheſter with one other Biſhop, might have acceſs twice to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the Tower, to conſult with him about their anſwer to the impeachment; and that all the Lords Biſhops may have acceſs to, and have copies of any Acts and Records in any of his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice, that may ſerve for their defence. On the 10th of November the Biſhops put in their anſwer, conſiſting of a Plea and a Demurrer, in which they neither confeſs nor deny the fact, but endeavour to ſhew, that the offence of making Canons could not amount to a premunire, which was certainly true, provided they had been made in a legal Convocation, and that the Canons themſelves had not been contrary to the King's prerogative, and the fundamental Laws of the Land. The anſwer was ſigned with all their hands, except the Biſhop of Glouceſter's, who pleaded not guilty " modo & forma." The Nalſon, p. 715, 731.
Commons were diſſatisfied with the Biſhops for not pleading directly to their charge; and with the Lords, for receiving

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King Charles I. 1641.

a Demurrer when they were not preſent, contrary to the requeſt which they ſent up with the impeachment, eſpecially when the nature of the caſe, being a meer matter of fact, could not require it; they therefore prayed the Lords by Serjeant Glyn to ſet aſide the Demurrer, and to admit them to make proof of their charge without any further delay; or if they were ſatisfied with the charge, and the Biſhops would not plead to it, to proceed immediately to judgment; but the Lords, inſtead of complying with the Commons, gave the Biſhops their option, and ordered them to declare by Saturday, whether they would plead to the Impeachmennt, or abide by their Demurrer; when they declared they would abide by their Demurrer; upon which the Lords appointed Monday following [December 11.] to hear them by their Counſel in preſence of the Commons; but the Houſe reſenting this dilatory method of proceeding in a caſe ſo apparent and manifeſt to the whole World, would not appear; the moſt active Members declaring among their friends, with a ſort of deſpair, that they would be concerned no further againſt the Biſhops, for they now ſaw it was in vain to attack a number of Men whom the Court and the Houſe of Lords were reſolved to protect.

Petition of the Lord Mayor and Ald. againſt Bps. and Popiſh Lords.

When this was rumoured in the City it alarmed the people, whoſe fears were already ſufficiently awaken'd with the apprehenſions of a Popiſh maſſacre and inſurrection within their own Walls. The Aldermen and Common Council immediately aſſembled, and drew up a petition to ſupport the courage of the Commons, and went with it to Weſtminſter in ſixty Coaches, attended with a great number of the lower people. The petition prays, "That "the Houſe of Commons would ſtill be a means to the "King and Houſe of Peer, to concur with them [the "Commons] in redreſſing the Grievances of Church and "State, and for the better effecting hereof, that the po-"piſh Lords and Biſhops may be removed out of the "Houſe of Peers." The Speaker returned them thanks in the name of the Houſe, and promiſed to take their addreſs into conſideration in due time. A few days after great numbers of people met upon Black Heath, to ſign a Petition to the ſame purpoſe; and within a fortnight the apprentices of London went up with a Petition, ſigned with a multitude of names, complaining of the decay of trade, occaſioned by Papiſts and Prelates, and by a malignant party that adher'd to them; and praying that the popiſh

Nalſon, p. 733.

Of the London Apprentices.

Popiſh Lords, and other eminent Perſons of that Religion, might be ſecured, and that Prelacy might be rooted ont, according to their former Petition, commonly called the Root and Branch. The Commons received their Petition favourably; but the King, inſtead of calming the Citizens, encreaſed their jealouſies and ſuſpicions, by removing at this very time, Sir William Balfour from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and puting Colonel Lunsford into his place, a ſuſpected Papiſt, of no fortune, that had been once out-lawed, and was fit for any deſperate attempt; this occaſioned Petitions to his Majeſty for his removal, which with much difficulty, after ſome time, was obtained, but the jealouſies of the people ſtill remained. King Charles I. 1641.

The Petitions above-mentioned againſt the Biſhops were confronted with others out of the Country, in their favour. Nov. 18. the humble Petition of the Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates of Rutlandſhire, was preſented to the Houſe, ſigned by about eight hundred and forty hands, praying for the continuance of Epiſcopacy, as the only Government of apoſtolical Inſtitution, ſealed with the Blood of Martyrs, admirably ſuited to the Civil Government of this Kingdom, and affirming, that no Preſbyter ever laid on hands without a Biſhop. Dec. 8. a Petition of the like nature was preſented from Huntingdonſhire, and two days after another from Somerſetſhire, ſigned with above fourteen thouſand Names. Petitions for the Biſhops. Nalſon, p. 656, 726.

On the other hand, the Miniſters appointed to ſolicit their Remonſtrance, formerly mentioned, addreſſed the Houſe, Dec. 20, acknowledging "Their piety and zeal "for the true Religion, againſt Popery and Superſtition; "in countenancing the ſacred Ordinance of Preaching; "in encouraging painful and godly Miniſters, formerly ſet "aſide, but now profitably employed in many Congre-"gations; in diſcountenancing of bold intruders, who "without a ſufficient Call, have thruſt themſelves into "the ſacred Office; as alſo, of all unworthy and ſcandalous "Miniſters; in freeing divers godly Miniſters from priſon "and Exile, and others from heavy cenſures; in preven-"ting the utter ruin of the Petitioners, by ſetting aſide the "late Oath and Canons, the High Commiſſion, and other "illegal preſſures of eccleſiaſtical Courts; in making "an order to take away all ſuperſtitious Rites and Cere-"monies, Images, Pictures, and other Innovations, out "of Churches; in conducting the late Peace with Scot-"land A ſecond Petition of the Puritan Clergy for Reformation Nalſon, p. 764.

King Charles I. 1641.

" land to an happy concluſion, and in their vigorous en-
" deavours for the relief of Ireland, &c.—But whereas
" there ſtill remain a great many Grievances to be re-
" moved, they are neceſſitated to renew their former ſuit
" for redreſs of the aforeſaid Evils, and for taking away
" whatever ſhall appear to be the Root and Cauſe of them.
" And whereas the Petitioners, and many others, are de-
" ſirous in all things to ſubmit to the Laws, ſo far as
" poſſibly they may, yet merely out of tenderneſs and
" ſcruple of Conſcience, they dare not continue as former-
" ly they did, the exerciſe of ſome things enjoined; not
" only becauſe they have more ſeriouſly weighed the na-
" ture and ſcandal of them, and becauſe ſundry Biſhops,
" and other grave Divines, called to their aſſiſtance by or-
" der of the Houſe of Peers, have (as they are informed)
" diſcovered divers particulars which need alteration in the
" Liturgy; and becauſe there is not (as they humbly con-
" ceive) at this day, commonly extant, any Book of
" Common-prayer without ſo many alterations and addi-
" tions, as render it in many parts another thing from
" that which is by law eſtabliſhed; but chiefly, becauſe the
" Houſe, from a ſenſe of its defects, has taken the Refor-
" mation thereof under conſideration, which they hoped
" would be ſome ſhelter againſt the ſtrict preſſing the uſe
" of it, till their pleaſure was declared in a parliamentary
" way. But though the petitioners have been comfortably
" aſſured of ſome eaſe herein, yet now to their great ſor-
" row they apprehend that the ſame things are anew en-
" forced, which may occaſion much trouble and vexation
" to ſundry peaceable and worthy Miniſters, ſome of whom
" have been indicted upon the Statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 2.
" ſince the beginning of this preſent Parliament, and o-
" thers threaten'd for omiſſions of ſome things complained
" of to this high Court, and ſtill depending before you.
" The Petitioners therefore pray the Houſe to reſume the
" conſideration of their former Petition, and to commit the
" ſame to the debate of a free Synod, and in the mean
" time to be mediators to his Majeſty for ſome relaxation
" in matters of ceremony, and of reading the whole Li-
" turgy. They further pray, that a monthly Faſt may be
" appointed and religiouſly obſerved, during the preſent
" Seſſions of Parliament, and they will be ready at any
" time to offer reaſons why there ſhould be a Synod of a
" different conſtitution from the Convocation now in being,
" when they ſhall be required."

The

The carrying up theſe Petitions to Weſtminſter, and eſpecially that of the London Apprentices, occaſioned great tumults about the Parliament Houſe. The King was at his Palace at Whitehall, attended by great numbers of diſbanded Officers, whom his Majeſty received with great ceremony, and employed as a guard to his Royal Perſon. Theſe Officers inſulted the common People, and gave them ill Language as they paſſed by the Court to the Parliament Houſe, crying out, "No Biſhops, no Popiſh Lords." If the People ventured to reply, the Officers followed their reproaches with cuts and ſlaſhes, which (ſays Lord Clarendon) produced ſome wounds, and drew Blood. Mr. Baxter ſays, they came out of Whitehall, and catched ſome of them, and cut off their ears. From theſe ſkirmiſhes, and from the ſhortneſs of the Apprentices Hair, which was cut cloſe about their ears, the two parties began firſt to be diſtinguiſhed by the names of Roundhead and Cavalier. David Hyde, one of the Reformades, firſt drew his ſword in Palace Yard, and ſwore, He would cut the throats of thoſe Round headed Dogs that bauled againſt the Biſhops. Dr. Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, lately promoted to the See of York, going by land to the Houſe of Peers in company with the Earl of Dover, and hearing a Youth cry out louder than the reſt, "No Biſhops, no "Popiſh Lords," ſtept from the Earl and laid hands on him, but his Companions reſcued him, and about one hundred of them ſurrounding the Biſhop hemm'd him in, and with an univerſal ſhout cry'd out, "No Biſhops;" after which they opened a paſſage and let his Grace go forward to the Houſe. The ſame day Colonel Lunsford coming through Weſtminſter Hall in company with thirty or forty Officers, drew his ſword and wounded about twenty Apprentices and Citizens: Others walking in the Abbey while their friends were waiting for an anſwer to their Petition, were ordered by the Vergers to clear the Church, leſt the Ornaments of the Cathedral ſhould ſuffer damage; upon which moſt of them went out, and the doors were ſhut, but ſome few remaining behind, were apprehended and carried before the Biſhop, which occaſioned another ſkirmiſh, in which Sir Richard Wiſeman was killed by a ſtone from the battlements; after which the Officers and Scholars ſallied out upon the Mob with Sword in hand, and obliged them to retire. The news of this being reported in the city, the whole Populace was in arms, and reſolved to go next morning to Weſtminſter with ſwords and ſtaves. The Lord

King Charles I. 1641.

Tumults about the Parliament-Houſe.

Vol. I. p. 339.

Skirmiſhes between the two Parties.

Ruſhw. p. 464.

King Charles I. 1641.

And in the City.

Mayor and Sheriffs raiſed the Train-bands, and having ordered the City gates to be kept ſhut, they rid about all night to keep the peace; but it was impoſſible to hinder the people's going out in the Day. On the other hand, the King commanded the Militia of Weſtminſter and Middleſex to be raiſed by turns, as a guard to his Royal Perſon and Family; upon which ſeveral gentlemen of the Inns of Court offered their ſervice, in caſe his Majeſty apprehended any danger. The Houſe of Commons being no leſs afraid of themſelves, petitioned for a guard out of the City of London, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex, which his Majeſty refuſed, but told them, he would take as much care of them as of his own children; and if this would not ſuffice, he would command ſuch a guard to wait upon them as he would be anſwerable to God for; but the Houſe not being willing to truſt to the King's guard, declined his Majeſty's offer, and not prevailing for one of their own chooſing, they ordered halberds to be brought into the Houſe, and reſolved, in caſe of an aſſault, to defend themſelves.

Ruſhw. p. 471, 456.

Attempts to ſuppreſs them.

The Lords did what they could to diſperſe the tumults, by ſending their Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod to command the People to depart to their homes; and appointing a Committee to enquire into the cauſes of them. His Majeſty alſo publiſhed a Proclamation [Dec. 28.] forbidding all tumultuous aſſemblies of the people. But the Commons being unwilling to affront the Citizens, were not ſo vigorous in ſuppreſſing them, as 'tis thought they might have been; for as the King relied upon his guard of Officers, the Commons had their dependance upon the good-will of the Citizens; not that the Houſe can be charged with encouraging tumults, for the very next day after the King's Proclamation they ſent a meſſage to the Lords, declaring their readineſs to join in all lawful methods to appeaſe them; but they were ſenſible that their chief ſtrength was among the Inhabitants of London, without whoſe countenance and ſupport every thing muſt have been given back into the hands of the Court.

The Biſhops inſulted going to the Parliament Houſe.

While theſe tumults continued the Biſhops were adviſed to forbear their attendance upon the Houſe, at leaſt till after the Chriſtmas holidays; but this looking too much like cowardice, their Lordſhips determined to do their duty; and becauſe the ſtreets were crouded with unruly people, they agreed to go by water in their barges; but as ſoon as they came near the ſhore, the mob ſaluted them with a volley of ſtones, ſo that being afraid to land they rowed back, and returned peaceably

peaceably to their houſes. Upon this repulſe twelve of them met privately at the Archbiſhop of York's Lodgings in Weſtminſter, to conſult what was next to be done. The Archbiſhop adviſed to go no more to the Houſe, and immediately in a heat drew up the following Proteſtation againſt whatſoever the two Houſes ſhould do in their abſence, which all that were preſent ſigned with their hands, except the Biſhop of Wincheſter. King Charles I. 1641.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, and the Lords and Peers now aſſembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition and Proteſtation of all the Biſhops and Prelates now called by his Majeſty's Writs to attend the Parliament, and preſent about London and Weſtminſter for that Service. Their Proteſtation. Claren. p. 351.

"WHereas the Petitioners are called up by ſeveral and "reſpective Writs, and under great penalties to at- "tend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable "Right to vote in Bills, and other matters whatſoever de- "batable in Parliament, by the ancient Cuſtoms, Laws and "Statutes of this Realm, and ought to be protected by "your Majeſty quietly to attend and proſecute that great "Service: They humbly remonſtrate and proteſt before "God, your Majeſty, and the noble Lords and Peers now "aſſembled in Parliament, that as they have an indubitate "Right to ſet and vote in the Houſe of Lords, ſo are they, "if they may be protected from Force and Violence, moſt "ready and willing to perform their Duties accordingly. "And, that they do abominate all Actions or Opinions "tending to Popery and the Maintenance thereof; as alſo, "all Propenſion and Inclination to any malignant Party, "or any other Side or Party whatſoever, to the which their "own Reaſons and Conſcience ſhall not move them to ad- "here. But whereas they have been at ſeveral times "violently menaced, affronted, and aſſaulted, by Multi- "tudes of People in their coming to perform their Servi- "ces in that honourable Houſe, and lately chaſed away "and put in danger of their Lives, and can find no Re- "dreſs or Protection, under ſundry Complaints made to "both Houſes in theſe particulars: They humbly proteſt "before your Majeſty, and the noble Houſe of Peers, "that ſaving unto themſelves all their Rights and Intereſt "of ſitting and voting in that Houſe at other times, they dare

King Charles I. 1641.

" not ſit or vote in the Houſe of Peers, until your Ma-
" jeſty ſhall further ſecure them from all Affronts, Indig-
" nities, and Dangers, in the Premiſes. Laſtly, Where-
" as their Fears are not built upon Fantaſies and Con-
" ceits, but upon ſuch Grounds and Objections as may
" well terrify Men of Reſolution and much Conſtancy,
" they do in all Humility and Duty, proteſt before your
" Majeſty, and the Peers of that moſt honourable Houſe
" of Parliament, againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes, Re-
" ſolutions, and Determinations, as in themſelves null,
" and of none effect, which in their abſence, ſince the 27th
" of this Month of December, 1641. have already paſſed;
" as likewiſe, againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter paſs in that
" moſt honorable Houſe, during the time of this their forced
" and violent abſence from the ſaid moſt honourable Houſe;
" not denying, but if their abſenting of themſelves were
" wilful and voluntary, that moſt honourable Houſe might
" proceed in all the Premiſes, their abſence, or this pro-
" teſtation, notwithſtanding. And humbly beſeeching your
" moſt excellent Majeſty to command the Clerk of that
" Houſe of Peers, to enter this their Petition and Proteſta-
" tion among their Records,

And they will ever pray God to bleſs, &c.

John Eborac.	George Hereford,
Tho. Dureſme,	Rob. Oxon.
Ro. Cov. Lichf.	Mat. Ely,
Joſ. Norwich,	Godfery Glouceſter,
Jo. Aſaph,	Jo. Peterborough,
Gul. Bath and Wells,	Morice Landaff.

This Proteſtation was preſented to the King by Archbiſhop Williams, who undertook to juſtify the Lawfulneſs of it; but his Majeſty declining to appear in ſo nice an affair delivered it into the hands of the Lord Keeper Littleton, who, by his Majeſty's Command, read it in the Houſe of Lords next Morning. After ſome debate the Lords deſired a Conference with the Commons, when the Keeper, in the Name of the Houſe of Peers, declared, " That " the Proteſtation of the Biſhops contained matters of " high and dangerous Conſequence, extending to the " intrenching upon the fundamental Privileges and Being " of Parliaments, and therefore the Lords thought fit to " communicate it to the Commons." The Proteſtation being communicated to the Houſe of Commons, they reſolved, within half an hour, to accuſe the twelve Biſhops

Claren. Vol. II. p. 250.

Ruſhw. p. 467.

They are impeached.

Biſhops of High Treaſon, "for endeavouring to ſubvert "the fundamental Laws and Beings of Parliaments," and ſent up their Impeachment by Mr. Glyn, who having delivered it at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, the Uſher of the Black Rod was ordered to go immediately in ſearch of the Biſhops, and bring them to the Houſe; the Biſhops appearing the ſame Evening [December 30.] were ſequeſtered from Parliament, ten of them being ſent to the Tower, the Biſhops of Durham and Norwich, by reaſon of their great age, and the Service they had done the Church of God by their writings and preaching, being committed to the cuſtody of the Black Rod, with an allowance of five Pounds a day for their expence. King Charles I. 1641. Fuller, B. XI. p. 188.

The adverſaries of the Biſhops in both Houſes were extremely pleaſed with their unadviſed conduct; one ſaid, it was the Finger of God, to bring that to paſs which otherwiſe could not have been compaſſed. There was but one Gentleman in the whole debate that ſpoke in their behalf and ſaid, "He did not believe they were guilty of High "Treaſon, but that they were ſtark mad, and therefure "deſired they might be ſent to Bedlam." Lord Clarendon cenſures this Proteſtation, as proceeding from the pride and paſſion of Archbiſhop Williams; he admits, that the eleven Biſhops were ill adviſed, in going into his Meaſures, and ſuffering themſelves to be precipitated into ſo haſty a Reſolution, though he is certain there could be nothing of High Treaſon in it. However, their behaviour gave ſuch ſcandal and offence, even to thoſe who paſſionately deſired to preſerve their Function, that they had no compaſſion or regard for their Perſons. The Proteſtation illegal. Claren. Vol. II. p. 355.

The Objections that I have met with againſt the Proteſtation, are theſe; Firſt, That it tended to deſtroy the very Being of Parliaments, becauſe it put a ſtop to all laws, orders, votes, and Reſolutions made in the abſence of the Biſhops. Secondly, The preſence of the Biſhops is hereby made ſo eſſential that no Act can paſs without them, which is claiming a negative voice, like the King's. Thirdly, The Biſhops deſiring the King to command the Clerk of the Houſe of Peers to enter their Proteſtation on Record, was derogatory to the rights of Parliament, as though the King by his command could make a Record, of Parliament. Fourthly, The annulling all Laws that might be made at this time, when Ireland was in ſo much danger, from the breaking out of the Iriſh Maſſacre, was a ſort of conſpiring with the Rebels to deſtroy that Kingdom. Fifthly. Reaſons of it.

King Charles I. 1641.

It was ſaid, that beſides the unwarrantable Expreſſions in the Proteſtation, the form of preſenting and tranſmitting it was unjuſtifiable.

Apology for the Biſhops.

On the other hand, it was ſaid on behalf of the Biſhops, that here was a manifeſt force put upon them; and violence offered to the freedom of one Member of Parliament, is a violence offered to the whole; that therefore they had a Right to proteſt, and guard their Privileges, without being accountable for the ill Conſequences that might follow. But ſhould they not have petitioned the Lords to ſecure their paſſage to Parliament, rather than have put a Negative upon all their Proceedings? I have met with but one learned writer who commends the Biſhops upon this occaſion, and he advances them, in romantick language, to the Rank of Heroes; his words are theſe, "Had the Biſhops done leſs they had fal-"len ſhort of that fortitude which might juſtly be expec-"ted from them. They had reaſon to conclude the Root "and Branch work would certainly go forward, and there-"fore to be ſilent under ſuch an outrage would look like "cowardice. When the proſpect is menacing, and a Man "is almoſt certain to be undone, the moſt creditable expe-"dient is to ſpend himſelf in a blaze, and flaſh to the laſt "grain of powder. To go out in ſmoak and ſmother is "but a mean way of coming to nothing. To creep and "crawl to a misfortune is to ſuffer like an Inſect. A Man "ought to fall with Dignity and Honour, and to keep his "mind erect though his fortune happens to be cruſht. "This was the Biſhops meaning, and for making ſo hand-"ſome a retreat they ought to ſtand commended upon "Record." But with due regard to this Reverend Divine, was there no medium between being ſilent, and taking upon them to diſſolve the Parliament? For if the Proceedings of the Houſe of Peers are null without the Biſhops, 'tis no leſs certain, that thoſe of the Honſe of Commons are null without the Peers; from whence it muſt follow, that the whole Parliament is of no uſe. Mr. Rapin is of opinion, that the King hoped "That this Affair might occaſion "the Diſſolution of the Parliament." But his Majeſty was much miſtaken, for the Biſhops and popiſh Lords being now abſent, the Majority of the Houſe of Peers was againſt the Court; which vexed the Queen and her Faction, and put them upon ſuch an extravagant piece of revenge as effectually ruined the King's Affairs, and broke the peace of the Kingdom.

Collyer's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 819.

Remarks p. 301.

His

His Majeſty having been aſſured that the Lord Kimbolton, and five of the moſt active Members in the Houſe of Commons, (viz.) Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haſlerigge, John Pym, John Hambden, and William Stroud, Eſqs. had invited the Scots into England, and were now the chief encouragers of thoſe tumults that had kept the Biſhops and popiſh Lords from the Houſe; that they had aſperſed his Government, and were endeavouring to deprive him of his Royal power: In a word, that they were conſpiring to levy war againſt the King; reſolved to impeach them of high treaſon; accordingly his Majeſty ſent his Attorney General to the Houſe with the Articles [Jan. 3.] and at the ſame time ſent Officers to their Houſes to ſeal up their trunks, papers, and doors; but the Members not being ordered into cuſtody, as his Majeſty expected, the King went himſelf to the Houſe next day in the afternoon [Jan. 4.] to ſeize them, attended with about two hundred Officers and Soldiers, armed with Swords and Piſtols; the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court who had offered their ſervice to defend the King's perſon, having had notice to be ready at an hour's warning. The King having entered the Houſe went directly to the Speaker's Chair, and looking about him, ſaid with a frown, "I perceive the Birds are fled, but I "will have them whereſoever I can find them, for as long "as theſe perſons are here, this Houſe will never be in "the right way that I heartily wiſh it; I expect therefore, "that as ſoon as they come to the Houſe that you ſend "them me." Having then aſſured the Members, that he deſigned no force upon them, nor breach of privilege, after a little time, he withdrew; but as his Majeſty was going out, many Members cried aloud, ſo as he might hear them, Privilege! Privilege! the Houſe was in a terrible pannick while the King was in the chair, the Door of the Houſe, with all the Avenues, being crouded with Officers and Soldiers: As ſoon therefore as his Majeſty was gone they adjourned till next day, and then for a week. It was happy that the five Members had notice of the King's coming, juſt time enough to withdraw into the City, otherwiſe it might have occaſioned the effuſion of blood, for without doubt the armed Soldiers at the door waited but for the word to carry them away by force. Next day his Majeſty went into the City [Jan. 5.] and demanded them of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, then aſſembled by his order at Guildhall, profeſſing at the ſame time his reſolution to proſecute all that oppoſed the Laws, whether Papiſts

King Charles I. 1641.

King goes to the H. of Commons to ſeize five of their Members.

Ruſhw. p. 479.

King Charles I. 1641.

piſts or Separatiſts, and to defend the true proteſtant Religion which his Father profeſſed, and in which he would continue during his life. But though his Majeſty was nobly entertained by the Sheriffs, he now perceived, that "this raſh and unadviſed action" had loſt him the hearts of the Citizens, for there was no acclamations or huzzas, as uſual, but here and there a voice, as he went along in his Coach, crying out, "privilege of Parliament! privilege of "Parliament!" however, he went on with his reſolution, and Jan. 8. publiſhed a Proclamation, commanding all Magiſtrates, and Officers of Juſtice, to apprehend the accuſed Members and carry them to the Tower.

Authors of this Project.

'Tis hard to ſay with any certainty, who put the King upon this unparallel'd act of violence upon the Parliament, which the moſt arbitrary of his Predeceſſors never attempted. If his Majeſty reflected at all upon what he was going about, we muſt conclude, that he intended "to diſ-"ſolve the Parliament, and to return to his former me-"thods of arbitrary Government;" becauſe by the ſame Rule that the King might take five Members out of the Houſe, he might take out five hundred; beſides, ſeveral of the articles laid againſt them were equally chargeable upon the majority of the Houſe. It now appeared (ſays Rapin) that the King was reſolved to be revenged on thoſe that had offended him; and that there was no further room to confide in his Royal Word. Some ſay this was Lord Digby's mad project, who, when he found his Majeſty, after his return out of the City, vexed at his diſappointment, offered to go with a ſelect company and bring them dead or alive; but the King was afraid of the conſequences of ſuch an enterprize; and Digby being ordered to attend in his place in the Houſe, thought fit to withdraw out of the Kingdom. Mr. Eachard, with greater probability, lays it upon the Queen and her cabal of Papiſts; and adds, that when the King expreſſed his diſtruſt of the affair, her Majeſty broke out into a violent paſſion, and ſaid, "Allez "Poltron, &c. Go Coward, and pull theſe Rogues out by "the Ears, or never ſee my Face any more;" which it ſeems (ſays the Archdeacon) determined the whole matter.

p. 322, 328.

City of London for the Parliament.

The Citizens of London were ſo far from delivering up the five Members, that they petitioned the King that they might be at liberty, and proceeded againſt according to the methods of Parliament. At the ſame time they acquainted his Majeſty with their apprehenſions of the ruin of trade, and

and of the danger of the proteſtant Religion, by reaſon of the progreſs of the Rebellion in Ireland, and the numbers of Papiſts and other diſbanded Officers about the Court. His Majeſty finding he had loſt the City, fortified Whitehall with Men and Munition, and ſent Cannoneers into the Tower to defend it, if there was occaſion. When the Citizens complained of this, his Majeſty replied, "That it was done "with an Eye to their ſafety and advantage; that his for- "tifying Whitehall was not before it was neceſſary, and "that, if any Citizens had been wounded it was undoubt- "edly for their evil and corrupt demeanor." But they had no confidence in the King's protection. A thouſand mariners and ſailors offered to guard the five Members to Weſtminſter by Water upon the day of their adjournment [Jan. 11.] and the Train Bands offered the Committee at Guildhall to do the ſame by land, which was accepted; but the offer of the apprentices was refuſed. Things being come to this extremity, his Majeſty, to avoid the hazard of an affront from the populace, took a fatal reſolution to leave Whitehall, and accordingly, Jan. 10th, the day before the Parliament was to meet, he removed with his Queen and the whole Royal Family to Hampton Court, and two days after to Windſor, from whence he travell'd by eaſy journies to York; but never returned to London till he was brought thither as a criminal, to execution.

King Charles I. 1641.

Rapin, p. 317.

King leaves Whitehall.

By the King's deſerting his capital in this manner, and not returning when the ferment was over, he left the ſtrength and riches of the Kingdom in the hands of the Parliament; for next day the five Members were conducted by Water in triumph to Weſtminſter, the Train Bands of the City marching at the ſame time by land, who, after they had received the thanks of the Houſe were diſmiſſed; and Serjeant Skippon, with a company of the City Militia, was appointed to guard the Parliament Houſe; "from this day "(ſays Lord Clarendon) we may reaſonably date the levy- "ing War in England, whatſoever has been ſince done be- "ing but the ſuperſtructures upon theſe foundations." It muſt be confeſſed, that two days after [Jan. 12.] the King ſent a meſſage to the Houſe, waving his proceedings with reſpect to the five Members, and promiſing to be as careful of their privileges as of his Life or Crown; and a little after his Majeſty offered a general pardon; but the Commons had too much reaſon at this time not to depend upon his Royal promiſe; they inſiſted, that the accuſed Members ſhould be brought to their trial in a legal and parliamentary

Remarks.

Vol. II. p. 383.

Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 492.

King Charles I. 1641.

liamentary way; in order to which they desired his Majesty to inform them, what proof there was against them; it being the undoubted right and privilege of Parliament, "that no Member can be proceeded against without the "consent of the House;" which his Majesty refusing to comply with, removed further off, to Windsor, and entered upon measures very inconsistent with the peace of the Kingdom.

Bishops not brought to their Trial.

To return to the Bishops; about a fortnight after their commitment [Jan. 17.] they pleaded to the impeachment of the House of Commons, "Not guilty, in manner and "form," and petition'd the Lords for a speedy trial, which was appointed for the 25th instant, but was put off from time to time, till the whole bench of Bishops was voted out of the House, and then entirely dropt; for the very next day after their commitment the Commons desired the Lords to resume the consideration of the Bill that had been sent up some months ago, "for taking away all temporal jurisdicti-"on from those in holy orders," which the Lords promised: It had passed the Commons without any difficulty about the time of the Irish insurrection, but was laid aside in the House of Lords, as being thought impossible to go through while the Bishops votes were entire: When it was revived at this juncture, the Earl of Bedford and the Bishop of Rochester made a vigorous stand against it. His Lordship urged, that it was contrary to the usage of Parliament, when a Bill had been once rejected, to bring it in a second time the same Session. To which it was replied, that it was not the same Bill [having a new Title] though it was to accomplish the same end. Besides, the distress of the times required some extraordinary measures for their redress; and further, since the King had been graciously pleased to pass an act for "the continuance of this Parliament as long "as they thought fit to sit," and thereby parted with his right of proroguing or dissolving them, the nature of things was altered, therefore they were not to be tied down to the ordinary forms in other cases. The question being put, whether the Bill should be read, it past in the affirmative; upon which the consideration of it was resumed, and after some few debates the Bill was passed by a very great majority, Feb. 6. 1641-2, the Citizens of London expressing their satisfaction by ringing of bells and bonfires. But it was still apprehended that the King would refuse his assent, because when he had been pressed to it his Majesty had said, it was a matter of great concernment, and therefore he would

Bill to take away their Votes revived.

Claren. Vol. I p. 302, 426.

And passes the House of Lords.

Claren. Vol. I. p. 227.

would take time to conſider; but the Commons not content with this delay ſent again to Windſor, to preſs his compliance upon the following reaſons, "Becauſe the Subjects "ſuffered by the Biſhops exerciſing temporal juriſdiction, "and making a party in the Houſe of Lords. Becauſe it "was apprehended that there would be a happy conjunc- "tion of both Houſes upon the excluſion of the Biſhops. "And the ſigning this Bill would be a comfortable pledge "of his Majeſty's gracious aſſent to the future remedies of "thoſe evils which were to be preſented to him." King Charles I. 1641. Arguments for the King to paſs it.

This meſſage from the Commons was ſeconded by thoſe of greateſt truſt about the King, who argued, "That the "combination againſt the Biſhops was irreſiſtible; that the "paſſing this Bill was the only way to preſerve the Church; "and, that if the Parliament was gratified in this, ſo ma- "ny perſons in both Houſes would be fully ſatisfied, that "they would join in no further alterations; but if they "were croſſed in this, they would endeavour an extirpa- "tion of the Biſhops, and a demoliſhing of the whole "fabrick of the Church." They argued further, "That "force or indirect means having been made uſe of to ob- "tain the Bill, the King might by his power bring the "Biſhops in again when the preſent diſtempers were com- "poſed." An argument by which his Majeſty might ſet aſide all his conceſſions, or Acts of Grace (as he was plea- ſed to call them) to his Parliament at once. But none of theſe reaſons would have prevailed, had not the Queen made uſe of her ſovereign influence over the King. Her Majeſty was made to believe by Sir J. Culpeper, that her own preſervation depended upon the King's Conſent to the Bill; that if his Majeſty refuſed it, her journey into Holland would be ſtopt, and her perſon poſſibly endangered by ſome mutiny or inſurrection; whereas the uſing her intereſt with the King would lay a popular Obligation upon the Kingdom, and make her acceptable to the Parliament. Theſe arguments carrying a face of probability, her Majeſty wreſted the King's Reſolution from him, ſo that the Bill was ſigned by Commiſſion, February the 14th, together with another againſt preſſing Soldiers, his Majeſty being then at Canterbury, accompanying the Queen in her paſſage to Holland. But his Majeſty's ſigning them with ſo much reluctance did him a diſſervice. All men took notice of his diſcontent; and Lord Clarendon ſays, he had cauſe to believe, that the King was prevailed with to ſign them, "becauſe he was told, that "there

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 427.

King paſſes it. Ruſhw. p. 552.

Vol. I. p. 427, 430.

King Charles I. 1641.

" there being Violence and Force uſed to obtain them, " they were therefore in themſelves null, and in quieter " times might eaſily be revoked and diſannulled." A ſhort method of cutting aſunder the ſinews of the moſt eſtabliſhed Laws of a Country! To give the Reader the Act itſelf; the Preamble begins thus,

The Act itſelf.

" WHereas Biſhops, and other perſons in holy Orders, " ought not to be entangled with ſecular Juriſdiction " (the Office of the Miniſtry being of ſuch great impor- " tance that it will take up the whole man.) And for that " it is found by long experience, that their intermeddling " with ſecular Juriſdictions hath occaſioned great miſchiefs " and ſcandals both to Church and State, his Majeſty, out " of his religious care of the Church, and Souls of his " People, is graciouſly pleaſed that it be enacted, and by " Authority of this preſent Parliament be it enacted, That " no Archbiſhop or Biſhop, or other perſon that now is, " or hereafter ſhall be in holy Orders, ſhall at any time " after the 15th day of February, in the year of our Lord " 1641. have any Seat or Place, Suffrage or Vote, or uſe, " or execute any power or authority in the Parliaments of " this Realm, nor ſhall be of the Privy Council of his " Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, or Juſtices of the Peace " of Oyer and Terminer, or Gaol Delivery, or execute " any temporal authority, by virtue of any Commiſſion; " but ſhall be wholly diſabled, and be uncapable to have, " receive, uſe, or execute any of the ſaid offices, places, " powers, authorities, and things aforeſaid.

" And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, " that all Acts from and after the ſaid 15th of February, " which ſhall be done or executed by any Archbiſhop or " Biſhop, or other perſon whatſoever in holy Orders; and " all and every Suffrage or Voice, given or delivered by " them, or any of them, contrary to the purport and true " meaning of this preſent Act, ſhall be utterly void, to all " intents, conſtruction, and purpoſes."

Remarks upon it.

Thus the Peerage of the Biſhops, and the whole ſecular power of the Clergy, ceaſed for about twenty years; how far they contributed to it by their pride and ambition, their ſovereign contempt of the Laity, and indiſcreet behaviour towards their Neighbours, has been already obſerved. Their enemies ſaid, the hand of God was againſt them,

Baxter's Hiſt. Life and Times p. 33.

them, becauſe they had given too much countenance to the ridiculing of true devotion and piety, under the name of Godly Puritaniſm; becauſe they had ſilenced great numbers of Miniſters, eminent for learning and piety, for not complying with certain indifferent Rites and Ceremonies, while others that were vicious, and inſufficient for their places, were continued; becauſe they made a ſtricter enquiry after thoſe who faſted and prayed, and joined together in religious exerciſes, than after thoſe who were guilty of ſwearing, drunkenneſs, and other kinds of debauchery; becauſe they diſcouraged afternoon Sermons and Lectures, and encouraged ſports and paſtimes on the Lord's Day; becauſe they had driven many hundred families out of the land; and were, upon the whole, enemies to the civil intereſts of their Country. Others objected, that moſt of them verged too much towards the See of Rome, and gave ground to ſuſpect, that they were deſigning an Union between the two Churches, which, at a time when the Roman Catholicks in Ireland had embrued their hands in the blood of almoſt two hundred thouſand Proteſtants; and were ſo numerous at home, as to make large and publick collections of money to ſupport the King in his war againſt the Scots, was ſufficient to make every ſincere Proteſtant jealous of their power. Beſides, the Biſhops themſelves had been guilty of a great many Oppreſſions; they had in a manner laid aſide the practice of Preaching, that they might be the more at leiſure for the governing part of their Function; and even here they transferred the whole of their juriſdiction upon their Chancellors and under Officers. They did not ſit in their Conſiſtories to hear complaints, or do juſtice either to Clergy or Laity, but turned over the People to Regiſters, Proctors, and Apparitors, who drew their money from them againſt equity and law, and uſed them at diſcretion. Few or none of them made their Viſitations in perſon; nor did they live in their epiſcopal Cities, by which means there was no kinds of hoſpitality or liberality to the Poor. Divine Service in their Cathedrals was neglected, or ill performed, for want of their preſence and inſpection. Inſtead of conferring Orders at their Mother Church, they made uſe of the Chapels of their private houſes, nor did they require the aſſiſtance of their Deans and Chapters upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions; they pronounced the cenſures of Deprivation and Degradation in a monarchical and abſolute manner, not calling in the Deans and Chapters

King Charles I. 1641.

Collyer's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 820.

to

King Charles I. 1641.

to any ſhare of the Adminiſtration. And upon the whole, they did little elſe but receive their Rents, indulge their eaſe, conſult their grandeur, and lord it over their Brethren. Theſe were the popular complaints againſt them, which made the Citizens rejoice at their downfal, and attend the paſſing of the Bill with Bonfires and Illuminations. But if all theſe things had not concurred in a nice and critical ſtate of affairs, the attempts of the Houſe of Commons would have been in vain; neither the King nor the Houſe of Peers being heartily willing to deprive them of their Seats in Parliament. This was one of the laſt Bills the King paſt; and the only Law which he enacted in prejudice of the eſtabliſhed Church. Here his Majeſty made a ſtand, and by a meſſage ſent to both Houſes, deſired not to be preſt to any one ſingle Act further, till the whole affair of Church Government and the Liturgy was ſo digeſted and ſettled by both Houſes, that he might ſee clearly what was fit to be left, as well as what was fit to be taken away.

Ruſhw. p. 554.

CHAP. XI.

From the King's leaving Whitehall to the beginning of the Civil War.

State of the Nation.

ALL things now tending to a rupture between the King and Parliament: the Legiſlature was divided and the Conſtitution broken. While the Royal Family was at Hampton Court the Officers and Soldiers that were quartered about Kingſton, to the number of two hundred, made ſuch diſturbances, that the Militia of the County was raiſed to diſperſe them. After a few days the King removed further, to Windſor, where a Cabinet Council was held in preſence of the Queen, in which, beſides the reſolution of paſſing no more Bills, already mentioned, it was further agreed, that her Majeſty being to accompany the Princeſs her Daughter to Holland, in order to her marriage with the Prince of Orange, ſhould take with her the Crown Jewels, and pledge them for ready money; with which ſhe ſhould purchaſe Arms and Ammunition, &c. for the King's ſervice. She was alſo to treat with the Kings of France and Spain for four thouſand Soldiers, by the mediation of the Pope's Nuncio. It was agreed further, that his Majeſty ſhould come to no agreement with the Parliament, till

Reſolutions of the Cabinet Council at Windſor.

till he underſtood the Succeſs of her Negotiations, but ſhould endeavour to get poſſeſſion of the important Fortreſſes of Portſmouth and Hull, where the Arms and Artillery of the late Army in the North were depoſited. Mr. Eachard ſays it was reſolved, that the Queen ſhould remove to Portſmouth, and the King to Hull; that being poſſeſſed of thoſe places of Strength, where his Friends might reſort to him with ſafety, he would ſit ſtill till the hot Spirits at Weſtminſter could be brought to reaſon; but this important Secret being diſcovered the Parliament entered upon more effectual meaſures for their Safety: They ſent to Colonel Goring, Governor of Portſmouth, not to receive any Forces into the Town but by Authority of the King, ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament. Sir John Hotham was ſent to ſecure the Magazine at Hull; and a guard was placed about the Tower of London, to prevent the carrying out any Ordnance or Ammunition without conſent of Parliament. Lord Clarendon, and after him Mr. Eachard, cenſure the two Houſes for exerciſing theſe "firſt Acts of Sovereignty;" but how far they were neceſſary for their own and the publick Safety, after what had paſt, and after the Reſolutions of the Councils at Windſor, I leave with the Reader.

King Charles I. 1642.

p. 525.

Rapin, p. 354.

p 370, 371.

The command of the Militia had been uſually in the Crown; "though the Law had not poſitively determined "in whom that great Power was lodged," as Mr. Whitlock undertook to prove before the Commiſſioners at Uxbridge: The King claimed the ſole diſpoſal of it to himſelf, but the Parliament inſiſted that it was not in the King alone, but in the King and Parliament jointly; and that when the Kingdom is in imminent danger, if the Royal Power is not executed in its defence, the Military Force may be raiſed without it. But waving the Queſtion of Right, the Parliament deſired the Command of the Militia might be put into ſuch hands as they could confide in only for two years, till the preſent diſorders were quieted, but the King refuſed, unleſs the Houſe would firſt give up the Queſtion of Right, and veſt the ſole Command of the Militia in the Crown by form of Law; which the Parliament declined, and voted the adviſers of that anſwer Enemies of the Kingdom.

Debates about the Militia.

Multitudes of Petitions were preſented to the Houſes from the City of London, and from the Counties of Middleſex, Hertford, Eſſex, &c. beſeeching them to provide for the ſafety of the Nation, by diſarming Papiſts, by taking care of the Proteſtants in Ireland, by bringing evil Coun-

Petitions to the Parliament to provide for the ſafety of the Nation.

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Counſellors to puniſhment, by putting the Kingdom into a poſture of defence, and by committing the Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom, to ſuch perſons as both Houſes could confide in; but their hands were tied, becauſe the King claimed to himſelf the ſole Execution of the Laws, and would act no longer in concert with his Parliament. The Commons, encouraged by the Spirit of the People, petitioned a ſecond time for the Militia, and framed an Ordinance, with a Liſt of the names of ſuch Perſons in whom they could confide. His Majeſty, in order to amuſe the Houſe and gain time, told them, "That he could not diveſt himſelf of that juſt Power that God and the Laws of the Kingdom had placed in him for the defence of his People, for any indefinite time." After this they preſented a third Petition to the King at Theobalds [March 1.] in which they proteſt, "That if his Majeſty perſiſts in that denial, the dangers and diſtempers of the Kingdom were ſuch as would endure no longer delay; and therefore, if his Majeſty will not ſatisfy their deſires, they ſhall be inforced, for the ſafety of the Kingdom, to diſpoſe of the Militia by Authority of both Houſes of Parliament, and they reſolved to do it accordingly:" Beſeeching his Majeſty at the ſame time to reſide near his Parliament. The King was ſo enflamed with this Proteſtation, that he told them, "He was amazed at their meſſage, but ſhould not alter his Reſolution in any point." And inſtead of reſiding near his Parliament he removed to New Market, and by degrees as far as York. Upon this the Commons voted March 4. "That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a poſture of defence by authority of both Houſes, in ſuch a way as is already agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament;" and next day they publiſhed an Ordinance for that purpoſe. March 9. both Houſes preſented a Declaration to the King at New Market, "Expreſſing the cauſes of their Fears and Jealouſies, and their earneſt deſires, that his Majeſty would put from him thoſe wicked and and miſchievous Counſellors, that have cauſed theſe differences between him and his Parliament; that he would come to Whithall, and continue his own and the Prince's Reſidence near his Parliament, which he may do with more honour and ſafety than in any other place. We beſeech your Majeſty (ſay they) to conſider in what ſtate you are, and how eaſy the way is to Happineſs, Greatneſs and Honour, if you will join with your Parliament; this is all we expect, and for this we will return you our Lives

Their Proceedings.

Ruſhw. p. 523.

Ib. p. 524.

Rapin, p. 374.

Ruſhw. p. 528.

" Lives and Fortunes, and do every thing we can to ſup- King Charles I. 1642.
" port your juſt Sovereignty and Power. But it is not
" words alone that will ſecure us; that which we deſire is
" ſome real effect in granting thoſe things that the preſent
" neceſſities of the Kingdom require." They add further,
" That his Majeſty's Removal to ſo great a diſtance not
" only obſtructed the Proceedings of Parliament, but look-
" ed like an Alienation of the Kingdom from himſelf and
" Family." His Majeſty's beſt Friends adviſed him to take Ruſhw. p. 533.
this opportunity to return to London; " and it muſt be ſole-
" ly imputed to his Majeſty's own Reſolutions (ſays Lord
" Clarendon) that he took not that courſe;" but inſtead of this he broke out into a Paſſion, and told them, he had his Fears for the true Proteſtant Profeſſion and the Laws as well as they: " What would you have? (ſays his Majeſ-
" ty) Have I violated your Laws, or denied to paſs
" any Bill for the eaſe of my Subjects? I do not aſk you
" what you have done for me —— God ſo deal with me
" and mine, as my intentions are upright for maintaining
" the true Proteſtant Profeſſion and the Laws of the Land."
Being aſked by the Earl of Pembroke, Whether he would not grant the Militia for a little time? his Majeſty ſwore by God, No, not for an hour. When he was put in mind of his frequent Violation of the Laws, his Majeſty replied, That he had made ample Reparation, and did not expect to be reproached with the Actions of his Miniſters.

As his Majeſty inſiſted upon the Militia, he claimed alſo
" An unalienable right to all the Forts and Garriſons of the
" Kingdom, with an uncontroulable Power to diſpoſe of the
" Arms and Ammunition laid up in them, as his proper
" Goods." This the Parliament diſputed, and maintained, that they were his Majeſty's, only in truſt for the publick, and that in diſcharge of this Truſt the Parliament ſitting are his Counſellors; for if the King had ſuch a property in the Forts and Magazines as he claimed, he might then ſell or transfer them into an Enemy's hand as abſolutely as a private Perſon may his Lands and Goods; which is a ſtrange maxim, and contrary to the Act of 40 Edw. III. Many Declarations paſſed between the King and his Parliament on this argument, while each Party were getting Poſſeſſion of all that they could. The King was contriving to get Poſſeſſion of the Magazine of Hull, but the Parliament were before hand with his Majeſty, and not only ſecured that important Fortreſs, but got poſſeſſion of the Fleet [March

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31.] which ſubmitted to the Earl of Warwick, whom the Parliament appointed to be their Admiral.

The Criſis.

But the Ordinance of March 5. "For diſpoſing of the "Militia by both Houſes of Parliament without the King, "in caſes of extreme danger to the Nation, of which dan- "ger the two Houſes were the proper Judges, with the ſub- "ſequent Reſolutions of March 16," were the Grand Criſis which divided the two Parties in the Houſe. Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Claredon, Mr. Bridgeman, Mr. Palmer, and other eminent Lawyers and Gentlemen, having given their Opinion againſt the Ordinance, deſerted their Stations and retired to the King. On the other hand, Serjeant Maynard, Whitlocke, Glyn, Selden, the Lord Keeper Littleton, Mr. Lee, St. John, Grimſton, and divers others of no leſs Judgment in Law, and of a ſuperior intereſt in their Country, accepted of Commiſſions in the Militia, and continued in the Service of the Parliament. Many retired to their Country Seats, and were for ſtanding Neuter in this nice Conjuncture; but thoſe that remained in the Houſe were about three hundred, beſides fifty that were employed in the Country, and about fifty more that were abſent with leave; the reſt went over to the King, and were ſome time after expelled the Houſe. But from this time the ſitting Members were more reſolute, and met with leſs oppoſition.

March 15, His Majeſty acquainted the Houſes from Huntington, with his deſign to reſide for ſome time at York; and adds, that he expected, "they ſhould pay a due regard "to his Prerogative, and to the Laws eſtabliſhed; and that "none of his Subjects ſhould preſume, under colour of "any Order or Ordinance of Parliament, to which his "Majeſty is not a Party, to do or execute what is not "warrantable by the Laws." His Majeſty's Intention, by this Meſſage, was to put a ſtop to all farther proceedings of the Parliament, for their own and the Nation's Security, till they had digeſted all their Grievances into a body. Upon receiving this Declaration both Houſes came to theſe Reſolutions among others.

Votes and Reſolutions of the Commons. Ruſhw. p. 534. Rapin, p. 890, &c.

March 16, Reſolved, "That thoſe who adviſe his Ma- "jeſty to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, are Enemies "to the Peace of the Kingdom, and juſtly ſuſpected to be "Favourers of the Rebellion in Ireland.

Reſolved, "That the Ordinance of Parliament for the "Militia is not inconſiſtent with the Oath of Allegiance; "but that the ſeveral Commiſſions granted by his Majeſty "under

" under the Great Seal to the Lieutenants of the ſeveral " Counties are illegal and void. King Charles I. 1642.

Reſolved, " That in caſes of extreme danger, and of his " Majeſty's refuſal to act in concert with his Parliament, " the people ought, by the fundamental laws of the king- " dom, to obey the Ordinance of both Houſes concerning " the Militia; and that ſuch perſons as ſhall be appointed " Deputy Lieutenants, and are approved by both Houſes, " ought to take upon them to execute their Offices.

It was reſolved further; " That the two Houſes of Par- " liament being the Repreſentative Body of the whole na- " tion, and two parts in three of the Legiſlature, were the " proper judges of the ſtate and condition of it.

Reſolved, " That when both Houſes agreed, that the " nation was in extreme danger, as they now did, the King " was obliged by the Laws of Nature, as well as by the " Laws of the Land, to agree to thoſe remedies which " they who are his great Council ſhould adviſe him to. " This ſeems evident from the Statute of 25 Edw. III. en- " titled, The Statute of Proviſors of Benefices, which " ſays, that " the right of the Crown of England, and " the Laws of the Realm is ſuch, that upon the miſchiefs " and damages that happen to this Realm, our Sovereign " Lord the King ought, and is bound by his Oath, " with the accord of his people in Parliament, to ordain " Remedy for removing thereof." Ruſhw. p. 669.

Reſolved, " That if in ſuch a time of danger his Maje- " ſty deſerts his Parliament, or refuſes to concur with them " in ordaining ſuch Remedies as are abſolutely neceſſary for " the common ſafety, then the two Houſes ought to look " upon themſelves as the Guardians of the People, and " provide for their defence.

Reſolved, " That when the Lords and Commons, which " is the ſupreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, ſhall " declare what the Law of the Land is; to have this not " only queſtioned but contradicted, and a command that it " ſhould not be obey'd, is a high breach of the privilege of " Parliament."

His Majeſty on the other hand averr'd, " That the " kingdom was in no danger, but from the arbitrary pro- " ceedings of the Parliament, who were invading the Royal " Prerogative, and ſubverting the Conſtitution in Church " and State. The King's Reply.

" That if the Kingdom was really in danger, He was the " Guardian and Protector of his People, and was anſwer-

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" able to God only for his conduct; but that Parliaments " were temporary and diſſolvable at his pleaſure; That he " ſhould therefore conſider them as his Counſellors and " Adviſers, but not his Commanders or Dictators.

His Majeſty admitted, " That in ſome doubtful caſes the " Parliament were Judges of the Law, but he did not " think himſelf bound to renounce his own Judgment and " Underſtanding, by paſſing Laws which might ſepa- " rate from his Crown that which was in a manner eſſential " to it (viz.) a power to protect his ſubjects."

The Parliament's Anſwer. Ruſhw. p. 698. Rapin, p. 477.

To which the Commons replied, " That the King alone " could not be Judge in this caſe, for the King judges not " matters of Law but by his Courts; nor can the Courts " of Law be Judges of the State of the Kingdom againſt " the Parliament, becauſe they are inferior; but as the " Law is determined by the Judges, who are the King's " Council, ſo the State of the nation is to be determined by " the two Houſes of Parliament, who are the proper Judges " of the Conſtitution. If therefore the Lords and Com- " mons in Parliament aſſembled, declare this or the other " matter to be according to Law, or according to the Con- " ſtitution of the Kingdom, 'tis not lawful for any ſingle " perſon or inferior Court to contradict it."

Remarks.

But inſtead of tiring the reader with a long paper war in " ſupport of theſe propoſitions, I will make one general " remark, which may ſerve as a key to the whole contro- " verſy. " If we ſuppoſe the Kingdom to be in its natu- " ral ſtate, after the King left his Parliament, and would " act no longer in corcert with it. If the conſtitution was " then entire, and the moſt conſiderable grievances redreſs- " ed. If the Laws in being were a ſufficient ſecurity a- " gainſt the return of Popery and arbitrary Power, and " there was ſufficient reaſon to believe thoſe Laws would " have their free courſe," then the King's arguments are ſtrong and concluſive; for in all ordinary caſes, the admi- niſtration of Juſtice, and the due execution of the Laws, is veſted in the Crown; nor may the Lords and Commons in Parliament make new Laws, or ſuſpend and alter old ones, without his Majeſty's conſent. But on the other hand, " If in the opinion of the Lords and Commons in " Parliament aſſembled, who are the Repreſentatives of " the whole Nation, the Conſtitution is broken, by the " King's deſerting his two Houſes, and reſolving to act no " longer in concert with them; or by any other overt-acts " of his Majeſty's Council inconſiſtent with the Conſtitu- " tion.

" tion. Or if both Houſes ſhall declare the Religion and " Liberties of the Nation to be in imminent danger, either " from foreign or domeſtick Enemies, and the King will " not concur with his Parliament to apply ſuch remedies " as the Wiſdom of his two Houſes ſhall think neceſſary;" then certainly, after proper Petitions and Remonſtrances, they may provide for the publick Safety, as much as in the caſe of Nonage or Captivity of the Prince. In order therefore to decide in the preſent Controverſy, we muſt carefully conſider the true condition of the Nation; whether it was in its natural State? or, whether the Conſtitution being divided and broken by the King's deſerting his Parliament, the legal form of Government was not diſſolved? in the former Caſe I apprehend the King was in the right; but in the latter the Parliament. King Charles I. 1642.

This unhappy Controverſy was managed with great warmth, and mutual reproaches, but with this decency, that the King did not charge his Parliament with criminal Deſigns, but only a malignant party in both Houſes; nor did the Parliament reproach the perſon of the King, but laid all their Grievances upon his evil Counſellors; however, 'tis eaſy to obſerve, that it was impoſſible for the two parties to agree, becauſe they reaſoned upon different Principles; the King ſuppoſing the Nation was in ſafety, and that therefore the laws ſhould have their natural Courſe; the Parliament apprehending the Conſtitution broken, and that therefore it was their duty to provide for the publick ſafety, even without his Majeſty's conſent. But we ſhall have more light into this Controverſy hereafter.

To return to the Hiſtory: Though the Scots were made eaſy at home, being in full poſſeſſion of their civil and religious Rights, yet they were not willing to be unconcerned ſpectators of the ruin of the Engliſh Parliament, partly out of gratitude for the favours they had received, and partly from an apprehenſion, that the ſecurity of their own Settlement, as well as the ſpreading their Kirk Diſcipline into England depended upon it. While the King was at Windſor the Scots Commiſſioners at London offered their Mediation between his Majeſty and his two Houſes: In their petition they tell his Majeſty, " That the Liberties of Eng- " land and Scotland muſt ſtand and fall together;" and after ſome expreſſions of grief for the diſtractions of England, which they conceive to ariſe from the plots of the Papiſts and Prelates, whoſe aim has been, not only to prevent any further Reformation, but to ſubvert the purity The Scots offer their Mediation.

King Charles I. 1642.

and truth of Religion, they offer their ſervice to compoſe the Differences, and beſeech his Majeſty "to have recourſe "to the faithful advices of both Houſes of Parliament, "which will not only quiet the minds of his Engliſh Sub- "jects, but remove the jealouſies and fears that may poſ- "ſeſs the hearts of his Subjects in other Kingdoms." In their paper of the ſame date to both Houſes of Parliament, Jan. 15. "They return thanks to the Parliament of "England, for the aſſiſtance given to the Kingdom of "Scotland in ſettling their late Troubles; and next to the "providence of God and his Majeſty's goodneſs, they ac- "knowledge their obligations to the Mediation and brother- "ly kindneſs of the Engliſh Parliament; and now, by "way of return, and to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in "them, they offer their Mediation between them and the "King, beſeeching the Houſes to conſider of the faireſt "and moſt likely methods to compoſe the Differences in "Church and State." Biſhop Burnet ſays, their deſign was to get Epiſcopacy brought down, and Preſbytery ſet up, to the "firſt of which moſt of the Members were "willing to conſent, but few were cordial for the latter."

Which the King refuſes

The King was highly diſpleaſed with the Scots Mediation, and ſent them word, that the caſe of England and Scotland was different; in Scotland (ſays his Majeſty) Epiſcopacy was never fully ſettled by Law, and is found to be contrary to the genius of the people; but in England it is rooted in the very Conſtitution, and has flouriſhed without interruption for eighty years; he therefore commands them not to tranſact between him and his Parliament, without firſt communicating their propoſitions to him in private. At the ſame time his Majeſty ſent Letters into Scotland, and ordered the Chancellor to uſe his utmoſt efforts to keep that Kingdom to a Neutrality. On the other hand, the Parliament threw themſelves into the Arms of the Scots; they thanked the Commiſſioners for their kind and ſeaſonable interpoſing, and prayed them to continue their endeavours to remove the preſent diſtractions, and to preſerve the union between the two Kingdoms. They writ likewiſe into Scotland to the ſame purpoſe; the effects of which will appear at the next meeting of their Parliament.

But the Parliament accepts.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons, in order to encourage the expectations of their friends in both Kingdoms publiſhed the following Declaration of their Intentions.

Die

King Charles I. 1642.

Die Sabbati, April 9. 1642.

"The Lords and Commons declare, that they intend a "due and neceſſary reformation of the Government and "Diſcipline of the Church, and to take away nothing in "the one but what ſhall be evil and juſtly offenſive, or at "leaſt unneceſſary and burdenſome; and for the better ef- "fecting thereof, ſpeedily to have conſultation with godly "and learned Divines; and becauſe this will never of itſelf "attain the ends ſought therein, they will uſe their utmoſt "endeavours to eſtabliſh learned and preaching Miniſters, "with a good and ſufficient maintenance, thoughout the "whole Kingdom, wherein many dark corners are miſer- "ably deſtitute of the means of Salvation, and many poor "Miniſters want neceſſary proviſion."

Declaration of the Parliament concerning Reformation.

This Declaration was ordered to be publiſhed by the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties, for the ſatisfaction of the people.

The diſtance between London and York encreaſed the miſunderſtanding between the King and his Parliament; numbers of paſſengers travelling between the two places with ſecret intelligence, the Parliament appointed the following Oath to be taken by all that came from the King's Quarters.

"I A. B. do ſwear from my heart, that I will not directly "nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly aſſiſt the King "in this War, or in this Cauſe againſt the Parliament, nor "any Forces raiſed without conſent of the two Houſes of "Parliament, in this Cauſe or War. And I do likewiſe "ſwear, that my coming, and ſubmitting myſelf under the "power and protection of Parliament, is without any man- "ner of deſign whatſoever to the prejudice of the proceed- "ings of this preſent Parliament, and without direction, "privity, or advice of the King, or any of his Council or "Officers, other than I have made known. So help me "God, and the Contents of this Book."

The Negative Oath.

This was called the Negative Oath, and was voted April 5. 1642.

As ſoon as the correſpondence was thus interrupted, numbers of libellous News-papers, Mercuries, and Weekly Intelligencers, began to appear, full of ſcandal and reproach, whereby the conduct of great and wiſe men was aſperſed, innumerable falſe reports were ſpread through the Nation, and the ſpirits of the people ſharpened for War. On the ſide of

Numbers of libellous Pamphlets on both ſides.

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of the King was Mercurius Aulicus; and on the ſide of the Parliament Mercurius Britannicus: When the King fixed his Court at Oxford, the learned Garriſon drew their Pens for the King, as the Politicians of London did for the Parliament; and while the Armies were in the field theſe Gentlemen employed themſelves in magnifying their wonderful exploits to the People; ſo that beſides the above-mentioned weekly Papers there appeared, Mercurius Ruſticus— Pragmaticus— Politicus— Publicus— Diurnals— and Intelligencers without number. The Pulpits alſo were employed in the ſame work; the Preachers dealt too much in politicks, and made too free with the characters and actions of their ſuperiors: There were Incendiaries on both ſides; the King's Preachers enhaunced his Majeſty's Character, and treated the Parliament as ſo many Rebels and Traitors; and the Parliament Miniſters were no leſs culpable, for though they avoided ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the perſon of the King, they declaimed againſt the Hierarchy, againſt evil and popiſh Counſellors, and glanced at the Queen herſelf, as preventing the harmony between his Majeſty and the Parliament, and puſhing him upon meaſures that were deſtructive of the Proteſtant Religion and the Conſtitution of their Country; which how true ſoever in itſelf, was not the proper buſineſs of the Pulpit.

Ruſhw. p. 760.

The great reſort of the Nobility and Gentry to the Court at York, gave his Majeſty new life, and encouraged him to treat his Parliament with very high language; he ſent them word, that "He would have nothing extorted from him; "nor would he grant them any thing further that the Law "had put into his hands." At the ſame time his Majeſty attempted to get poſſeſſion of the Magazine of Hull, purſuant to the ſcheme formed at Windſor in January laſt; and accordingly appeared before the town with three hundred Horſe, April 23, but was denied entrance with more than twelve Attendants; upon which, after an hours time for deliberation, his Majeſty cauſed Sir John Hotham the Governor to be proclaimed a Traytor by two Heralds at Arms, and then retired to York full of reſentment for the affront he had received, which he did not fail to communicate to the Parliament, demanding juſtice againſt Sir John Hotham according to law; but the Parliament ſtood by their Governor, and ordered the Arms and Ammunition in Hull to be removed to the Tower of London, except what was neceſſary for the defence of the place.

The King's high Language to the Parliament. Rapin, p. 354.

He is denied Entrance into Hull.

Upon

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The King's Proceedings in the North.

Upon his Majeſty's return to York he commanded the Committee of Parliament, which were ſpies upon his actions, to retire to London, but they excuſed themſelves, as being ordered to continue by thoſe that employed them. His Majeſty alſo ſummoned the Nobility and Gentry of the northern Counties to meet him at York [May 12.] when he acquainted them with his reaſons for refuſing the Militia Bill, and with the treaſonable behaviour of Sir John Hotham in keeping him out of Hull, and depriving him of his Magazine, being his own proper goods. "Since treaſon is counte-"tenanced ſo near me (ſays his Majeſty) 'tis time to look "to my ſafety; none can blame me to apprehend danger, "I am therefore reſolved to have a guard——" The Gentry were divided in their ſentiments about the King's Conduct, and gave anſwers as they were differently affected, but all were willing to ſerve his Majeſty according to Law. After ſeveral other aſſemblies of the Nobility, Gentry, Freeholders, and Miniſters of York called together by his Majeſty's command, in all which he declared, that "he was "reſolved to defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed "in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; to govern by Law for "the future; and that he had no intention to make war "with his Parliament, except it were in way of defence," a regiment of Horſe was raiſed for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the command given to the Prince of Wales. This was the firſt levy of Troops in the Civil War, his Majeſty having as yet only a regiment of the Militia of ſix hundred men, beſides the Reformadoes that attended the Court.

Ruſhw. p. 615, 623. Rapin, p. 516.

Courts of Juſtice to be removed.

About the ſame time [May 17.] the King ordered the Courts of Juſtice to remove from Weſtminſter to York, and ſent for Searjeant Major Skipton, an old experienced Officer, to attend him in perſon, which the Parliament prevented; but were not ſo ſucceſsful in relation to the Great Seal, which the Keeper ſent privately to the King by the meſſenger that came for it [May 22.] and next day followed it himſelf. This was a conſiderable diſappointment to the Parliament, eſpecially as it was attended with the loſs of nine other Peers, who deſerted their ſtations in the Houſe about this time, and went to the King, as did conſiderable numbers of the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty having now given orders to all his Friends to leave the Houſe and come to him, which inſtead of breaking up the Parliament, as was intended, ſtrengthened the Hands of the Country Party, and gave them an Opportunity, after ſome time, to expel the Deſerters.

Things

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Things being come to this criſis, the Parliament voted, May 20. "That it was now apparent that the King, ſeduced by wicked counſel, intended to make war upon the Parliament—— That whenſoever the King maketh ſuch war it is a breach of truſt, contrary to his Coronation Oath, and tending to the diſſolution of the Government.—— That whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt his Majeſty in ſuch war are Traitors, and have been ſo adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, 11 Rich. II. and Henry IV.— May 28, they ordered all Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace, &c. to make ſtay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying to York, and to diſperſe all Forces coming together by the King's Commiſſion."

Proceedings of Parliament.

To juſtify theſe proceedings both Parties publiſhed their reaſons to the world; a ſummary of which being contained in the Parliament's Memorial of May 19, and the King's Anſwer, I ſhall give the reader an abſtract of them.

Abſtract of the Parliament's Memorial.

The Parliament in their Memorial avow, in the preſence of the All-ſeeing Deity, "That the ſincerity of their endeavours have been directed only to the King's honour and the publick peace, free from all private aims, perſonal reſpects and paſſions whatſoever. They complain of his Majeſty's being drawn into the north, far from his Parliament, which has given occaſion to many falſe rumours, and ſcandalous reports, to the interrupting the good underſtanding between the King and his Parliament—They take notice of thoſe evil counſellors which have prevailed with his Majeſty to make infractions upon his Royal Word, as that, "On the Word of a King; and as I am a Gentleman, I will redreſs the grievances of my People----I am reſolved to put myſelf on the love and affection of my Engliſh Subjects----We do engage ſolemnly, on the word of a King, that the ſecurity of all, and every one of you, from violence, is and ſhall be as much my care, as the preſervation of us and our children." Since which time the Studies and Chambers of ſome of the Members had been broken open, and ſix of them attempted to be ſeized in the Parliament Houſe, the blame of which they are willing to impute to his evil counſellors. And though the King diſavows ſuch counſellors, we hold it our duty (ſay they) humbly to avow, there are ſuch, elſe we muſt ſay, that all the ill things done in his Majeſty's name have been done by himſelf, wherein we

" ſhould neither follow the direction of the law, which " ſays, The King can do no wrong; nor the af- " fection of our own hearts, which is to clear his Majeſty as " much as may be of all miſgovernment, and to lay the " fault upon his Miniſters. If any ill be done in matters " of State the Council are to anſwer for it, and if in mat- " ters of law the Judges. They acknowledge the many " excellent acts that his Majeſty had lately paſt for the ad- " vantage of his ſubjects; but then add, that in none of " them have they bereaved his Majeſty of any juſt, neceſ- " ſary, or profitable prerogative of the Crown. They de- " clare their diſallowance of all ſeditious libels, but com- " plain of many mutinous petitions that have been preſent- " ed to the King to divide him from his Parliament; and " whereas the King had inſinuated, that the Church was " to be deſtroyed to make way for Preſbytery, they aver, " that they deſire no more than to encourage piety and " learning, and to place learned and pious preachers in all " Pariſhes, with a ſufficient maintenance——Upon the " whole, " they aver the Kingdom to be in imminent " danger from enemies abroad, and a Popiſh and diſcon- " tented party at home, and that in ſuch a caſe the King- " dom muſt not be without means to preſerve itſelf." They " aver, that the ordinary means of providing for the pub- " lick ſafety is in the King and Parliament; but becauſe the " King being only a ſingle perſon may be liable to many " accidents, the wiſdom of the State in ſuch caſes has en- " truſted the two Houſes of Parliament to ſupply what " ſhall be wanting on the part of the Prince, as in caſes of " Captivity, Nonage, or where the Royal Truſt is not diſ- " charged; which the Lords and Commons having declar- " ed to be the preſent caſe, there needs no farther autho- " rity to affirm it; nor is it in the power of any perſon or " Court to revoke that judgment. They then mention " ſome proofs of the Nation's danger, and conclude with " praying for the protection of Almighty God upon the " King, and beſeech his Majeſty to caſt from him his evil " Counſellors; aſſuring him and the whole Kingdom, that " they deſire nothing more than to preſerve the purity and " power of Religion, to honour the King in all his juſt " prerogatives, and to endeavour to the utmoſt of their " power, that all Pariſhes may have learned and pious " preachers, and thoſe preachers competent livings. And " they doubt not to overcome all difficulties, if the people " do not deſert them to their own undoing; and even in

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Ruſhw. p. 692.

Ib. p. 689.

" this

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" this caſe, " They declare they will not betray their " truſt, but look beyond their own lives and eſtates, as " thinking nothing worth enjoying without the liberty, " peace, and ſafety of the Kingdom, nor any thing too " much to be hazarded for the obtaining of it."

And of the King's Anſwer.

His Majeſty in his anſwer is not willing to charge his Parliament with miſbehaviour, but only a malignant party in both Houſes. He denies the ſeveral plots and Conſpiracies mentioned in the Parliament's declaration, and takes notice of their miſapplying the word Parliament to the vote of both Houſes, whereas the King is an eſſential part of the Parliament. His Majeſty confeſſes, that his going to the Houſe of Commons to ſeize the five Members was an error in form, but maintains, the matter of the accuſation to be juſt, and therefore thinks he ought not to be reproached with it. He neither affirms nor denies the deſign of bringing the army to London, but quibbles with the words Deſign and Reſolution, (as Rapin obſerves) King Charles I. being very ſkilful in ſuch ſort of ambiguities. His Majeſty made no reply to the Parliament's reaſoning upon the head, of the " King's neglecting to diſcharge his Truſt," but ſeems to inſinuate, that the Parliament ſhould in no caſe meddle with the Government without an expreſs law. He denies his knowledge of any evil Counſellors about him; and declares, that he did not willingly leave his Parliament, but was driven away by the tumults at Whitehall; and adds, " That by the help of God and the Laws of the Land, he " would have juſtice for thoſe tumults;" nor does his Majeſty own the promoting or retaining in his ſervice any that are diſaffected to the Laws of the Kingdom; but he will not take a Vote of Parliament for his guide, till 'tis evident they are without paſſion or affection. The King charges them home with the greateſt violation of the laws and liberties of the Subject. " What is become of the " law that Man was born to? (ſays he) and where is Magna " Charta, if the Vote of Parliament may make a Law?" his Majeſty concludes with a ſevere remark on the Parliament's calling the petitions preſented to him mutinous. " Hath a multitude of mean inconſiderable people about " the City of London had liberty to petition againſt the " Government of the Church, againſt the Book of Com- " mon Prayer, &c. and been thanked for it? and ſhall it " be called Mutiny in the graveſt and beſt Citizens in Lon- " don, and Gentry of Kent, to frame petitions to be go- " verned

Ruſhw. p. 704. Rapin, p. 497.

" verned by the known laws of the Land, and not by votes " of Parliament? is not this evidently the work of a fac- " tion? let Heaven and Earth, God and Man, judge be- " tween us and theſe Men!"

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The Reader will judge of theſe declarations according to a former remark. The Parliament ſuppoſes the " Nation " in imminent danger, and the Royal Power not exerted " in its defence;" in which caſe, they, as the guardians of the people, apprehend themſelves empowered to act in its defence. The King ſuppoſes " the Nation to be in its na- " tural ſtate, and in no manner of danger, but from a " malignant Party within the two Houſes,," and that there- fore the laws ſhould have their free and ordinary courſe. Upon theſe ſuppoſitions the arguments on both ſides are in- vincible; but (as has been already obſerved) it was impoſſible they ſhould produce any good effect, till it was firſt agreed, whether the Nation was in danger, or whether the Royal Promiſe might be relied upon with ſafety.

The Sum of the Parliament's Deſires in 19 Propoſitions.

On the ſecond of June the Parliament preſented the King with the ſum of all their deſires for the " Reformati- " on and Security of Church and State," in nineteen pro- poſitions, according to his Majeſty's commands [illegible] January laſt. The Reader will obſerve, that thoſe which relate to the State are built upon the ſuppoſition abovementioned, that " the Nation was in imminent danger; and that after " ſo many infractions of the Royal Word it was not to be " relied upon for the execution of the laws but in conjunc- " tion with the Parliament." They therefore pray, " That " his Majeſty's Privy Counſellors, commanders of Forts " and Garriſons, and all the great Officers of State, " may be approved by the two Houſes; that the Judges " may hold their places " quam diu ſe bene geſſerint;" that " the Militia may be in the hands of the Parliament for the " preſent; that all publick buſineſs may be determined by " a majority of the Council, and that they may take an " oath to maintain the " Petition of Right, and ſuch other " laws as ſhall be enacted this preſent Seſſion." They pray, " that the Juſtice of Parliament may paſs upon Delin- " quents; that the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members " may be effectually cleared by Act of Parliament, and " that his Mateſty would enter into alliances with foreign " Princes for the ſupport of the proteſtant Religion, &c." 'Tis hard to expreſs his Majeſty's reſentment againſt all theſe propoſitions (except the two laſt) which he ſays were fit on- ly to be offered to a vanquiſhed priſoner; that he were un-

worthy

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worthy of his noble deſcent if he ſhould part with ſuch flowers of the Crown as are worth all the reſt of the Garland. "If theſe things are granted (ſays he) we may have "the title of a King, and be waited upon bareheaded; we "may have our hand kiſſed, and have ſwords and maces "carried before us, but as to real power we ſhould remain "but the outſide, the picture, the ſign of a King." His Majeſty therefore rejected them in the groſs with this ſovereign reply, "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari."

Propoſitions relating to Religion. Ruſhw. Part 3d. P. 793.

The propoſitions relating to Religion were theſe:

Prop. IV. "That he or they to whom the Government "and Education of the King's Children ſhall be committed, be approved of, by both Houſes of Parliament, "and in the intervals of Parliament by the majority of the "Privy Council; and that ſuch ſervants againſt whom the "Houſes have any juſt exception be removed.

Prop. V. "That the marriages of the King's Children "be with conſent of Parliament, under penalty of a Præ-"munire on ſuch as ſhall conclude them otherwiſe, not to "be pardoned but by Parliament.

Prop. VI. "That the laws in force againſt Jeſuits, "Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, be ſtrictly put in execu-"tion, without any toleration or diſpenſation to the con-"trary; and that ſome more effectual courſe may be en-"acted by authority of Parliament, to diſable them from "making any diſturbance in the State, or eluding the laws "by truſts or otherwiſe.

Prop. VII. "That the Votes of Popiſh Lords in the "Houſe of Peers may be taken away, ſo long as they "continue Papiſts; and that your Majeſty will conſent to "ſuch a Bill as ſhall be drawn, for the education of the "Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants, in the Proteſtant Re-"ligion.

Prop. VIII. "That your Majeſty will be pleaſed to con-"ſent, that ſuch a reformation be made of the Church "Government and Liturgy, as both Houſes of Parliament "ſhall adviſe, wherein they intend to have conſultation with "Divines, as is expreſſed in their declaration for that pur-"poſe; and that your Majeſty will contribute your beſt aſ-"ſiſtance for the raiſing of a ſufficient maintenance for "preaching Miniſters through the Kingdom; and that "your Majeſty will be pleaſed to give your conſent to the "laws, for the taking away of innovations and ſuperſtition, "and of Pluralities, and againſt ſcandalous Miniſters."

To

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To theſe propoſitions his Majeſty replied as follows:

King's Anſwer.

To the fourth and fifth, concerning the Education and Diſpoſal of his Children, "That he had committed them "to the care of perſons of Quality, integrity and piety, "with ſpecial regard to their education in the principles of "the true proteſtant Religion, but that he would never "part with that truſt, which God, Nature, and the Laws "of the Land had placed in him; nor would he ſuffer "any to ſhare with him in his power of treaties; but he "aſſured them, that he would not entertain any treaty of "marriage for his Children without due regard to the pro-"teſtant Religion, and the honour of his Family; and "that he would take ſuch care of the Prince of Wales, "and his other Children, as ſhould juſtify him to God as "a Father, and to his Dominions as a King.

To the ſixth propoſition, concerning popiſh Recuſants, his Majeſty admitted, "That if they could find any more "effectual courſe to diſable them from diſturbing the State, "or eluding the Laws, by truſts or otherwiſe, he ought to "give his conſent to it.

To the ſeventh, concerning the Votes of popiſh Lords, his Majeſty replied, "That he was informed, thoſe Lords "had prudently withdrawn from the Houſe of Peers, but "he did not conceive that a law againſt the Votes of any, "where blood gave them their right, was ſo proper, in "regard of the privilege of Parliament; however, his "Majeſty was content, that as long as they did not con-"form to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of "England, they ſhould not ſit in the Houſe of Peers, but "only vote by proxy. As for a Bill for the educating the "Children of Papiſts in the Proteſtant Religion, he ſhould "be very glad of it, and would encourage them in it.

To the eighth propoſition, touching Reformation of Church Government and Liturgy, his Majeſty refers them to his Declaration of December 1. in which he had declared, "That he was willing to remove illegal innova-"tions; that if his Parliament adviſed him to call a Synod "to examine into ſuch ceremonies as gave offence, he "would take it into conſideration, and apply himſelf to "give due ſatisfaction therein; but he was perſuaded in "his conſcience, that no Church could be found upon earth "that profeſſed the true Religion with more purity of "Doctrine than the Church of England; nor where the

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" Government and Diſcipline are more beautified, and free " from ſuperſtition, than as they are here eſtabliſhed by " law; which his Majeſty is determined with conſtancy to " maintain, as long as he lives, in their Purity and Glory, " not only againſt all innovations of Popery, but from the " irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts, " wherewith of late this Kingdom, and the City of Lon- " don abounds, for the ſuppreſſion of whom his Majeſty " requires the aſſiſtance of his Parliament. As for ſuch " matters in Religion which were in their own nature in- " different, his Majeſty refers them to his firſt Declaration, " printed by advice of his Privy Council, in which he had " declared, that he was willing, in tenderneſs to any " number of his loving Subjects, to admit that ſome law " might be made for the exemption of tender conſciences " from puniſhment or proſecution for ſuch Ceremonies; " provided it be attempted and purſued with that modeſty, " temper and ſubmiſſion, that the peace and quiet of the " Kingdom be not diſturbed, the decency and comelineſs of " God's ſervice diſcountenanced, nor the pious, ſober, " devout actions, of the firſt Reformers ſcandalized and de- " famed. His Majeſty adds, that he had formerly referr'd " the compoſing the preſent diſtractions about Church Go- " vernment and Liturgy to the wiſdom of the Parliament, " but deſired, he might not be preſt to any ſingle Act on " his part, till the whole be ſo digeſted and ſettled by both " Houſes, that his Majeſty may clearly ſee what is fit to be " left, as well as what is fit to be taken away. His Ma- " jeſty obſerves with Satisfaction, that they deſire only " a Reformation, and not as is daily preached in Conven- " ticles, a deſtruction of the preſent Diſcipline and Litur- " gy, and promiſes to concur with his Parliament in " raiſing a ſufficient maintenance for preaching Miniſters, " in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt for the advancement of " Piety and Learning; but as for the other Bills, againſt " ſuperſtitious innovations, and pluralities, his Majeſty can " ſay nothing to them, till he ſees them."

King's Preparations for War.

It was now apparent to all Men, that this Controverſy, which had hitherto been debated by the Pen, muſt be decided by the ſword; for this purpoſe the Queen was all this while in Holland negotiating foreign ſupplies: Her Majeſty pledged the Crown Jewels, and with the Money ariſing from thence purchaſed a ſmall Frigate of thirty two Guns, called

called the Providence, and freighted it with two hundred barrels of powder, two or three thouſand Arms, ſeven or eight field Pieces, and ſome ready Money for the King's ſervice, all which were ſafely convoyed to his Majeſty at York, about the beginning of June. The Parliament had been advertiſed of the Queen's proceedings, and acquainted the King with their advices; which at firſt he was pleaſed to diſown, for in his Declaration of March 9. he tells the Parliament, "Whatſoever you are advertiſed from Paris, "&c. of foreign Aids, we are confident no ſober, honeſt "Man in our Kingdom can believe, that we are ſo deſpe-"rate, or ſo ſenſeleſs, as to entertain ſuch deſigns, as "would not only bury this our Kingdom in certain deſtruc-"tion and ruin, but our name and poſterity in perpetual "ſcorn and infamy." One would think by this that the King did not know what was doing with the Crown Jewels, though they were carried over with his leave, and (as Mr. Whitlock ſays) that with them and the aſſiſtance of the Prince of Orange, a ſufficient party might be raiſed for the King. But in this anſwer, as in moſt others, his Majeſty had his Ambiguities and Reſervations. King Charles I. 1642.

But it was the King's great misfortune never to get poſſeſſion of a convenient place of Strength upon the Coaſt; indeed the Governor of Portſmouth declared for him, but the Parliament immediately ordered the Militia of the Country to block up the place by Land, while the Earl of Warwick did the ſame by Sea, ſo that it was forced to ſurrender for want of proviſion, before the King could relieve it. The like diſappointment his Majeſty met with before Hull, which he beſieged a ſecond time, July 4. with three thouſand Foot and about one thouſand Horſe, while Sir J. Pennington, the King's Admiral, block'd it up by Sea; but the Governor drawing up the Sluces laid the Country under Water, which obliged the Army to retire. This was a ſevere diſappointment, becauſe his Majeſty had ſent word to the Parliament, June 14. "that by the help of "God and the Law he would have juſtice upon thoſe "that kept him out of Hull, or loſe his Life in requiring "it." Ruſhw. p. 601. Ib. p. 750

On the other hand, the Commons, upon the deſertion of the King's Friends, ordered all their Members to anſwer to their names in the Houſe, June 16. on forfeiture of one hundred pounds. The Lords ordered the nine Peers that went after the Great Seal, to appear at their Bar June 8. Preparations of the Parliament for War.

King Charles I. 1642.

and for their not appearing they afterwards [June 27.] deprived them of their privilege of voting in the Houſe during the preſent Parliament. As the Commons had taken all imaginable precautions to hinder the King from getting the Forts and Magazines of the Kingdom into his poſſeſſion, they ordered all ſuſpected places to be ſearched for Arms and Ammunition; in the Archbiſhop's Palace at Lambeth they ſeized Arms for about five hundred Men, and lodged them in the Tower of London; in Cobham Hall they ſeized five cart loads of Arms; and below Gravesend about one hundred pieces of Cannon. As ſoon as they heard the King had received ſupplies from beyond Sea, and was preparing to beſiege Hull, they ordered their Ordinance for raiſing the Militia to be put in execution in Eſſex, [June 7.] when all the Regiments appeared full, beſides a great number of Voluntiers who declared they would ſtand by the Parliament in this Cauſe with their Lives and Fortunes. The King forbid the Militia's appearing in Arms without his conſent, according to the Statute 7 Eliz. cap. 1. and iſſued out Commiſſions of Array, according to an old Statute of 5 Henry IV. appointing ſeveral perſons of Quality to array, muſter, and train the people in the ſeveral Counties; but the Parliament, by a Declaration, endeavoured to prove theſe Commiſſions to be illegal, contrary to the Petition of Right, and to a Statute of this preſent Parliament; and went on with muſtering the Militia in ſeveral other Counties, where the Spirit of the People appeared to be with them; but the execution of theſe Counter-Commiſſions occaſioned ſome Skirmiſhes where the two parties happened to meet.

They borrow Money and Plate of the Citizens.

On the 10th of June the Parliament publiſhed propoſals for borrowing Money upon the publick Faith at Eight per Cent. intereſt, and the full value of the Plate, beſides one ſhilling per ounce conſideration for the faſhion. Upon information of this, the King immediately writ to the Lord Mayor of London, to forbid the Citizens lending their Money or Plate, upon pain of High Treaſon; but notwithſtanding this, ſuch vaſt quantities were brought into Guildhall within ten days that there were hardly Officers enough to receive it. Mr. Eachard computes the plate at eleven Millions, which is monſtrous, for in reality it was but one Million, two hundred and ſixty ſeven thouſand, three hundred and twenty ſix pounds: The Gentry of London and Middleſex brought in the beſt of their Plate,

Plate, and the meaner ſort their Gold Rings, Thimbles and Bodkins. Lord Clarendon ſays, this zeal of the People aroſe from the influence and induſtry of their Preachers; which might be true in part, but it was rather owing to a quick and feeling apprehenſion of the danger of their Liberties and Religion by an inundation of Popery and arbitrary Power. King Charles I. 1642.

The King alſo tried his credit with the people, by publiſhing a Declaration, inviting his Subjects to bring in their Money, Plate, Horſes and Arms to York, upon the ſecurity of his Foreſts and Parks for the Principal, and eight per Cent. intereſt, but with very little ſucceſs, except among the Courtiers and the two Univerſities. King's Propoſals for borrowing Money, &c.

July 7. His Majeſty ſent letters to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges in Oxford, deſiring them to lend him their publick Stock, engaging upon the word of a King to allow them Eight per Cent. for that, and for all other ſums of money that any private Gentleman or Scholar ſhould advance. Upon which it was unanimouſly agreed in Convocation, to intruſt his Majeſty with their publick Stock, amounting to eight hundred and ſixty Pounds, which was immediately delivered to Mr. Chaworth his Majeſty's meſſenger. The ſeveral Colleges alſo ſent his Majeſty their Plate; and private Gentlemen contributed conſiderable ſums of money, to the value of above ten thouſand Pounds. The two Houſes at Weſtminſter being informed of theſe proceedings publiſhed an Ordinance, declaring this act of the Univerſity "a Breach of Truſt, and an alienation of the "publick money, contrary to the intent of the pious Do-"nors, and therefore not to be juſtified by the Laws of "God nor Man;" that it was alſo contrary to their Engagements; for the Univerſity being yet in the hands of the Parliament, the Lord Say and his deputy Lieutenants had been with the ſeveral Maſters and Heads of Colleges, and obtained a ſolemn promiſe from each of them, that their Plate ſhould be forth-coming, and ſhould not be made uſe of by the King againſt the Parliament; and yet contrary to their engagement they ſent it away privately to York, where it arrived July 18. as appeared by his Majeſty's moſt gracious Letter of Thanks. As ſoon as the two Houſes were informed of this they ſent for the four principal managers of this affair into cuſtody, viz. Dr. Prideaux Biſhop of Worceſter, Dr. Samuel Fell Dean of Chriſt Church, Dr. Frewen and Dr. Potter, but they abſconded, and the Scholars, encouraged by their Principals, bought arms, formed themſelves Loyalty of the Univerſity of Oxford. Clarend. Vol. II. p. 88. Ruſhw. p. 759.

King Charles I. 1642.

ſelves into Companies, and laying aſide their academical Studies, were inſtructed in the Art of War, and performed the military Exerciſes under their reſpective Captains and Leaders. Such was the zeal of the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Pink, that not content with marſhalling the Univerſity, he promoted the King's Commiſſion of Array among the townſmen, and received one of his Majeſty's Troops of Horſe into Garriſon, for which he was afterwards apprehended and committed to the Gate-houſe at Weſtminſter. The Parliament provoked with this behaviour of the Univerſity, threatened to quarter ſome of their own Regiments upon them, which frightened away half the Scholars, and put the reſt into ſuch a terrible pannick, that the Vice-Chancellor thought proper to write the following ſubmiſſive letter to the Earl of Pembroke their Chancellor.

Right Hounourable!

Vice-Chancellor's Letter on behalf of the Univerſity. Ruſhw. Part 3d. p. 11.

"MAY it pleaſe your Lordſhip to know, that this Univerſity is now in extreme danger of ſuffering all "the calamities that warlike Forces may bring upon it. "Such Forces we hear for certain are ſome of them alrea- "dy on their march, and others are raiſing to aſſault us; "and, if they may have their wills, to deſtroy us! My "Lord, you have been ſollicitous whom to appoint your "Chancellor for next year, but if theſe Forces come for- "ward, and do that execution upon us that we fear they "intend, there will be no uſe at all for a Vice-Chancellor, "for what will be here for him to do, where there will be "no Scholars for him to govern? Or, what ſhould Scho- "lars do here, having no Libraries left them to ſtudy in, "no Schools to diſpute in, Chapels to ſerve God in, Col- "leges or Halls to live or lodge in, but have all theſe ran- "ſacked, defaced, demoliſhed, ſo as Poſterity may have to "ſay, ſee! here was for a long time, and till ſuch a year, "an Univerſity of great renown and eminence in all man- "ner of Learning and Virtue, but now laid utterly waſte, "and buried in her own ruins. And then the queſtion will "be, what! had we no Lord Chancellor? Or, was not "he able to protect us?—We are all confident, that if "your Lordſhip would interpoſe for us to the honourable "Houſes of Parliament for our ſafety and ſecurity all would "be well with us. The Delinquents that were ſent for "are not one of them here at this time. Sir John Byron, "with his Regiment of Troopers, we ſhall ſoon prevail "with to withdraw from us, if he may with ſafety march

"back

" back to the King, who of his own gracious care of us " ſent him hither. And if your Lordſhip ſhall be ſecured, " that no other Forces ſhall be here impoſed upon us, that " will take the liberty to exerciſe that barbarous inſolence " with which the illiterately rude and ruffianly rabble of the " vulgar threaten us; againſt ſuch only our young men " have lately taken in hand the arms we have (a very few " God knows, and in weak hands enough) to ſave them- " ſelves and us from having our Libraries fired, our Col- " leges pillaged, and our throats cut by them, if they " ſhould ſuddenly break in upon us. And this, my Lord, " is all the ſinful intent we have had in permitting them " to train in a voluntary and peaceable manner ſo as they " have done. Good, my Lord, that which I moſt ear- " neſtly beg of your Honour is, that at the humble requeſt " of the Univerſity you would put in action with all ſpeed, " what may be moſt prevalent with the Parliament for the " peace and ſecurity of this place, and for the ſtaying of " our Students, a great part of whom (ſuch ſtout and hardy " men they are) upon alarms and frights, ſuch as have " been hourly here of late, are fled away from us home " to their Mothers. The Diſciples, when in danger of " drowning, clamoured our Saviour, " Maſter, careſt thou " not that we periſh!" But I am bold to aſſume for your " Honour, and to aſſure all of this Univerſity under your " happy Government, that you will not ſuffer us to periſh; " and that you will at this time give us a clear and real " evidence of it, having this repreſentation of the peril we " are now in, made to your Honour by me,

King Charles I. 1642.

Your Lordſhip's humble Servant,

Sept. 12th. 1642. Provoſt, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

This letter being writ two months after the Univerſity had ſent away their Plate and Money to the King; after they had refuſed to ſend up ſuch principal Managers of that affair as the Parliament had demanded; after they had took up arms, and received a Regiment of his Majeſty's Forces into Garriſon, the Earl of Pembroke only returned the following angry Anſwer.

King Charles I. 1642.

Sir,

The Chancellor's Answer.

"IF you had desired my advice and assistance in time I "should willingly have contributed my best endeavours "for your safety and protection, but your own unadvised "counsels and actions have reduced you to the straits you "are now in; and in discretion you might have foreseen, "that the admitting Cavaliers, and taking up Arms, "could not but make the University a notorious mark "of opposition against the Parliament, and therefore to "be opposed by it. If you had contained yourselves within "the decent, modest bounds of an University, you might "justly have challenged me, if I had not performed the "duty of a Chancellor. The best counsel I now can give "you is, that you presently dismiss the Cavaliers, and "yield up to the Parliament such Delinquents as are "among you; then the cause being taken away the effect "will follow. When you have put yourselves into the "right posture of an University I will be a faithful servant "to you, and ready to do you all the good offices I can "with the Parliament, as I am now sorry you have "brought upon youselves these troubles."

Sept. 13. 1642. I rest your very true Friend, Pembroke and Montgomery.

Loyalty of the University of Cambridge. They deliver up their Plate.

Cambridge University followed the example of Oxford, for upon reading his Majesty's Letter of June 29, to the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Holdsworth, they readily agreed also to intrust the King with their publick Money: What the whole sum was does not appear; but may be guessed by the particulars of one College, a Receipt for which is preserved among the Archives, and is as follows:

July 2d. 1642.

Dr. Barwick's Life, p. 22.

"REceived the day and year above-written of William "Beale, Doctor in Divinity, Master of St. John's "College in the University of Cambridge, for the King's "use (according to the intendment and direction of his "Majesty's Letters of the 29th of June last, to the Vice-"Chancellor of the said University) the sum of one hun-"dred and fifty Pounds. I say received from the Trea-"sury of the said College by me

John Poley.

This Mr. Poley was Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and one of the Proctors of the Univerſity. When the King had got their money he ſent to borrow their plate, under pretence of ſecuring it from the Parliament; for this purpoſe he writ another Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, with directions to take an exact account, not only of the weight, but alſo of the form of every piece, together with the Names, Arms, and Motto's, of the reſpective donors, that if his Majeſty ſhould not preſerve it entire as it was, he might reſtore it hereafter in the ſame weight and form, and with the ſame marks, all which he enſured upon his Royal Word. There is no account remaining of what Plate the Colleges delivered up for his Majeſty's uſe, though many wiſhed (ſays Mr. Fuller) that every ounce had been a pound for his ſake; but in the Treaſury of St. John's College there are the particulars of what Plate that College delivered in, together with the weight, forms, and names of the chief Benefactors, which amounts in the whole, according to Grocer's Weight, to two thouſand ſixty five ounces and a half, according to the following Receipt. King Charles I. 1642.

Aug. 8th 1642.

"I Do acknowledge that there has been delivered to me, in the name, and on the behalf of the Maſter, Fellows, and Scholars of St. John's College in Cambridge, two Firr Boxes, marked with theſe three letters, S. J. C. containing in them all the ſeveral pieces of plate above-written, which ſaid plate weigheth, as appears by the particulars, two thouſand ſixty five ounces and a half, more or leſs, which they depoſited into the King's hands for the ſecurity thereof, and his Majeſty's Service, according to the tenor of his Majeſty's Letters, written and directed to the Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity." Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 24.

John Poley.

According to this calculation the King might receive from all the Colleges together about eight or ten thouſand pounds in plate, beſides money. Colonel Oliver Cromwell with his Company of Soldiers, endeavoured to intercept the Convoy, but under the conduct of Mr. Barnaby Oley their guide, who was acquainted with all the By-roads, they eſcaped the enemy, and delivered up their charge to the King about the time when he was ſetting up Value of the whole.

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his Royal Standard at Nottingham. Cromwel having miſſed the Convoy returned to Cambridge, and took poſſeſſion of the Town and Univerſity for the Parliament, who being acquainted with what was done, ſent then an angry meſſage, as they had done at Oxford, full of reſentments, for their diſpoſing of the publick money, contrary to the truſt repoſed in them. The Maſters and Fellows excuſed themſelves, by alledging the Royal Mandate; upon which the two Houſes ſent a Mandate of their own to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges in Convocation aſſembled, deſiring them to contribute their aſſiſtance to the Cauſe in which they [the Parliament] were engaged; but tho' (as Dr. Barwick obſerves) the Commander of the Garriſon kept them ſitting till Midnight they would lend nothing, becauſe they apprehended it to be contrary to Religion and a good Conſcience; the Houſes therefore ordered Dr. Beal, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Sterne, Maſters of St. John's, Jeſus, and Queen's College, into cuſtody; upon which many of the Scholars deſerted their ſtations, and liſted into the King's Service.

Parliament reſents it.

King applies to the Papiſts. Compleat Hiſtory, p. 131. Ruſhw. p. 621.

Beſides the two Univerſities the King applied under-hand to the Papiſts, who were firm to his Intereſt, though he durſt not as yet avow his correſpondence with them; for in his Declaration of June 3, he aſſures the Miniſters and Freeholders of Yorkſhire, that he would not make uſe of Foreigners, nor of perſons diſaffected to the Proteſtant Religion——Again, we have taken order that the power of the Sword ſhall not come into the hands of Papiſts——Auguſt 10, his Majeſty commands that no Papiſt ſhould be liſted as a Soldier in his Army; all which was to avoid as much as poſſible, the reproach of an Alliance with thoſe People, who were at this time become infamous by the Iriſh Maſſacre. Though his Majeſty had but few Roman Catholicks among his own forces, the Duke of Newcaſtle's Army was filled with them, and Popery was countenanced to that degree at York, that Maſs was ſaid in every ſtreet, and the Proteſtants ſo affronted, that they were almoſt afraid to go to Church. The King writ to his Roman Catholick Subjects to advance two or three years of the rent that they had paid as compoſition for their eſtates as Recuſants; which they not only complied with, but writ to their friends abroad to borrow more; Proclamation was made at Bruges, and other parts of Flanders, that all people that would lend any money to maintain the Roman Catholicks

tholicks in England, ſhould have it repaid in a year's time with many thanks. King Charles I. 1642.

The Lancaſhire Papiſts having been lately diſarmed by Order of Parliament, petitioned his Majeſty, That ſince the War was begun, their Arms might be re-delivered, that they might be in a capacity to defend his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and their own Families. To which his Majeſty conſented in the following Words.

----" The Laws for diſarming Recuſants being to pre- Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 50.
" vent dangers in a time of peace, but intended not to
" bar you from the uſe of Arms in time of war for your
" own ſafety, or the defence of your perſon.---------Our
" Will and Command therefore is, and we charge and
" require you, upon your allegiance, that with all poſſible
" ſpeed you provide ſufficient Arms for yourſelves, your
" ſervants, and your tenants, which we authorize and re-
" quire you to keep and uſe for the defence of us, your
" ſelves, and your Country, againſt all the forces raiſed
" againſt us, under colour of any order or ordinance of
" Parliament, and we ſhall uſe our utmoſt power to protect
" you and yours againſt all injuries and violence."

Given under our Signet at Cheſter, Sept. 27th, in the eighteenth year of our Reign.

Agreeably to this, Mr. George Tempeſt a Prieſt, writes to his brother in the King's Army, " Our Prieſts at Lan-
" caſter are at liberty; Catholick Commanders are ad-
" mitted, and all well enough that way; God Almighty
" (as I hope) will better proſper the Cauſe." And another adds, That " there is no perſecution of Prieſt or Papiſt in
" Northumberland."

When the Parliament objected this to his Majeſty, and named the very Officers, he was highly diſpleaſed, and in his anſwer makes uſe of theſe ſolemn expreſſions. " For
" that continued diſhoneſt Accuſation, of our inclination to Ruſhw. Vol. II.
" Papiſts, which the authors of it in their own Conſciences Part 3d.
" know to be moſt unjuſt and groundleſs, we can ſay no p. 28.
" more, and we can do no more to the Satisfaction of the
" World-----That any Prieſts or Jeſuits impriſoned have
" been releaſed by us out of the Gaol of Lancaſter, or
" any other Gaol, is as falſe as the father of lies can in-
" vent. Neither are the perſons named in that Declara-
" tion, to whom Commiſſions are ſuppoſed to be granted
" for places of Command in this War, ſo much as known

" to

King Charles I. 1642.

" to us; nor have they any command, or to our Know-
" ledge are preſent in our Army. And 'tis ſtrange, that
" our oaths and proteſtations before Almighty God, for
" the maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould be
" ſo ſlighted-----We deſire to have our proteſtations be-
" lieved by the Evidence of our actions." Surely this ſolemn Appeal to Almighty God was ambiguous and evaſive! Or elſe we muſt conclude, that his Majeſty was very little acquainted with what was done in his name, and by his Commiſſion.

It was but five days after this, that the Maſk was thrown off, for his Majeſty confeſſes in his declaration of Oct. 27, That the malice and fury of his enemies had reduced him to the neceſſity of accepting the ſervice and affection of any of his good Subjects, whatſoever their Religon was; that he did know of ſome few Papiſts, whoſe eminent Abilities in command and conduct had moved him to employ them in his Service; but he aſſures his good Subjects, that he would always uſe his endeavours to ſuppreſs their Religion, by executing the Laws already in force againſt Papiſts and in concurring in any other remedies which his two Houſes ſhould think proper. But was this probable? Could any one believe, that the King would ſuppreſs that Religion whoſe Votaries he was inviting into his ſervice? Or, that the arming of Papiſts and employing them againſt Proteſtants, was the way to defend the Proteſtant Religion? Whoever therefore adviſed this part of the King's declaration had very little regard to his Majeſty's honour. The diſguiſe is ſo thin, that the meaneſt underſtanding muſt ſee through it.

The Parliament confederate with the Scots.

As the King was reduced to the neceſſity of accepting the ſervice and affection of the Papiſts; ſo on the other hand, the Parliament took all imaginable care to cultivate a good correſpondence with the Scots, and to ſecure that Nation in their intereſts. We have remembered that the Scots Commiſſioners at London offered their Mediation in the beginning of the year, which the Parliament accepted; but the King, from his extreme hatred of the Preſbyterian Diſcipline refuſed, commanding them to be content with their own Settlement, and not meddle in the affairs of another Nation. But the breach between the King and his two Houſes growing wider, the Council of Scotland ſent their Chancellor in the Month of May to renew their offers of a Mediation between the two Parties, which the King rejected as before; and the rather, becauſe they ſtill inſiſted upon the

Aboliſhing

Aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, which his Majeſty believed to be of Divine Inſtitution; and upon an "Uniformity of Pref- "byterian Government" in the two Nations: Whereas the Majority of both Houſes being of Eraſtian Principles, were under no Difficulties about a Change of Diſcipline, apprehending that the Civil Magiſtrate might ſet up what Form of Government was moſt conducive to the good of the State. The Parliament therefore treated the Chancellor with great Reſpect, and not only accepted the Mediation, but writ to the General Aſſembly which was to meet in July, acquainting them with the Criſis of their Affairs, and deſiring their Advice and Aſſiſtance in bringing about ſuch a Reformation as was deſired. To which the Aſſembly returned an Anſwer to the following Purpoſe, dated Auguſt 3, 1642.

King Charles I. 1642.

Ham. Memoirs, B. III. p. 194.

"AFter giving God Thanks for the Parliament's De- "ſire of a Reformation of Religion, and expreſſing "their Grief that it moves ſo ſlowly——They obſerve, "that their Commiſſioners, far from Arrogance and Pre- "ſumption, had with great Reſpect and Reverence, expreſ- "ſed their Deſires for "Unity of Religion, that there "might be one Confeſſion of Faith, one Directory of "Worſhip, one publick Catechiſm, and one Form of "Church Government." The Aſſembly (ſay they) now "enter upon the Labours of the Commiſſioners, being en- "couraged by the zeal of former times, when their Pre- "deceſſors ſent a Letter into England againſt the Surplice, "Tippet, and Corner Cap, in the year 1566, and again, "in the years 1583, and 1589. They are now further "encouraged by the King's late Anſwer to their Commiſ- "ſioners in their Treaty for Ireland, wherein his Majeſty "approves of the Affection of his Subjects of Scotland, "in their Deſires of Conformity of Church Government; "by his Majeſty's late Practice while he was in Scotland, "in reſorting to their Worſhip, and eſtabliſhing it by Act "of Parliament. They are alſo encouraged by a Letter "ſent from many Reverend Brethren of the Church of "England, expreſſing their Prayers and Endeavours a- "gainſt every thing that ſhall be prejudicial to the Eſta- "bliſhment of the Kingdom of Chriſt. They therefore "adviſe to begin with an Uniformity of Church Govern- "ment; for what hope can there be (ſay they) of "one "Confeſſion of Faith, one Form of Worſhip and Cate- "chiſm, till Prelacy be plucked up Root and Branch, as "a Plant which God hath not planted?" Indeed the Re-

Letter of the G. Aſſembly to the Parliament. Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 387.

"formed

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" formed Kirks hold their Form of Government by Presbyteries to be Jure Divino, and perpetual, but Prelacy is almoſt univerſally held by the Prelates themſelves to be a human Ordinance, and may therefore be altered or aboliſhed in caſes of neceſſity, without wronging any Man's Conſcience; for the accompliſhing of which they promiſe their beſt Aſſiſtance."

Parliament's Reply. Ruſhw, Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 390.

In the Parliament's Anſwer to this Letter " They acknowledge the Friendſhip of their Brethren of Scotland, and expreſs their Deſires of Unity in Religion, " That in all his Majeſty's Dominions there might be but one Confeſſion of Faith and Form of Church Government;" and though this is hardly to be expected punctually and exactly, yet they hope, ſince they are guided by the ſame Spirit, they ſhall be ſo directed, as to caſt out every thing that is offenſive to God, and ſo far agree with the Scots, and other Reformed Churches, in the Subſtantials of Doctrine, Worſhip and Diſcipline, that there may be a free Communion in all holy Exerciſes and Duties of publick Worſhip, for the attaining whereof they intend an Aſſembly of godly and learned Divines, as ſoon as they can obtain the Royal Aſſent —— We have entered into a ſerious Conſideration (ſay they) what good we have received by the Government of Biſhops, and do perceive it has been the occaſion of many intolerable Burthens and Grievances, by their uſurping a Pre-eminence and Power not given them by the Word of God, &c. We find it has alſo been pernicious to our Civil Government, inſomuch as the Biſhops have ever been forward to fill the Minds of our Princes with notions of an arbitrary Power over the lives and liberties of the Subject, by their Counſels and in their Sermons. Upon which accounts and many others, we do declare, that this Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending upon the Hierarchy, is evil, and juſtly offenſive and burdenſome to the Kingdom, a great Impediment to Reformation, and very prejudicial to the Civil Government; and that we are reſolved the ſame ſhall be taken away. And we deſire our Brethren of Scotland to concur with us in petitioning his Majeſty, that we may have an Aſſembly of Divines; and to ſend ſome of their own Miniſters to the ſaid Aſſembly, in order to obtain Uniformity in Church Government, that ſo a more eaſy paſſage may

" be

" be made for ſettling one Confeſſion of Faith, and Direc- " ry of publick worſhip, for the three Kingdoms." King Charles I. 1642.

The King being alarmed with the harmony between the two Kingdoms, ſent a warm Remonſtrance to the Council of Scotland, Aug. 26, the very week he ſet up his Standard at Nottingham, in which he declares,

" THAT he deſired Uniformity as much as they, in " ſuch a way as he in his Conſcience thought moſt " ſerviceable to the true Proteſtant Religion; but that his " two Houſes of Parliament had never made any Propoſiti- " on to him ſince their meeting, concerning " Uniformity " of Church Government,;" ſo far (ſays hisMajeſty) are they " from deſiring ſuch a thing, " That we are confident the " moſt conſiderable Perſons, and thoſe who make the faireſt " Pretenſions to you of that kind, will not ſooner embrace " a Preſbyterial than you an Epiſcopal." And truly it " ſeems (notwithſtanding whatſoever Profeſſion they have " made to the contrary) that nothing has been leſs in their " minds, than ſettling the true Religion, and reforming " ſuch abuſes in the Church as poſſibly may have crept in, " contrary to the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land, to which " we have been ſo far from being averſe, that we have preſ- " ſed them to it. And whenever any Propoſition ſhall be " made to us by them, which we ſhall conceive may ad- " vance the Unity of the Proteſtant Religion, according to " the Word of God, or eſtabliſh Church Government, ac- " cording to the known Laws of the Kingdom, we ſhall let " the world ſee, that nothing can be more agreeable to us " than the advancing ſo good a work." King's Letter to Scotland. Ham. Memoirs, B. IV. p. 197.

Here his Majeſty explains the Uniformity he all along intended, and very juſtly obſerves, that the Parliament no more believed the "Divine Inſtitution of Preſbytry," than the others did of Dioceſan Prelacy; for though they were content, in order to ſecure the Aſſiſtance of the Scots Nation, to vote away the Hierarchy of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, yet when they had conquered the King, and had nothing to fear from their neighbours, they could not be prevailed with to eſtabliſh the Scots Preſbytery, without a reſerve of the power of the Keys to themſelves.

Lord Clarendon obſerves very juſtly, " That the Parlia- " ment were ſenſible they could not carry on the War " but by the help of the Scots, which they were not to ex- Claren. Vol. II. p. 117.

" pect

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" pect without an alteration of the Government of the " Church, to which that Nation was violently inclined, " But that very much the major Part of the Members that " continued in the Parliament Houſe were cordially affected " to the eſtabliſhed Government, At leaſt not affected to " any other." But then to induce them to conſent to ſuch an Alteration, it was ſaid the Scots would not take up Arms without it; ſo that they muſt loſe all, and let the King return as a Conqueror, or ſubmit to the Change. If it ſhould be ſaid, this would make a Peace with the King impracticable, whoſe Affection to the Hierarchy all Men knew; it was anſwered, that it was uſual in Treaties to aſk more than was expected to be conſented to; and it may be, their departing from their Propoſition concerning the Church, might prevail with the King to give them the Militia. Upon theſe motives the Bill to aboliſh Epiſcopacy was brought into the Houſe, and paſſed the Commons September 1. and on the 10th of the ſame Month it paſſed the Lords. The noble Hiſtorian ſays, that marvellous Art and Induſtry was uſed to obtain it; that the Majority of the Commons were really againſt it, and that it was very hardly ſubmitted to by the Houſe of Peers. But the writer of the Parliamentary Chronicle, who was then at London, ſays the Bill paſſed Nullo Contradicente, not a negative Vote being heard among them all; and that there were Bonefires and ringing of Bells for Joy all over the City.

Parl. Chron. p. 150.

Bill to aboliſh Epiſcopacy.

The Bill was entitled, " An Act for the utter aboliſhing " and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chan- " cellors and Commiſſaries, &c."

" It ordains, that after the 5th of November, 1643, " there ſhall be no Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Chancellor or Com- " miſſary of any Archbiſhop or Biſhop, nor any Dean, Sub- " Dean, Dean and Chapter, Archdeacon, nor any Chancel- " lor, Chaunter, Treaſurer, Sub-Treaſurer, Succentor or " Sacriſt of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, nor any " Prebendary, Canon, Canon Reſidentiary, Petty Canon, " Vicar, Choral, Choriſter, old Vicars or new Vicars, of " or within any Cathedral or Collegiate Churches in Eng- " land or Wales—That their Names, Titles, Juriſdictions, " Offices, and Functions, and the having or uſing any Juriſ- " diction or Power, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Names " and Titles, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and become abſolutely " void.

" That all the Manors, Lordſhips, Caſtles, Meſſuages, " Lands, Tenements, Rents, and all other Poſſeſſions " and

" and Hereditaments whatſoever, belonging to any Archbi- King Charles I. 1642.
" ſhoprick or Biſhoprick, ſhall be in the real and actual poſ-
" ſeſſion, and ſeiſin of the King's Majeſty, his heirs and
" ſucceſſors, to hold and enjoy in as ample a manner as
" they were held by any Archbiſhop or Biſhop within two
" years laſt paſt, except Impropriations, Parſonages, ap-
" propriate Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Penſions, Por-
" tions of Tithes, Parſonages, Vicarages, Churches, Cha-
" pels, Advowſons, Nominations, Collations, Rights of
" Patronage and Preſentation.

" That all Impropriations, Parſonages, Tithes, &c. and
" all other Hereditaments and Poſſeſſions whatſoever be-
" longing to any Dean, Subdean and Chapter, Archdea-
" con, or any of their Officers, be put into the hands of
" Truſtees, to pay to all and every Archbiſhop, Biſhop,
" Dean, Subdean, Archdeacon, and all other Officers be-
" longing to Collegiate and Cathedral Churches, ſuch year-
" ly Stipends and Penſions as ſhall be appointed by Parlia-
" ment. And they ſhall diſpoſe of all the aforeſaid Ma-
" nors, Lands, Tithes, Appropriations, Advowſons, &c.
" for a competent maintenance for the ſupport of
" ſuch a number of preaching Miniſters in every Cathedral
" and Collegiate Church as ſhall be appointed by Parlia-
" ment; and for the maintenance of preaching Miniſters
" in other places of the Country where ſuch maintenance
" is wanting; and for ſuch other good uſes, to the ad-
" vancement of Religion, Piety and Learning, as ſhall be
" directed by Parliament.

" Provided, That all Revenues and Rents as have been,
" and now ought to be paid, for the maintenance of Gram-
" mar Schools or Scholars, or for the repairing any Church,
" Chapel, Highway, Cauſeway, Bridges, School-Houſe,
" Alms-Houſe, or other charitable uſes, payable by any of
" the perſons whoſe offices are taken away by this Act,
" ſhall be continued. Provided alſo, That this Act ſhall not
" extend to any College, Church, Corporation, Founda-
" tion, or Houſe of Learning in either of the Univeſities."

Remarks. It may ſeem ſtrange, that the Parliament ſhould vote away the preſent Eſtabliſhment before they had agreed upon another, but the Scots would not declare for them till they had done it. If the two Houſes had been inclined to Preſbytery (as ſome have maintained) it had been eaſy to have adopted the Scots Model at once; but as the Bill for extirpating Epiſcopacy was not to take place till above a year forward, 'tis apparent they were not willing it ſhould take

King Charles I. 1642.

place at all, if in that time they could come to an accommodation with the King; and if the breach ſhould then be open, they propoſed to conſult with an aſſembly of Divines what Form to erect in its place. Thus the old Engliſh Hierarchy was ſuſpended, and lay proſtrate for about eighteen years, but was never legally diſſolved for want of the Royal Aſſent; and therefore at the reſtoration of King Charles II. it took place again, without any new law to eſtabliſh it; which the Preſbyterians, who were then in the ſaddle, did not underſtand or provide againſt as they might.

The war opens.

While the King and Parliament were thus ſtrengthning themſelves, and calling in to their aid all the aſſiſtances they could get, the ſcene of war began to open; his Majeſty travelled with a large retinue into ſeveral of the Northern and Weſtern Counties, ſummoning the people together, and in ſet ſpeeches endeavouring to poſſeſs them of the juſtice of his cauſe, promiſing upon the word of a King, that for the future he would govern by law. Upon this aſſurance about forty Lords, and ſeveral Members that had deſerted the Houſe of Commons, ſigned an Engagement, "To defend his Majeſty's perſon and prerogative, to ſup-"port the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by law, and not "to ſubmit to any Ordinance of Parliament concerning the "Militia that had not the Royal Aſſent." Great Numbers liſted in his Majeſty's Service, whereby an army was form'd which marched a ſecond time to the Siege of Hull.

Parliament vote the raiſing an army.

A week after the King was ſet down before this Fortreſs, and not before [July 12.] the two Houſes, after long debates, came to this reſolution, "That an army ſhould be "raiſed for the defence of the King and Parliament," that the Earl of Eſſex ſhould be Captain General, and the Earl of Bedford General of the Horſe, who were empowered to reſiſt and oppoſe with force all ſuch whom they ſhould find in arms, putting in execution the King's Commiſſion of Array. The reaſons of this reſolution ariſing from the King's extraordinary preparations for war, were publiſhed at the ſame time; and in their Declaration of Aug. 4. they ſay, "That they would have yielded up every thing to the "King, could they have been aſſured, that by diſarming "themſelves they ſhould not have been left naked, while "the military ſword was in the hands of thoſe evil Coun-"ſellors who they had reaſon to fear had vowed the de-"ſtruction of the two Houſes, and through their ſides of "the Proteſtant Religion; but being well acquainted with "their deſigns, they apprehended that their duty to God and

" and their Country, obliges them to hazard every thing " for the maintenance of the true Religion, the King's " perſon, honour and eſtate, and the liberties of England." On the 9th of Auguſt the King proclaimed the Earl of Eſſex and all his adherents Traitors, unleſs they laid down their arms within ſix days; and in another Manifeſto he declared both Houſes of Parliament guilty of High Treaſon, and forbid all his Subjects to yield obedience to them. The Parliament alſo on their part, proclaimed all that adhered to the King in this cauſe " Traitors againſt the Parliament " and Kingdom." Auguſt 12. the King by Proclamation commanded all his Subjects on the North of Trent, and within twenty miles ſouth of it, to appear in arms for the ſuppreſſing the Rebels that were marching againſt him; and about the ſame time iſſued out another Proclamation, requiring all men who could bear arms to repair to him at Nottingham, where he intended to ſet up his Standard on Monday Auguſt 22. In the mean time his Majeſty gave out new Commiſſions to augment his Forces, and marching through Lincoln he took away the arms of the Train Bands for the uſe of his Troops. At length being arrived at the appointed place, he cauſed his Standard to be erected in the open field, on the outſide of the Caſtle Wall of Nottingham, but very few came to attend it; and the weather proved ſo ſtormy and tempeſtuous that it was blown down the ſame evening, and could not be fixed again in two days. Three weeks after this [September 9.] the Earl of Eſſex, the Parliament's General, left London, to put himſelf at the head of their Army of fifteen thouſand men at St. Albans. The King, with an army of equal ſtrength, marched from Nottingham to Shrewſbury, and having refreſhed his Forces there for ſome time, broke up October 12. in order to march directly for London, but the Earl of Eſſex putting himſelf in the way, both armies engaged at Edgehill, near Keinton in Warwickſhire, on Sunday October 23. the very ſame day twelvemonth after the breaking out of the Iriſh Maſſacre; the Battle continued from three in the afternoon till night, with almoſt equal advantage, the number of ſlain on both ſides being about four thouſand. Thus the ſword was drawn, which was dyed with the Blood of the inhabitants of this Iſland for ſeveral years, to the loſs of as many Proteſtant lives as periſhed by the inſurrection and maſſacre of Ireland.

King Charles I. 1642.

Rapin, p. 567.

King ſets up his Standard at Nottingham.

CHAP. XII.

The State of the Church of England. The Religious Character of both Parties. With a Summary of the Grounds of the Civil War.

King Charles I. 1642.

The Condition of the Church.

WE have already ſeen the unſettled ſtate of Religion upon the King's progreſs into Scotland, with the Complaints of the Royaliſts for want of Decency and Uniformity. The Hierarchy had for ſome time been a dead Weight, the ſprings that moved it being ſtopt, by the impriſonment of the Biſhops, and the check that was given to the Spiritual Courts; but now the whole fabrick was voted away after a year, tho' when that was expired no other diſcipline was erected in its room; nor was the Name, Stile and Dignity of Archbiſhops and Biſhops taken away by Ordinance of Parliament till Sept. 5. 1646. that is, till the War was over, and the King their priſoner. In this interval there was properly no eſtabliſh'd Form of Government; the Clergy being permitted to read more or leſs of the Liturgy as they pleaſed, and to govern their Pariſhes according to their diſcretion. The Veſtments were left indifferent, ſome wearing them, and others in imitation of the foreign Proteſtants, making uſe of a Cloak. Feb. 2. 1642-3. the Commons ordered, that the Statute of the Univerſity of Cambridge, which impoſes the Uſe of the Surplice upon all Students and Graduates ſhould not be preſſed, as being againſt the Law and Liberty of the Subject; and three days after they made the ſame Order for the Schools of Weſtminſter, Eaton, and Wincheſter. Biſhop Kennet ſays, that Tithes were denied to thoſe that read the Common Prayer; and 'tis as true, that they were withheld from thoſe that did not read it, for many took advantage of the confuſion of the times to eaſe themſelves of a Burden for which ſome few pleaded Conſcience, and others the uncertain title of thoſe that claimed them.

Of the Cathedrals.

Though the Parliament and Puritan Clergy were averſe to Cathedral Worſhip, that is, to a variety of muſical inſtruments, Choriſters, ſinging of Prayers, Anthems, &c. as improper for the ſolemnity and ſimplicity of Divine Service, yet was it not prohibited; and though the Revenues of Prebendaries and Deans, &c. had been voted uſeleſs, and more fit to be applied to the maintenance of preaching Miniſters,

yet

yet the ſtipends of thoſe that did not take part with the King were not ſequeſter'd till the latter end of the year 1645. when it was ordained, "That the Deans and Prebendaries "of Weſtminſter who had abſented themſelves, or were "Delinquents, or had not taken the Covenant, ſhould be "ſuſpended from their ſeveral offices and places, except "Mr. Oſbaldeſton;" but the names, titles, and offices of Deans and Chapters, were not aboliſhed, till after the King's Death, in the year 1649. thus cautiouſly did the Parliament proceed, as long as there was any proſpect of an accommodation with the King. Indeed, the Beauty of the Cathedrals was defaced in ſome meaſure about this time, by the Ordinance for the removing Crucifixes, Images, Pictures, and other Monuments of Superſtition out of Churches. Many fine paintings in the Windows and on the Walls were broken and deſtroy'd, without a decent repair of the damage. In Lambeth Chapel the Organ was taken down [Nov. 25.] The following Summer the Paintings, Pictures, ſuperſtitious Ornaments and Images were defaced, or removed out of the Cathedrals of Canterbury, Rocheſter, Chicheſter, Wincheſter, Worceſter, Lincoln, Litchfield, Saliſbury, Glouceſter, St. Paul's in London, the Collegiate Church of Weſtminſter, &c. "But (ſays my "Author) I do not find that they then ſeized the Revenues "and Eſtates of the Cathedrals, but contented themſelves "with plundering and impriſoning ſome of the principal "Members, and diſperſing many of the reſt; and ſeveral "of thoſe places coming afterwards into his Majeſty's "Hands, the Service did not wholly ceaſe, nor were the "Doors of thoſe ſtately Fabricks finally cloſed at that "time."

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Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy.

Though the Diſcipline of the Church was diſſolved, there was nevertheleſs an uncommon ſpirit of devotion among the people in the Parliament Quarters; the Lord's Day was obſerved with unuſual Strictneſs, the Churches being crowded with numerous and attentive hearers three or four times in the day; the Officers of the Peace walked the Streets, and ſhut up all publick Houſes; there was no travelling on the Road, nor walking in the Fields, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity. Religious Exerciſes were ſet up in private Families, as reading the Scriptures, Family Prayer, repeating Sermons, and ſinging Pſalms, which was ſo univerſal in the City of London, that you might walk the Streets on the Evening of the Lord's Day without ſeeing an

The ſtrict Obſervation of the Sabbath.

King Charles I. 1642.

idle perſon, or hearing any thing but the voice of prayer or praiſe from the Churches and private Houſes.

Plays and other Diverſions put down. Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 1.

As is uſual in times of publick Calamity, ſo at the breaking out of the Civil War, all publick Diverſions and Recreations were laid aſide. By an Ordinance of September 2. 1642. it was declared, that "Whereas publick Sports do "not well agree with publick Calamities, nor publick Stage "Plays with the Seaſons of Humiliation; this being an "exerciſe of ſad and pious Solemnity; the other being "ſpectacles of pleaſure too commonly expreſſing laſcivious "Mirth and Levity; it is therefore ordained, that while "theſe ſad cauſes, and ſet times of Humiliation continue, "publick Stage Plays ſhall ceaſe and be forborn; inſtead "of which are recommended to the people of this Land, "the profitable Duties of Repentance, and making their "peace with God."

The monthly Faſt.

The ſet times of Humiliation mentioned in the Ordinance refer to the monthly Faſt appointed by the King, at the requeſt of the Parliament [Jan. 8. 1641.] on account of the Iriſh Inſurrection and Maſſacre, to be kept every laſt Wedneſday in the Month, as long as the calamities of that Nation ſhould require it. But when the King ſet up his Standard at Nottingham, the two Houſes apprehending that England was now to be the ſeat of War, publiſhed an Ordinance for the more ſtrict obſervation of this Faſt, in order to implore a divine Bleſſing upon the Conſultations of Parliament, and to depricate the calamities that threaten'd this Nation. All preachers were enjoined to give notice of it from the Pulpit the preceding Lord's Day; and to exhort their Hearers to a ſolemn and religious obſervation of the whole day, by a devout attendance on the ſervice of God in ſome Church or Chapel, by Abſtinence, and by refraining from worldly buſineſs and diverſions: All publick Houſes were likewiſe forbid to ſell any ſorts of Liquors (except in caſes of neceſſity) till the publick Exerciſes and religious duties of the day were ended; which continued with little or no Intermiſſion, from Nine in the Morning till Four in the Afternoon; all which length of time the people were at their Devotions, and the Miniſters engaged in one part or other of divine Worſhip.

Riſe of the Morning Lecture.

But beſides the monthly Faſt, the opening of the War gave riſe to another, Exerciſe of Prayer, and Exhortation to Repentance, for an hour every Morning in the Week. Moſt of the Citizens of London having ſome near Relation or Friend in the Army of the Earl of Eſſex, ſo many

many Bills were ſent up to the Pulpit every Lord's Day for their preſervation, that the Miniſter had neither time to read them, nor to recommend their caſes to God in prayer; it was therefore agreed by ſome London Divines, to ſeparate an hour for this purpoſe every Morning, one half to be ſpent in prayer, and the other in a ſuitable Exhortation to the people. The Reverend Mr. Caſe, Miniſter of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-ſtreet, began it in his Church at ſeven in the Morning, and when it had continued there a Month it was removed by turns to other Churches at a diſtance, for the accommodation of the ſeveral parts of the City, and was called the Morning Exerciſe. The ſervice was performed by divers Miniſters, and earneſt interceſſions were made in the preſence of a numerous and crouded Audience, for the welfare of the Publick as well as particular caſes. When the heat of the War was over, it became a Caſuiſtical Lecture, and was carried on by the moſt learned and able Divines of thoſe times till the Reſtoration of King Charles II. Their Sermons were afterwards publiſhed in ſeveral Volumes in Quarto, under the Title of the Morning Exerciſes; each Sermon being the Reſolution of ſome practical caſe of Conſcience. This Lecture, though in a different form, is continued among the Proteſtant Diſſenters to this Day. King Charles I. 1642.

Some time after another Morning Lecture was ſet up in the Abbey Church of Weſtminſter, between the hours of ſix and eight, for the benefit of that part of the Town, and eſpecially of the Members of Parliament; it was carried on by Dr. Staunton, Mr. Nye, Marſhal, Palmer, Herle, Whitaker and Hill, all Members of the Aſſembly of Divines. In ſhort, there were Lectures and Sermons every day in the Week in one Church or another, which were well attended, and with great appearance of zeal and affection. Men were not backward to riſe before day, and go to places of worſhip at a great diſtance, for the benefit of hearing the Word of God. Such was the devotion of the City of London, and parts adjacent, in theſe dangerous times!

Nor was the Reformation of Manners leſs remarkable; the Laws againſt Vice and Profaneneſs were ſo ſtrict, and ſo rigorouſly put in Execution, that Wickedneſs was forced to hide itſelf in Corners. There were no gaming Houſes, nor Houſes of Pleaſure; nor was there any profane ſwearing, drunkenneſs, nor any kind of debauchery to be ſeen or heard in the Streets. It is commonly ſaid, that the Religion Reformation of Manners in the City and Parts adjacent.

King Charles I. 1642.

ligion of theſe times was no better than hypocriſy and diſſimulation; and without all doubt, there were numbers of Men that made a form of Godlineſs a Cloak to Diſhoneſty; nay, 'tis probable, that hypocriſy, and other ſecret immoralities, might be the prevailing ſins of the times, becauſe all open vices were ſuppreſſed; but ſtill I am perſuaded, that the body of the people were ſincerely religious, and with all their faults, I ſhould rejoice to ſee in our days, ſuch an appearance of Religion, and ſuch an effectual diſcountenance of all kinds of vice and profaneneſs.

In the Camp of the Earl of Eſſex. Memorials, p. 68.

If we go from the City to the Camp of the Earl of Eſſex, we ſhall find no leſs probity of manners among them, for moſt of his Soldiers were ſuch as did not fight ſo much for pay, as for Religion and the Liberties of their Country. Mr. Whitlock obſerves, "That Colonel Cromwel's Regiment of Horſe were moſt of them Freeholders Sons, who engaged in the War upon principles of conſcience; and that being well armed within, by the ſatisfaction of their Conſciences, and without with good iron Arms, they would as one Man ſtand firmly and charge deſperately. The ſame Author adds, that Colonel Wilſon, who was Heir to an Eſtate of two thouſand pounds a year, and was the only Son of his Father, put himſelf at the head of a gallant Regiment of Citizens, who liſted themſelves in the Parliament's Service purely upon Conſcience; this (ſays he) was the condition of many others alſo of like quality and fortune in thoſe times, who had ſuch an affection for their Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of their Country, that "Pro Aris et focis" they were willing to undergo any hardſhips or dangers, and thought no Service too much or too great for their Country." The moſt eminent Divines went as Chaplains to the ſeveral Regiments; Dr. Burges and Mr. Marſhal were Chaplains to the Earl of Eſſex's Regiment; Dr. Downing to Lord Roberts's; Mr. Sedgwick to Colonel Hollis's; Dr. Spurſtow to Mr. Hampden's; Mr. Aſke to Lord Brook's, &c. while theſe continued, none of the Enthuſiaſtic Follies, that were afterwards a reproach to the army, diſcovered themſelves. There were among them ſome that afterwards join'd the Sectaries; ſome that were mere mercenaries, and (if we may believe his Majeſty's declaration after the battle of Edgehill) ſome diſguiſed Papiſts; but upon the whole, Lord Clarendon confeſſes, that there was an exact

exact diſcipline in the Army; that they neither plunder'd nor robb'd the Country; all complaints of this kind being redreſſed in the beſt manner, and the offenders puniſhed. The Reverend Mr. Baxter, who was himſelf in the Army, gives this account of them. "The generality of thoſe "people throughout England who went by the Name of "Puritans, Preciſians, Preſbyterians, who followed Ser- "mons, prayed in their Families, read books of Devotion, "and were ſtrict obſervers of the Sabbath, being avowed "enemies to Swearing, Drunkenneſs, and all kinds of Pro- "faneneſs, adher'd to the Parliament; with theſe were "mixed ſome young perſons of warm heads, and enthu- "ſiaſtick principles, who laid the foundation of thoſe Sects "and Diviſions which afterwards ſpread over the whole "Nation, and were a diſgrace to the Cauſe which the Par- "liament had eſpouſed. Of the Clergy, thoſe who were "of the ſentiments of Calvin, who were conſtant Preachers "of the Word of God themſelves, and encouragers of it "in others; who were zealous againſt Popery, and wiſhed "for a reformation of the Diſcipline of the Church, were "on the Parliament's ſide. Among theſe were ſome of the "elder Clergy, who were preferred before the riſe of "Archbiſhop Laud; all the deprived and ſilenced Mini- "ſters, with the whole body of Lecturers and warm po- "pular Preachers both in Town and Country; theſe drew "after them great numbers of the more ſerious and devout "people, who were not capable of judging between the "King and Parliament, but followed their ſpiritual Guides "from a veneration they had for their integrity and piety. "Many went in to the Parliament, and filled up their "Armies afterwards, meerly becauſe they heard men "ſwear for the Common-prayer and Biſhops, and heard "others pray that were againſt them: becauſe they heard "the King's Soldiers with horrid Oaths abuſe the name "of God, and ſaw them live in debauchery, while the "Parliament Soldiers flocked to Sermons, talked of Reli- "gion, and prayed, and ſung Pſalms together on their "guards. And all the ſober men that I was acquainted "with who were againſt the Parliament (ſays Mr. Baxter) "uſed to ſay, "The King had the better Cauſe, but the "Parliament had the better Men."

King Charles I. 1642.

Mr. Baxter's Character of thoſe that took part with the Parliament. Baxter's Life Fol. p. 26, 31, 33. &c.

The Puritan [or Parliament] Clergy were zealous Calviniſts, and having been prohibited for ſome years from preaching againſt the Arminians, they now pointed all their artillery againſt them, inſiſting upon little elſe in their Sermons,

Of the Puritan Clergy.

King Charles I. 1642.

Sermons, but the Doctrines of Predeſtination; Juſtification by Faith alone; Salvation by Free Grace; and the Inability of Man to do that which is good. The duties of the ſecond Table were too much neglected; from a very ſtrong averſion to Arminianiſm theſe Divines unhappily made way for Antinomianiſm, verging from one extreme towards the other, till at length ſome of the weaker ſort were loſt in the wild Mazes of enthuſiaſtick Dreams and Viſions, and others from falſe Principles pretended to juſtify the hidden works of Diſhoneſty. The Aſſembly of Divines did what they could to put a ſtop to the growth of theſe errors; but the great ſcarcity of Preachers of a learned education, who took part with the Parliament, left ſome Pulpits in the Country empty, and the People to be led aſide in many places, by every bold pretender to Inſpiration.

Mr. Baxter's Account of them. Baxter's Life, p. 33, 35, 37.

"The generality of the ſtricter and more diligent ſort of "Preachers (ſays Mr. Baxter) joined the Parliament, and "took ſhelter in their Garriſons; but they were almoſt "all conformable Miniſters; the Laws and the Biſhops "having caſt out the Non-conformiſts long enough be-"fore, and not left above two in a County: Thoſe who "made up the Aſſembly of Divines, and who through "the Land were the honour of the Parliament party, were "almoſt all ſuch as till then, had conformed, and took "the Ceremonies to be lawful in caſes of Neceſſity, "but longed to have that Neceſſity removed." He admits, "That the younger, and leſs experienced Miniſters "in the Country, were againſt amending the Biſhops "and Liturgy, apprehending this was but gilding over "their danger; but that this was not the ſenſe of the "Parliament, nor of their principal Divines. The mat-"ter of Biſhops or no Biſhops (ſays he) was not the main "thing, except with the Scots, for thouſands that wiſhed "for good Biſhops were on the Parliament ſide. Almoſt "all thoſe afterwards called Preſbyterians, and all that "learned and pious Synod at Weſtminſter, except a very "few, had been Conformiſts, and kept up an honourable "eſteem for thoſe Biſhops that they thought religious; "as Archbiſhop Uſher, Biſhop Davenant, Hall, More-"ton, &c. Theſe would have been content with an "amendment of the Hierarchy, and went into the Par-"liament, becauſe they apprehended the Intereſt of Re-"ligion, and Civil Liberties, were on that ſide."

Their political Behaviour.

But the political Principles of theſe Divines gave the greateſt diſguſt to the Royaliſts; they encouraged the People

ple to ſtand by the Parliament, and preached up the lawfulneſs of defending their Religion and Liberties, againſt the King's evil Counſellors. They were for a limited Monarchy, agreeable to our preſent happy Conſtitution, for which, and for what they apprehended the Purity of the Proteſtant Religion, they contended, and for nothing more; but for this they have ſuffered in their moral Character, and have been left upon Record, as "Rebels, Traitors, "Enemies to God and the King, &c." His Majeſty, in one of his Declarations, calls them "ignorant in Learning, "turbulent and ſeditious in Diſpoſition, ſcandalous in Life, "unconformable to the Laws of the Land, Libellers, "Revilers both of Church and State, and Preachers of "Sedition and Treaſon itſelf." Lord Clarendon ſays, "That under the notion of Reformation, and extirpating "Popery, they infuſed ſeditious inclinations into the hearts "of men againſt the preſent Government of the Church "and State; that when the Army was raiſed they con-"tained themſelves within no bounds, and inveighed as "freely againſt the Perſon of the King as they had be-"fore againſt the worſt Malignants, profanely and blaſ-"phemouſly applying what had been ſpoken by the Pro-"phets againſt the moſt wicked and impious Kings, to ſtir "up the People againſt their moſt gracious Sovereign." His Lordſhip adds, "That the Puritan Clergy were the "chief Incendiaries, and had the chief Influence in pro-"moting the Civil War. The Kirk Reformation in Scot-"land and in this Kingdom (ſays his Lordſhip) was driven "on by no men ſo much as thoſe of their Clergy; and "without doubt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury never had "ſuch an influence over the Councils at Court, as Dr. "Burges and Mr. Marſhal had then on the Houſes; nor "did all the Biſhops of Scotland together ſo much meddle "in temporal affairs as Mr. Henderſon had done."

King Charles I. 1642.

Hiſt. Collect. p. 514.

Vol. I. p. 302.

Strange! when the Scots Biſhops were advanced to the higheſt poſts of Honour and civil Truſt in that Kingdom; and when Archbiſhop Laud had the direction of all publick affairs in England, for twelve years together. Was not the Archbiſhop at the head of the Council Table, the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commiſſion? Was not his Grace the contriver or promoter of all the Monopolies and Oppreſſions that brought on the Civil War? What could the Puritan Clergy do like this? Had they any places of Profit or Truſt under the Government? Or any Commiſſions in the eccleſiaſtical Courts? Did they amaſs

Their Vindication.

King Charles I. 1642.

amaſs to themſelves great Riches or large Eſtates? No; they renounced all Civil Power and Juriſdiction, as well as lordly Titles and Dignities; and were, for the moſt part, content with a very moderate ſhare of the World. If they ſerved the Parliament Cauſe it was in viſiting their Pariſhioners, and by their Sermons from the Pulpits: Here they ſpent their zeal, praying and preaching as men that were in earneſt, for what they apprehended the Cauſe of God and their Country. But 'tis eaſy to remark, that the noble Hiſtorian obſerves no meaſures with the Puritan Clergy when they fall in his way.

Nor were the Parliament Divines the chief Incendiaries between the King and People, if we may believe Mr. Baxter, who knew the Puritans of thoſe times much better than his Lordſhip. "It is not true (ſays this Di-"vine) that they ſtirred up the people to war, there was "hardly one ſuch man in a County, though they diſliked "the late innovations, and were glad the Parliament was "attempting a Reformation." They might inveigh too freely in their Sermons againſt the Vices of the Clergy, and the Severities of the late Times; but in all the Faſt Sermons that I have read, for ſome years after the beginning of the war, I have met with no reflections upon the Perſon of the King, but a religious obſervation of that political Maxim, "The King can do no wrong."

Baxter's Life, p. 34.

But his Lordſhip adds, that "they profanely and blaſ-"phemouſly applied what had been ſpoken by the Pro-"phets againſt the moſt wicked and impious Kings, to ſtir "up the People againſt their moſt gracious Sovereign." If this were really the caſe, yet the King's Divines came not behind them in applying the abſolute dominion of the Kings of Judah in ſupport of the unbounded prerogative of the Kings of England, nor in curſing the Parliament, and pronouncing Damnation upon all that died in their ſervice. I could produce a large Catalogue of ſhocking Expreſſions to this purpoſe, but I am no Advocate for ſuch extremes; nor ought we to form our judgments of great bodies of men, from the exceſſes of a few.

We ſhall have an opportunity hereafter, of comparing the Learning of the Puritan Divines with the Royaliſts, when it will appear, that there were men of no leſs eminence for Literature with the Parliament than with the King, as the Seldens, the Lightfoots, the Cudworths, the Pococks, the Witchcots, the Arrowſmiths, &c. but as to their Morals, their

their very adverſaries will witneſs for them. Dr. G. Bates an eminent Royaliſt in his Elenchus, gives them this character, "Moribus ſeveris eſſent, in concionibus vehementes, "precibus & piis officiis prompti, uno verbo ad cætera "boni, i. e. They were Men of ſevere and ſtrict morals, "warm and affectionate Preachers, fervent in Prayer, "ready to all pious Offices, and in a Word, otherwiſe, "[that is abating their political principles] good men." And yet with all their goodneſs they were unacquainted with the Rights of Conſcience, and when they got the ſpiritual ſword into their hands managed it not much better than their Predeceſſors the Biſhops. King Charles I. 1642.

The Clergy that eſpouſed the King's Cauſe were the "Bench of Biſhops, the whole body of the Cathedral, and "the major part of the parochial Clergy, with the heads, "and moſt of the Fellows of both Univerſities," among whom were men of the firſt rank for learning, politeneſs, piety, and probity of manners, as Archbiſhop Uſher, Biſhop Hall, Moreton, Weſtfield, Brownrigge, Prideaux, Dr. Hammond, Saunderſon, &c. who joined the King, not only for the ſake of their preferments, but becauſe they believed the "Unlawfulneſs of the Subjects reſiſting their "Sovereign in any Caſe whatſoever." Among the Parochial Clergy were Men of no leſs name and character; Lord Clarendon ſays, "That if the Sermons of thoſe "times preached at Court were collected together, and "publiſhed, the World would receive the beſt bulk of "orthodox Divinity, profound Learning, convincing Rea"ſon, natural powerful Eloquence, and admirable devotion, "that hath been communicated in any age ſince the "Apoſtles Time." And yet in the very ſame page he adds, "There was ſometimes preached there, matter ve"ry unfit for the place, and ſcandalous for the perſons." I ſubmit this paragraph to the Reader's Judgment; for I muſt confeſs, that after having read over ſeveral of theſe Court Sermons, I have not been able to diſcover all that Learning and perſuaſive Eloquence that his Lordſhip admires; nor can much be ſaid for their orthodoxy, if the thirty nine Articles be the Standard. But whatever decency was obſerved at Court, there was hardly a Sermon preached by the inferior Clergy within the King's Quarters, wherein the Parliament Divines were not ſeverely expoſed and ridiculed, under the Character of Puritans, Preciſians, Formaliſts, Sabbatarians, Canting Hypocrites, &c. Such was the Sharpneſs of Men's Spirits on both Sides! Of the King's Clergy. Vol. I. p. 77.

Among

King Charles I. 1642.

Among the Country Clergy there was great room for Complaints, many of them being Pluraliſts, Non-reſidents, ignorant and illiterate, negligent of their Cures, ſeldom or never viſiting their Pariſhioners, nor diſcharging any more of their Function than would barely ſatisfy the Law. They took advantage of the Book of Sports to attend their Pariſhioners to their Wakes and Revels, by which means many of them became ſcandalouſly immoral in their Converſations. Even Dr. Walker admits, that there were among them Men of wicked Lives, and ſuch as were a reproach and ſcandal to their function; the particulars of which had better have been buried than left upon Record.

Sufferings of the Clergy. p. 72.

Of the King's Army.

The common People that filled up the King's Army were of the looſer ſort; the chief Officers, as Lord Goring, Granville, Wilmot, and others, were of profligate lives, and made a jeſt of Religion; the private Centinels were Soldiers of fortune, and not having their regular pay, lived for the moſt part upon free plunder: When they took poſſeſſion of a Town they rifled the Houſes of all that were called Puritans, and turned their families out of doors. Mr. Baxter ſays, "That when he lived at Coven-

Baxter's Life, p. 44.

"try after the battle of Edgehill, there were above thirty "worthy Miniſters in that City who had fled thither for "refuge from the Soldiers and popular fury, as he himſelf "alſo had done, tho' they had never medled in the wars; "among theſe were the Reverend Mr. Vines, Mr. An-"thony Burgeſs, Mr. Burdal, Mr. Bromſhil, Dr. Bryan, "Grew, Craddock, and others. And here (ſays he) I "muſt repeat the great Cauſe of the Parliament's ſtrength, "and of the King's ruin; the debauched rabble, encou-"raged by his Gentry, and ſeconded by the common "Soldiers of his Army, took all that were called Puri-"tans for their enemies; ſo that if any Man was "noted for a ſtrict and famous Preacher, or for a Man "of a preciſe and pious life, he was plundered, abu-"ſed, and put in danger of his life; if a Man prayed "in his family, or was heard to repeat a Sermon, or "ſing a Pſalm, they preſently cried out Rebels, Round-"heads, and all their money and goods proved guilty, "however innocent they were themſelves. Upon "my certain Knowledge it was that filled the Ar-"mies and Garriſons of the Parliament with ſober and "pious Men. Thouſands had no mind to meddle in "the Wars, but to live peaceably at home, if the rage

"of

" of the ſoldiers and drunkards would have ſuffered them. " Some ſtayed at home till they had been impriſon'd ; " ſome till they had been plundered twice or thrice over, " and had nothing left ; others were quite tired out with " the inſolence of their neighbours ; with being quarter'd " upon, and put in continual danger of their lives, and ſo " they ſought refuge in the Parliament Garriſons." King Charles I. 1642.

This was ſo notorious, that at length it came to the King's ear, who out of meer compaſſion to his diſtreſſed Subjects, iſſued out a Proclamation, bearing date Nov. 25. 1642. for the better Government of his Army ; the preamble to which ſets forth, " That his Majeſty having taken " into his princely conſideration, the great miſery and ru- " in of his Subjects, by the plunderings, robbing, and " ſpoiling of their Houſes, and taking from them their " money, plate, houſhold ſtuff, Cattle, and other goods, " under pretence of their being diſaffected to us and our " ſervice, and theſe unlawful and unjuſt actions done by " divers ſoldiers of our army, and others ſheltering them- " ſelves under that title ; his Majeſty deteſting ſuch barba- " rous proceedings, forbids his officers and ſoldiers to make " any ſuch ſeizures for the future, without his warrant. " And if they go on to plunder and ſpoil the people, by " taking away their money, plate, houſhold goods, oxen, " ſheep, or other cattle ; or any victuals, corn, hay, or " other proviſions, going to or from any market, without " making ſatisfaction, his Majeſty orders them to be pro- " ceeded againſt by martial Law." This was as much as the King could do in his preſent circumſtances ; but it had very little effect, for his Majeſty having neither money nor ſtores for his army, the officers had them under no diſcipline, being forced to connive at their living at free quarter upon the people. King's Proclamation for the better Government of his Army.

Thus this unhappy nation was miſerably divided, and thrown into convulſions, by an unnatural Civil War ; the Nobility and Gentry with their dependants, being chiefly with the King ; the Merchants, Tradeſmen, ſubſtantial Farmers, and in general, the middle ſort of people throughout the nation, being with the Parliament.

'Tis of little conſequence to enquire, " Who began this " unnatural and bloody War," for if it was juſt and unavoidable on either ſide, none will blame them for taking all neceſſary precautions in their own defence, or making uſe of ſuch advantages as providence put into their hands The authors of the Civil War.

to

King Charles I. 1642.

to defeat the deſigns of the enemy. His Majeſty profeſſed before God, to his Nobles at York, "That he had no intention to make War upon his Parliament." And in his laſt ſpeech on the ſcaffold he affirms, "That he did not begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament, but that "they began with him upon the point of the Militia; and "if any body will look upon the dates of the Commiſſions "(ſays his Majeſty) theirs and mine, they will ſee clearly "that they began theſe unhappy troubles, and not I." But with all due ſubmiſſion to ſo great an authority, Were the dates of Commiſſions for raiſing the Militia the beginning of the War? Were not the Crown Jewels firſt pawned in Holland, and Arms, Ammunition and Artillery, ſent over to the King at York? Did not his Majeſty ſummon the Gentlemen and Freeholders to attend him as an extraordinary Guard, in his progreſs in the North, and appear before Hull in a warlike manner, before the raiſing the Militia? Were not theſe warlike Preparations? Dr. Welwood ſays, and, I think, all impartial judges muſt think with him, that they look very much that way. Mr. Echard is ſurprized that "the King did not put himſelf into a poſture "of defence ſooner;" but he would have ceaſed to wonder, if he had remember'd the Words of Lord Clarendon, "The reaſon why the King did not raiſe Forces ſooner was, "becauſe he had neither Arms nor Ammunition, and till "theſe could be procured from Holland, let his provocations "and ſufferings be what they could be, he was to ſubmit "and bear it patiently." It was therefore no want of Will, but mere Neceſſity, that hinder'd the King's appearing in arms ſooner than he did. Father Orleans confeſſes, that it was agreed with the Queen in the Cabinet Council at Windſor, that while her Majeſty was negotiating in Holland, the King ſhould retire to York and there make his firſt Levies. He adds, "That all mankind believed "that his Majeſty was underhand preparing for War, that "the ſword might cut aſunder thoſe knots he had made with "his pen."

Memoirs, p. 64.

The Queen.

But in order to excuſe the unhappy King, who was ſacrificed in the houſe of his friends, a load of guilt is, with great juſtice, laid upon the Queen, who had a plenitude of power over his Majeſty, and could turn him about which way ſhe pleaſed. Biſhop Burnet ſays, "That by the livelineſs of "her diſcourſe ſhe made great impreſſions upon the King; "ſo that to the Queen's want of judgment, and the King's "own

Hiſt. Life and Times.

" own temper, the ſequel of all his misfortunes was ow- King Charles I. 1642.
" ing. Biſhop Kennet adds, that the King's Match with
" this Lady was a greater judgment upon the Nation than
" the plague which then raged in the Land; and that the Compl. Hiſt.
" influence of a ſtately Queen over an affectionate Huſ-
" band proved very fatal both to Prince and People,
" and laid in a vengeance to future Generations." The Queen was a great bigot to her Religion, and was directed by her Father Confeſſor to protect the Roman Catholicks, even to the hazard of the King's Crown and Dignity. Though his Majeſty uſually conſulted her Majeſty in all affairs of State, yet ſhe ſometimes preſumed to act without the King, and to make uſe of his name without his knowledge. " It was the Queen that made all the great Of-
" ficers of State (ſays Lord Clarendon) no preferments
" were beſtowed without her Allowance." She was an Enemy to Parliaments, and puſhed the King upon the moſt arbitrary and unpopular actions, to raiſe the Engliſh Government to a level with the French. It was the Queen that countenanced the Iriſh Inſurrection; that obliged the King to go to the Houſe of Commons and ſeize the five Members; and that was at the head of the Council at Windſor, in which it was determined to break with the Parliament and prepare for War; this (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) (viz.) the King's perfect adoration of his Queen, his reſolution to do nothing without her, and his being inexorable as to every thing he promiſed her, " was the Root
" and Cauſe of all other Grievances." The two Houſes often petitioned the King not to admit her Majeſty into his Councils, nor to follow her advice in matters of State; but he was not to be moved from his too ſervile regards to her dictates, even to his death.

Sundry others of his Majeſty's Privy Council had their Evil Counſellors.
ſhare in bringing on the calamities of the Civil War, tho' when it broke out they were either dead, diſperſed or impriſoned, as the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Strafford, Archbiſhop Laud, Finch, Windebank, Noy, &c. Theſe were the moſt buſy Actors at the Council Table, the Star Chamber, and Court of High Commiſſion, and were at the head of all the monopolies and illegal projects that enſlaved the Nation for above twelve years, and might have done it for ever, had they been good huſbands of the King's Treaſure, and not brought upon themſelves the armed force of a neighbouring Nation. The politicks of theſe Stateſmen were very unaccountable, for as long as they could ſub-

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ſiſt without a Parliamentary Supply, they went on with their Ship Money, Coat and Conduct Money, Monopolies, and all the other ſprings of the prerogative; while the Parliament ſat theſe were ſuſpended, in expectation of a ſupply from the two Houſes, before they enquired into the late inroads upon the conſtitution; but when this could not be obtained they broke up the Parliament in diſguſt, fined and impriſoned the Members for their freedom of Speech in the Houſe, and returned to their former methods of arbitrary Government. All King Charles's Parliaments were diſſolved in this manner, even to the preſent, which would undoubtedly have been treated in the ſame way, had it not been for the Act of Conſtitution.

Warm Spirits in the Houſe of Commons.

On the other hand, a ſpirit of Engliſh Liberty had been growing in the Nation for ſome years, and the late oppreſſions, inſtead of extinguiſhing it, had only kept it under ground, till having collected more ſtrength, it broke out with the greater violence; the Patriots of the Conſtitution watched all opportunities to recover it, and when they obtained a Parliament by the interpoſition of the Scots, were ready to take too ſevere a revenge upon their late oppreſſors, and to enter upon too violent meaſures in order to prevent the return of power into thoſe hands that had ſo ſhamefully abuſed it. The five Members of the Houſe of Commons, and their friends, who were concerned in inviting the Scots into England, ſaw their danger long before the King came to the Houſe to ſeize them, which put them upon concerting meaſures "not only to reſtore the Conſtitution, but to lay "further Limitations upon the Royal power for a time," that they might not be expoſed to the mercy of an incenſed Prince as ſoon as he ſhould be delivered from the preſent Parliament. 'Tis true, his Majeſty offered a general Pardon at the breaking up of the Seſſion, but theſe Members were afraid to rely upon it, becauſe (as was ſaid) there was no appearance that his Majeſty would govern by Law for the future, any more than he had done before.

The King being made ſenſible of the deſigns of the Commons, watched all opportunities to diſperſe them, but not being able to gain his point, he determined to leave the two Houſes, and act no longer in concert with them, which was in effect to break them up; for to what purpoſe ſhould the Houſes ſit, if the King will paſs none of their Laws; and forbid his Subjects to obey any of their Votes or Ordi-

nances

nances without the Royal Aſſent? it was this divided and broke the Conſtitution, and reduced the Parliament to this dilemma, either to go home, and leave all things in the hands of the King and Queen, and their late Miniſtry; or to act by themſelves, as the Guardians of the People, in a time of imminent danger: Had they diſſolved themſelves, or ſtood ſtill while his Majeſty had garriſoned the ſtrong fortreſſes of Portſmouth and Hull, and got poſſeſſion of all the Arms, Artillery and Ammunition of the Kingdom; had they ſuffered the Fleet to fall into his Majeſty's hands, and gone on petitioning for the Militia, or for his Majeſty's return to his two Houſes of Parliament, till the Queen was returned with foreign Recruits, or the Iriſh at liberty to ſend his Majeſty aſſiſtance from thence, both they, and we their poſterity, muſt in all probability have been buried under the ruins of the liberties of our Country. The two Houſes were not inſenſible of the riſk they run in croſſing the meaſures of their Sovereign, under whoſe Government they thought they were to live, and who had Counſellors about him who would not fail to put him upon the ſevereſt repriſals as ſoon as the Sword of the Kingdom ſhould return into his hands; but they apprehended that their own and the publick ſafety was at ſtake; that the King was preparing to act againſt them, by raiſing extraordinary guards to his perſon, and ſending for Arms and Ammunition from abroad; therefore they ventur'd to make a ſtand in their own defence, and to perform ſuch Acts of Sovereignty as were neceſſary to put it out of the power of the Court to trample upon the Religion and Liberties of their Country.

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But though in a juſt and neceſſary War, 'tis of little moment to enquire who began it, 'tis nevertheleſs of great conſequence to conſider on which ſide the juſtice of it lies. Let us therefore take a ſhort view of the arguments on the King's ſide with the Parliament's Reply.

1. It was argued by the Royaliſts, "That all Grie- "vances both real and imaginary were removed by the "King's giving up Ship-Money, by his aboliſhing the "Court of Honour, the Star-Chamber, and High Com- "miſſion, and by his giving up the Biſhops Votes in Parli- "ament, &c.

The grounds and reaſons on which it proceeded. Claren. Vol. I. p. 262.

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The Parliament Writers own theſe to be very important Conceſſions, but far from comprehending all the real and imaginary Grievances of the Nation, for the Queen was ſtill at the head of his Majeſty's Councils, without whoſe approbation no conſiderable affairs of Government were tranſacted. None of the Authors of the late oppreſſions were brought to juſtice, except the Earl of Strafford; and 'tis more than probable, that if the Parliament were diſſolved they would not only be pardoned, but reſtored to favour. Though the Biſhops were deprived of their Seats in Parliament, yet the defects in the publick Service (which the Puritans complain'd of) were almoſt untouched; nor were any effectual Meaſures taken to prevent the growth of Popery, which threaten'd the ruin of the proteſtant Religion.

2. It was argued further, "That the King had provided "againſt any future oppreſſions of the Subject by conſent- "ing to the Act for Triennial Parliaments.

To which it was replied, that the Triennial Act, in the preſent ſituation of the Court, was not a ſufficient ſecurity of our Laws and Liberties; for ſuppoſe at the end of three years, when the King was in full poſſeſſion of the regal power, having all the Forts and Garriſons, Arms and Ammunition of the Kingdom at his diſpoſal, with his old Miniſtry about him, the Council ſhould declare, that the Neceſſity of his Majeſty's Affairs obliged him to diſpenſe with the Triennial Act, what Sheriff of a County, or other Officer, would venture to put it in execution? beſides, had not the King, from this very principle, ſuſpended and broke through the Laws of the Land for twelve years, before the ſetting of this preſent Parliament? and, did not his Majeſty yield to the new Laws with a manifeſt reluctancy? did he not affect to call them Acts of Grace and not of Juſtice? were not ſome of them extorted from him by ſuch arguments as theſe? "That his conſent to them being forced, "they were in themſelves invalid, and might be avoided in "better times." Lord Clarendon ſays, he had reaſon to believe this; and if his Lordſhip believed it, I can't ſee how it can be called in queſtion. Biſhop Burnet is of the ſame mind, for in the Hiſtory of his Life and Times he ſays, "That his Majeſty never came "into his conceſſions ſeaſonably, nor with a good Grace; "all appeared to be extorted from him; and there "were grounds to believe, that he intended not to "ſtand

Clarен. Vol. II. p. 430.

" to ſtand to them any longer, than he lay under that force " that viſibly drew them upon him, contrary to his Incli- " nations." To all which we may add the Words of Father Orleans the Jeſuit, who ſays, " That all Mankind be- " lieved at that time, that the King did not grant ſo much " but in order to revoke all." King Charles I. 1642.

3. But it was ſaid, " That the King had ſeen his miſ- " take, and had ſince vowed and proteſted in the moſt ſo- " lemn Manner, that for the future he would govern ac- " cording to Law.

To which it was replied; That if the Petition of Right ſo ſolemnly ratified from the Throne, in preſence of both Houſes of Parliament, was ſo quickly broke through, what dependance could be had upon the Royal Promiſe? For though the King himſelf might be a Prince of Virtue and Honour, yet his Speeches (ſays Mr. Rapin.) were full of Ambiguities and ſecret Reſerves, that left room for different Interpretations; beſides, many things were tranſacted without his Knowledge, and therefore ſo long as the Queen was at the Head of his Councils they looked upon his Royal Word but as the Promiſe of a Minor, or of a Man under ſuperior Direction, which was the moſt favourable Interpretation could be made of the many Violations of it in the courſe of fifteen years. " The Queen, who was " directed by Popiſh Counſels (ſays Biſhop Burnet) could, " by her ſovereign Power, make the King do whatſoever " ſhe pleaſed."

4. It was further urged, " That the Parliament had in- " vaded the Royal Prerogative, and uſurped the Legiſlative " Power, without his Majeſty's Conſent, by claiming the " Militia, and the Approbation of the chief Officers both " Civil and Military, and by requiring Obedience to their " Votes and Ordinances."

This the two Houſes admitted, and inſiſted upon it as their Right, in caſes of Neceſſity and of extreme Danger; of which Neceſſity and Danger, they, as the Guardians of the Nation, and two Parts in three of the Legiſlature, were the proper Judges: " The Queſtion is not (ſay they) " whether the King be the Fountain of Juſtice and Pro- " tection? or, Whether the Execution of the Laws be- " longs primarily to him? But if the King ſhall refuſe to " diſcharge that Duty and Truſt, and ſhall deſert his Par- " liament, and in a manner abdicate the Government, " Whether there be not a Power in the two Houſes to pro- " vide for the Safety and Peace of the Kingdom? or, If

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" there be no Parliament ſitting, whether the Nation does " not return to a State of Nature, and is not at liberty to " provide for its own defence by extraordinary methods?" This ſeems to have been the Caſe in the late Glorious Revolution of King William and Queen Mary, when the Conſtitution being broken, a Convention of the Nobility and Commonalty was ſummoned without the King's Writ, to reſtore the Religion and Liberties of the people, and place the Crown upon another Head.

5. But the King on his part maintained, " That there " was no Danger from him, but that all the Danger was " from a malignant party in the Parliament, who were " ſubverting the Conſtitution in Church and State. His " Majeſty averred, That God and the Laws had intruſted " him with the Guardianſhip and Protection of his people, " and that he would take ſuch care of them as he ſhould be " capable of anſwering for it to God."

With regard to Dangers and Fears the Parliament appealed to the whole world, Whether there were not juſt Grounds for them, after his Majeſty had broke through the Petition of Right, and attempted to break up the preſent Parliament, by bringing the Army to London; after he had entered their Houſe with an armed Force, to ſeize five of their Members; after he had deſerted his Parliament, and reſolved to act no longer in concert with them; after his Majeſty had begun to raiſe Forces under pretence of an extraordinary Guard to his Perſon, and endeavoured to get the Forts and Ammunition of the Kingdom into his Poſſeſſion, againſt the time when he ſhould receive Supplies from abroad; after they had ſeen the dreadful Effects of a bloody and unparallel'd Inſurrection and Maſſacre of the Proteſtants in Ireland, and were continually alarmed with the Increaſe, and inſolent Behaviour of the Papiſts at home; and laſtly, after they found it impracticable, by their moſt humble Petitions and Remonſtrances, to remove the Queen and her Cabal of Papiſts from the Direction of the King's Councils; after all theſe things (ſays they)

Rapin, p. 468.

" We muſt maintain the Grounds of our Fears to be of " that Moment, that we cannot diſcharge the Truſt and " Duty which lies upon us, unleſs we do apply ourſelves to " the uſe of thoſe means, which God and the Laws have " put into our hands, for the neceſſary defence and ſafety " of the Kingdom."

There

There were certainly ſtrong, and perhaps unreaſonable Jealouſies, and Apprehenſions of Danger on both Sides. The King complained, that he was driven from Whitehall by popular Tumults, where neither his Perſon nor Family were in Safety. He was jealous (as he ſaid) for the Laws and Liberties of his People, and was apprehenſive that his Parliament intended to change the Conſtitution, and to wreſt the Royal Scepter and Sword out of his hands. On the other Side, the two Houſes had their "Fears and Diſ-"truſts of their own and the publick Safety;" they were apprehenſive, that if they put all the Forts and Garriſons of the Kingdom, with the Power of the Sword, into the King's Hand, when they were diſſolved, his Majeſty, by the Influence of his Queen and his old Counſellors, would return to his Maxims of arbitrary Power, and never call another Parliament; that he would take ſevere Revenge upon thoſe Members that had expoſed his Government, and diſgraced his Miniſters; and, in a word, that he would break through the late Laws, as having been extorted from him by Violence and Force; but it was very much in the King's Power, even to the Treaty of Uxbridge in the year 1644-5, to have removed their Diſtruſts, and thereby have ſaved both Church and Nation; for, ſays the noble Hiſtorian, "The Parliament took none of the Points of "Controverſy leſs to Heart, or were leſs united in any "thing than what concerned the Church." And with regard to the State, "That many of them were for Peace, "provided they might have indemnity for what was paſſed, "and Security for time to come." Why then was not this Indemnity, and Security offered? Which muſt neceſſarily have divided the Parliamentarians, and obliged the moſt rigorous to recede from their high and exorbitant Demands? And by conſequence have reſtored the King to the peaceable poſſeſſion of his Throne.

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Jealouſies on both ſides.

Vol. II. p. 581, 594.

Upon the whole, if we believe with the noble Hiſtorian and the Writers on that Side, "That the King was "driven by Violence from his Palace at Whitehall, and "could not return with Safety; that all real and imagina-"ry Grievances of Church and State were redreſſed; and "that the Kingdom was ſufficiently ſecured from all future "Inroads of Popery and arbitrary Power by the Laws in "being;" then the Juſtice and Equity of the War was "moſt certainly with the King. But if we believe, "That the King voluntarily deſerted his Parliament, and "that it was owing alone to his Majeſty's own peremp-

The Concluſion.

King Charles I. 1642.

" tory reſolution, that he would not return (as Lord Cla-
" rendon obſerves.) If by this means the Conſtitution was
" broken, and the ordinary courſe of Juſtice neceſſarily
" interrupted. If there were ſundry Grievances ſtill to be
" redreſſed, and the King reſolved to ſhelter himſelf under
" the Laws in being, and to make no further conceſſions.
" If there were juſt reaſons to fear, with Biſhop Burnet
" and Father Orleans, that the King would abide by the
" late laws no longer than he was under that force that
" brought them upon him." In a word, " If in the Judg-
" ment of the majority of Lords and Commons, the king-
" dom was in imminent danger of the return of Popery and
" arbitrary Power, and his Majeſty would not condeſcend
" ſo much as to a temporary Security for their ſatisfaction;"
then we muſt conclude, that the Cauſe of the Parliament, at the ſetting out of the War, and for ſome years after, was not only juſtifiable, but commendable and glorious; eſpecially, if we may believe their moſt ſolemn Proteſtation, in the Preſence of Almighty God, to the Kingdom and the whole World; " That no private paſſion or reſpect, no evil
" intention to his Majeſty's Perſon, no deſigns to the pre-
" judice of his juſt Honour or Authority, had engaged them
" to raiſe Forces, and take up arms againſt the Authors of
" this War in which the Kingdom is inflamed."

Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part 3d. p. 26.]

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

ARTICLES of RELIGION agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin in the Year of our Lord 1615. for the avoiding of Diverſities of Opinions, and the eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion.

N. B. In theſe Articles are comprehended almoſt Word for Word the nine Articles agreed on at Lambeth the 20th of November 1595. This Mark † in the Margin points at each of them, and their Number.

Of the Holy Scripture and the three Creeds.

1. THE Ground of our Religion, and the Rule of Faith, and all ſaving Truth, is the Word of God, contained in the Holy Scripture.

2. By the name of Holy Suripture we nnderſtand all the Canonical Books of the Old and new Teſtament, viz.

Of

Of the Old Teſtament.

The five Books of Moſes,
Joſhua,
Judges,
Ruth,
The firſt and ſecond of Samuel,
The firſt and ſecond of Kings,
The firſt and ſecond of Chronicles,
Ezra,
Nehemiah,
Eſther,
Job,
Pſalms,
Proverbs,
Eccleſiaſtes,
The Song of Solomon,
Iſaiah,
Jeremiah, his Propheſy and Lamentations,
Ezekiel,
Daniel,
The Twelve leſs Prophets.

Of the New Teſtament.

The Goſpels according to Matthew,
Mark,
Luke,
John,
The Acts of the Apoſtles,
The Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans,
The firſt and ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians,
Galatians,
Epheſians,
Philippians,
Coloſſians,
The firſt and ſecond Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians,
The firſt and ſecond Epiſtle to Timothy,
Titus,
Philemon,
Hebrews,
The Epiſtle of St. James,
The two Epiſtles of St. Peter,
The three Epiſtles of St. John,
St. Jude,
The Revelation of St. John.

All which we acknowledge to be given by the Inſpiration of God, and in that regard to be of moſt certain Credit and higheſt Authority.

3. The other Books, commonly called Apocryphal, did not proceed from ſuch inſpiration, and therefore are not of ſufficient Authority to eſtabliſh any Point of Doctrine; but the Church doth read them as Books containing many worthy Things for Example of Life and Inſtruction of Manners.

Such

Such are theſe following;

The third Book of Eſdras,
The fourth Book of Eſdras,
The Book of Tobias,
The Book of Judith,
Additions to the Book of Eſther,
The Book of Wiſdom,
The Book of Jeſus the Son of Sirach, called Eccleſiaſticus,
Baruch, with the Epiſtle of Jeremiah,
The Song of the three Children,
Suſanna,
Bell and the Dragon,
The Prayer of Manaſſes,
The firſt Book of Maccabees,
The ſecond Book of Maccabees.

4. The Scriptures ought to be tranſlated out of the Original Tongues into all Languages, for the common Uſe of all Men. Neither is any Perſon to be diſcouraged from reading the Bible in ſuch a Language as he doth underſtand, but ſeriouſly exhorted to read the ſame with great Humility and Reverence, as a ſpecial Means to bring him to the true Knowledge of God, and of his own Duty.

5. Although there be ſome hard things in the Scripture (eſpecially ſuch as have proper relation to the times in which they are firſt uttered, and propheſies of things which were afterwards to be fulfilled) yet all things neceſſary to be known unto everlaſting Salvation are clearly delivered therein; and nothing of that Kind is ſpoken under dark Myſteries in one place, which is not in other places ſpoken more familiarly and plainly to the capacity both of learned and unlearned.

6. The Holy Scriptures contain all Things neceſſary to Salvation, and are able to inſtruct ſufficiently in all Points of Faith that we are bound to believe, and all good Duties that we are bound to practiſe.

7. All and every the Articles contained in the Nicene Creed, the Creed of Athanaſius, and that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, ought firmly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by moſt certain Warrant of Holy Scripture.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

8. THERE is but one Living and true God everlaſting, without Body, Parts, or Paſſions, of infinite Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs; the Maker and Preſerver of all Things, both viſible and inviſible. And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Perſons of One and the ſame Subſtance, Power and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

9. The Eſſence of the Father doth not beget the Eſſence of the Son; but the Perſon of the Father begetteth the Perſon of the Son, by communicating his whole Eſſence to the Perſon begotten from Eternity.

10. The Holy Ghoſt proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Subſtance, Majeſty and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

Of God's eternal Decree, and Predeſtination.

11. GOD from all Eternity did, by his unchangeable Counſel, ordain whatſoever in time ſhould come to paſs; yet ſo, as thereby no Violence is offered to the Wills of the reaſonable Creatures, and neither the Liberty nor the Contingency of the ſecond Cauſes is taken away, but eſtabliſhed rather.

† I. 12. "By the ſame eternal Counſel God hath predeſti-
" nated ſome unto Life, and reprobated ſome unto Death;
† III. " of both which there is a certain Number, known only
" to God, which can neither be increaſed nor diminiſh-
" ed."

13. Predeſtination to Life is the everlaſting Purpoſe of God, whereby before the Foundations of the World were laid, he hath conſtantly decreed in his ſecret Counſel, to deliver from Curſe and Damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of Mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt unto everlaſting Salvation, as Veſſels made to Honour.

† II. 14. "The Cauſe moving God to predeſtinate unto
" Life, is not the foreſeeing of Faith, or Perſeverance, or
" good Works, or of any Thing which is in the Perſon
" pedeſtinated, but only the good Pleaſure of God him-
" ſelf." For all Things being ordained for the Manifeſtation of his Glory, and his Glory being to appear, both in the

the Works of his Mercy and of his Juſtice, it ſeemed good to his heavenly Wiſdom to chooſe out a certain Number towards whom he would extend his undeſerved Mercy, leaving the reſt to be Spectacles of his Juſtice.

15. Such as are predeſtinated unto Life be called according unto God's Purpoſe (his Spirit working in due Seaſon) and through Grace they obey the Calling, they be juſtified freely; they be made Sons of God by Adoption; they be made like the Image of his only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt, they walk religiouſly in good Works, and at length by God's Mercy they attain to everlaſting Felicity. "But ſuch as IV. †
"are not predeſtinated to Salvation ſhall finally be condem-
"ned for their Sins."

16. The godly Conſideration of Predeſtination, and our Election in Chriſt, is full of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable Comfort to godly Perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the Working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying the Works of the Fleſh, and their earthly Members, and drawing up their Minds to high and heavenly Things, as well becauſe it doth greatly confirm and eſtabliſh their Faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their Love towards God; and on the contrary ſide, for curious and carnal Perſons, lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their Eyes the Sentence of God's Predeſtination, is very dangerous.

17. We muſt receive God's Promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth unto us in Holy Scripture; and in our Doings, that Will of God is to be followed which we have expreſly declared unto us in the Word of God.

Of the Creation and Government of all Things.

18. IN the Beginning of Time, when no Creature had any Being, God by his Word alone, in the Space of ſix Day, created all Things; and afterwards by his Providence doth continue, propagate, and order them according to his own Will.

19. The principal Creatures are Angels and Men.

20. Of Angels, ſome continued in that holy State wherein they were created, and are by God's Grace for ever eſtabliſhed therein; others fell from the ſame, and are reſerved in Chains of Darkneſs unto the Judgment of the great Day.

21. Man

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the Image of God (which conſiſted eſpecially in the Wiſdom of his Mind, and the true holineſs of his Free-will) had the Covenant of the Law ingrafted in his heart, whereby God did promiſe unto him everlaſting Life, upon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience unto his Commandments, according to that meaſure of ſtrength wherewith he was endued in his Creation, and threaten'd death unto him if he did not perform the ſame.

Of the Fall of Man, Original Sin, and the State of Man before Juſtification.

22. BY one man Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin, and ſo Death went over all men, for as much as all have ſinned.

23. Original Sin ſtandeth not in the imitation of Adam (as the Pelagians dream) but is the fault and corruption of the nature of every perſon that naturally is ingender'd and propagated from Adam, whereby it cometh to paſs, that man is deprived of original righteouſneſs, and by nature is bent unto Sin; and therefore in every Perſon born into the world it deſerveth God's Wrath and Damnation.

24. This Corruption of Nature doth remain even in thoſe that are regenerated, whereby the fleſh always luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and cannot be made ſubject to the Law of God. And howſoever, for Chriſt ſake, there be no condemnation to ſuch as are regenerate and do believe, yet doth the Apoſtle acknowledge, that in itſelf this concu-
† IX. piſcence hath the nature of Sin.

25. "The condition of Man, after the Fall of Adam "is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf, by "his own natural ſtrength and good works, to faith, "and calling upon God." Wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleaſing and acceptable unto God, without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

26. Works done before the grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſing unto God, for as much as they ſpring not of Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, neither do they make men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors ſay) deſerve Grace of Congruity; yea rather,

ther, for that they are not done in ſuch ſort as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they are ſinful.

27. All ſins are not equal, but ſome far more heinous than others; yet the very leaſt is of its own nature mortal, and without God's Mercy maketh the offender liable unto everlaſting damnation.

28. God is not the author of Sin; howbeit he doth not only permit, but alſo by his providence govern and order the ſame, guiding it in ſuch ſort by his infinite Wiſdom, as it turneth to the manifeſtation of his own Glory, and to the good of his Elect.

Of Chriſt, the Mediator of the ſecond Covenant.

29. THE Son, which is the word of the Father, begotten from everlaſting of the Father, the true and eternal God, of one Subſtance with the Father, took man's nature in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin, of her ſubſtance; ſo that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to ſay, the Godhead and Manhood, were inſeparably joined in one Perſon, making one Chriſt, very God and very man.

30. Chriſt, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, Sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his Life and in his Nature. He came as a Lamb without ſpot to take away the Sins of the World, by the ſacrifice of himſelf once made, and Sin (as St. John ſaith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for us perfectly; for our ſakes he endured moſt grievous torments immediately in his Soul, and moſt painful ſufferings in his Body. He was crucified, and died to reconcile his Father unto us; and to be a ſacrifice not only for original guilt, but alſo for all our actual tranſgreſſions. He was buried and deſcended into Hell, and the third day roſe from the dead, and took again his body, with fleſh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth at the right hand of his Father, until he return to judge all men at the laſt day.

Of the communicating of the Grace of Chriſt.

31. THEY are to be condemned that preſume to ſay, that every man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature; for holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us only the name of Jeſus Chriſt whereby men muſt be ſaved.

† VIII. 32. "None can come unto Chriſt unleſs it be given unto "him, and unleſs the Father draw him. And all men are "not ſo drawn by the Father, that they may come † VII. "unto the Son; neither is there ſuch a ſufficient meaſure "of Grace vouchſafed unto every man, whereby he is "enabled to come unto everlaſting Life."

33. All God's Elect are in their time inſeparably united unto Chriſt, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghoſt, derived from him, as from the Head, unto every true member of his myſtical Body. And being thus made one with Chriſt they are truly regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his Benefits.

Of Juſtification and Faith.

34. WE are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, applied by Faith, and not for our own Works or Merits. And this Righteouſneſs, which we ſo receive of God's Mercy and Chriſt's Merits, embraced by Faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full Juſtification.

35. Although this Juſtification be free unto us, yet it cometh not ſo freely unto us, that there is no ranſom paid therefore at all. God ſhewed his great Mercy in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring of any ranſom to be paid, or amends to be made on our parts, which thing by us had been unpoſſible to be done. And whereas all the world was not able of themſelves to pay any part towards their ranſom, it pleaſed our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any deſert of ours, to provide for us the moſt precious merits of his own Son, whereby our Ranſom might be fully paid, the Law fulfilled, and his Juſtice fully ſatisfied; ſo that Chriſt is now the Righteouſneſs of all them that truly believe in him:

He

He for them paid their Ranſom by his Death; he for them fulfilled the Law in his Life; that now in him, and by him, every true Chriſtian Man may be called a Fulfiller of the Law; for as much as that which our Infirmity was not able to effect, Chriſt's Juſtice hath performed; and thus the Juſtice and Mercy of God do embrace each other, the Grace of God not ſhutting out the Juſtice of God in the matter of our Juſtification, but only ſhutting out the Juſtice of Man (that is to ſay, the Juſtice of our own Works) from being any Cauſe of deſerving our Juſtification.

36. When we ſay, that we are juſtified by Faith only, we do not mean, that the ſaid juſtifying Faith is alone in Man without true Repentance, Hope, Charity, and the Fear of God; (for ſuch a Faith is dead, and cannot juſtify) neither do we mean, that this our Act to believe in Chriſt, or this our Faith in Chriſt, which is within us, doth of it ſelf juſtify us, or deſerve our Juſtification unto us (for that were to account ourſelves to be juſtified by the Virtue or Dignity of ſomething that is within ourſelves;) but the true Underſtanding and Meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's Word and believe it; although we have Faith, Hope, Charity, Repentance, and the Fear of God within us, and add never ſo many good Works thereunto, yet we muſt renounce the Merit of all our ſaid Virtues, of Faith, Hope, Charity, and all our other Virtues and good Deeds, which we either have done, ſhall do, or can do, as Things that be far too weak and unperfect, and unſufficient to deſerve Remiſſion of our Sins and our Juſtification; and therefore we muſt truſt only in God's Mercy, and the Merits of his moſt dearly beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour, and Juſtifier, Jeſus Chriſt. Nevertheleſs, becauſe Faith doth directly ſend us to Chriſt for our Juſtification, and that by Faith, given us of God, we embrace the Promiſe of God's Mercy, and the Remiſſion of our Sins (which Thing none other of our Virtues or Works properly doth) therefore the Scripture uſeth to ſay, that "Faith without Works," and the antient Fathers of the Church to the ſame purpoſe, that "only Faith" doth juſtify us.

37. By juſtifying Faith we underſtand not only the common Belief of the Articles of Chriſtian Religion, and a Perſwaſion of the Truth of God's Word in general, but alſo a particular Application of the gracious Promiſes of

the Goſpel to the Comfort of our own Souls, whereby we lay hold on Chriſt with all his Benefits, having an earneſt Truſt and Confidence in God, that he will be merciful
† VI. unto us for his only Son's ſake. "So that a true Believer "may be certain, by the Aſſurance of Faith, of the For- "giveneſs of his Sins, and of his everlaſting Salvation by "Chriſt."

† V. 38. "A true lively juſtifying Faith, and the ſanctifying "Spirit of God, is not extinguiſhed, nor vaniſheth away in "the regenerate, either finally or totally."

Of Sanctification and good Works.

39. ALL that are juſtified are likewiſe ſanctified, their Faith being always accompanied with true Repentance and good Works.

40. Repentance is a Gift of God, whereby a godly Sorrow is wrought in the Heart of the Faithful for offending God, their merciful Father, by their former Tranſgreſſions, together with a conſtant Reſolution for the time to come to cleave unto God, and to lead a new Life.

41. Albeit that good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Juſtification, cannot make Satisfaction for our Sins, and endure the Severity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleaſing to God, and accepted of him in Chriſt, and do ſpring from a true and lively Faith, which by them is to be diſcerned, as a Tree by the Fruit.

42. The Works which God would have his People to walk in, are ſuch as he hath commanded in his Holy Scripture, and not ſuch Works as Men have deviſed out of their own Brain, of a blind Zeal and Devotion, without the Warrant of the Word of God.

43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the Law of God perfectly in this Life, for in many Things we offend all; "and if "we ſay we have no Sin, we deceive ourſelves, and the "Truth is not in us."

44. Not every heinous Sin willingly committed after Baptiſm, is Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt and unpardonable; and therefore to ſuch as fall into Sin after Baptiſm, place for Repentance is not to be denied.

45. Voluntary Works, beſides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety; for

for by them Men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his ſake than of bounden Duty is required.

Of the Service of God.

46. OUR Duty towards God, is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all our Hearts, with all our Mind, and with all our Soul, and with all our Strength; to worſhip him and to give him thanks, to put our whole Truſt in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy Name and his Word, and to ſerve him truly all the Days of our Life.

47. In all our neceſſities we ought to have recourſe unto God by Prayer, aſſuring ourſelves, that whatſoever we aſk of the Father in the Name of his Son (our only Mediator and Interceſſor) Chriſt Jeſus, and according to his Will, he will undoubtedly grant it.

48. We ought to prepare our Hearts before we pray, and underſtand the Things that we aſk when we pray, that both our Hearts and Voices may together ſound in the Ears of God's Majeſty.

49. When Almighty God ſmiteth us with Affliction, or ſome great Calamity hangeth over us, or any other weighty Cauſe ſo requireth, it is our Duty to humble ourſelves in faſting, to bewail our Sins with a ſorrowful Heart, and to addict ourſelves to earneſt Prayer, that it might pleaſe God to turn his Wrath from us, or ſupply us with ſuch Graces as we greatly ſtand in need of.

50. Faſting is a with-holding of Meat, Drink, and all natural Food, with other outward Delights, from the Body, for the determined Time of Faſting. "As for thoſe Abſti-"nencies which are appointed by publick Order of our "State, for eating of Fiſh, and forbearing of Fleſh at cer-"tain Times and Days appointed, they are no ways meant "to be religious Faſts nor intended for the Maintenance of "any Superſtition in the Choice of Meats, but are groun-"ded meerly upon politick Conſiderations, for Proviſion of "Things tending to the better Preſervation of the Com-"monwealth."

51. We muſt not faſt with this Perſuaſion of Mind, that our faſting can bring us to Heaven, or aſcribe outward Holineſs to the Work wrought; for God alloweth not our Faſt for the Work's ſake (which of itſelf is a Thing meerly indifferent)

different) but chiefly reſpecteth the Heart, how it is affected therein; it is therefore requiſite, that firſt before all Things we cleanſe our Hearts from Sin, and then direct our Faſt to ſuch Ends as God will allow to be good; that the Fleſh may thereby be chaſtiſed, the Spirit may be more fervent in Prayer, and that our Faſting may be a Teſtimony of our humble Submiſſion to God's Majeſty, when we acknowledge our Sins unto him, and are inwardly touched with ſorrowfulneſs of Heart, bewailing the ſame in the Affliction of our Bodies.

52. All worſhip deviſed by Man's Fantaſy, beſides or contrary to the Scriptures (as wandering on Pilgrimages, ſetting up of Candles, Stations, and Jubilies, Phariſaical Sects, and feigned Religions, praying upon Beads, and ſuch like Superſtition) hath not only no Promiſe of Reward in Scripture, but contrariwiſe, Threatnings and Maledictions.

53. All manner of expreſſing God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, in an outward Form, is utterly unlawful; as alſo all other Images deviſed or made by Man to the Uſe of Religion.

54. All religious Worſhip ought to be given to God alone, from whom all Goodneſs, Health and Grace ought to be both aſked and looked for, as from the very Author and Giver of the ſame, and from none other.

55. The Name of God is to be uſed with all Reverence and holy Reſpect, and therefore all vain and raſh Swearing is utterly to be condemned; yet notwithſtanding upon lawful Occaſions, an Oath may be given and taken, according to the Word of God, Juſtice, Judgment, and Truth.

56. The firſt Day of the Week, which is the Lord's Day, is wholly to be dedicated to the Service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to reſt from our common and daily Buſineſs, and to beſtow that Leiſure upon holy Exerciſes, both publick and private.

Of the Civil Magiſtrate.

57. THE King's Majeſty under God hath the Sovereign and chief Power, within his Realms and Dominions, over all manner of Perſons, of what Eſtate, either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, ſoever they be, ſo as no other foreign Power hath or ought to have any Superiority over them.

58. We

58. We do profeſs, that the ſupreme Government of all Eſtates within the ſaid Realms and Dominions, in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, doth of right appertain to the King's Highneſs. Neither do we give unto him hereby the Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, or the Power of the Keys, but that Prerogative only which we ſee to have been always given unto all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himſelf; that is, that he ſhould contain all Eſtates and Degrees committed to his Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, within their Duty, and reſtrain the Stubborn and Evil-Doers with the Power of the Civil Sword.

59. The Pope neither of himſelf, nor by any Authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other Means with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depoſe the King, or diſpoſe any of his Kingdoms or Dominions, or to authorize any other Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to diſcharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majeſty, or to give Licenſe or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raiſe Tumult, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to his Royal Perſon, State or Government, or to any of his Subjects within his Majeſty's Dominions.

60. That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be depoſed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever, is impious Doctrine.

61. The Laws of the Realm may puniſh Chriſtian Men with death for heinous and grievous Offences.

62. It is lawful for Chriſtian Men, at the Commandment of the Magiſtrate, to bear Arms, and to ſerve in juſt Wars.

Of our Duty towards our Neighbours.

63. OUR Duty towards our Neighbours, is to love them as ourſelves, and to do to all Men as we would they ſhould do to us; to honour and obey our Superiors; to preſerve the Safety of Mens Perſons, as alſo their Chaſtity, Goods and good Names; to bear no Malice nor Hatred in our Hearts; to keep our Bodies in Temperance, Soberneſs and Chaſtity; to be true and juſt in all our Doings; not to covet other Mens Goods, but labour truly to get our own Living, and to do our Duty in

that Eſtate of Life unto which it pleaſeth God to call us.

64. For the Preſervation of the Chaſtity of Mens Perſons, Wedlock is commanded unto all Men that ſtand in need thereof. Neither is there any Prohibition by the Word of God, but that the Miniſters of the Church may enter into the State of Matrimony, they being no where commanded by God's Law, either to vow the Eſtate of ſingle Life, or to abſtain from Marriage; therefore it is lawful alſo for them, as well as for all other Chriſtian Men, to marry at their own Diſcretion, as they ſhall judge the ſame to ſerve better to Godlineſs.

65. The Riches and Goods of Chriſtians are not common, as touching the Right, Title, and Poſſeſſion of the ſame, as certain Anabaptiſts falſely affirm; notwithſtanding every Man ought of ſuch Things as he poſſeſſeth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor, according to his Ability.

66. Faith given is to be kept, even with Hereticks and Infidels.

67. The Popiſh Doctrine of Equivocation and Mental Reſervation is moſt ungodly, and tendeth plainly to the Subverſion of all human Society.

Of the Church, and outward Miniſtry of the Goſpel.

68. THERE is but one Catholick Church (out of which there is no Salvation) containing the univerſal Company of all the Saints that ever were, are, or ſhall be, gathered together in one Body, under one Head, Chriſt Jeſus; part whereof is already in Heaven triumphant, part as yet militant here upon Earth. And becauſe this Church conſiſteth of all thoſe, and thoſe alone, which are elected by God unto Salvation, and regenerated by the Power of his Spirit, the Number of whom is known only to God himſelf, therefore it is called the Catholick or Univerſal, and the Inviſible Church.

69. But particular and viſible Churches (conſiſting of thoſe who make Profeſſion of the Faith of Chriſt, and live under the outward Means of Salvation) be many in number; wherein, the more or leſs ſincerely, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, the Word of God is taught, the Sacraments are adminiſter'd, and the Authority of the Keys is uſed, the more or leſs pure are ſuch Churches to be accounted.

70. Al-

70. Although in the viſible Church the Evil be ever ngled with the Good; and ſometimes the Evil have chief uthority in the Miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments, yet for as much as they do not the ſame in their own Name, but in Chriſt's, and miniſter by his Commiſſion and Authority, we may uſe their Miniſtry both in hearing the Word, and in receiving the Sacraments. Neither is the Effect of Chriſt's Ordinance taken away by their Wickedneſs, nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminiſhed from ſuch, as by Faith, and rightly do receive the Sacraments miniſtred unto them, which are effectual, becauſe of Chriſt's Inſtitution and Promiſe, although they be miniſter'd by evil Men. Nevertheleſs it appertaineth to the Diſcipline of the Church, that Inquiry be made of evil Miniſters, and that they be accuſed by thoſe that have Knowledge of their Offences, and finally being found guilty, by juſt Judgment be depoſed.

71. It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching, or miniſtring the Sacraments of the Church, unleſs he be firſt lawfully called, and ſent to execute the ſame. And thoſe we ought to judge lawfully called and ſent, which be choſen and called to this Work by Men, who have publick Authority given them in the Church, to call and ſend Miniſters into the Lord's Vineyard.

72. To have publick Prayer in the Church, or to adminiſter the Sacraments in a Tongue not underſtood of the People, is a Thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church.

73. That Perſon which by publick Denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the Faithful as a Heathen and Publican, until by Repentance he be openly reconciled and received into the Church, by the Judgment of ſuch as have Authority in that behalf.

74. God hath given Power to his Miniſters not ſimply to forgive Sins (which Prerogative he hath reſerved only to himſelf) but in his name to declare and pronounce unto ſuch as truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Goſpel, the Abſolution and Forgiveneſs of Sins. Neither is it God's Pleaſure, that his People ſhould he tied to make a particular Confeſſion of all their known Sins unto any mortal Man; howſoever, any Perſon grieved in his Conſcience upon any ſpecial Cauſe, may well reſort

unto any godly and learned Miniſter, to receive Advice and Comfort at his Hands.

Of the Authority of the Church, general Councils, and Biſhop of Rome.

75. IT is not lawful for the Church to ordain any Thing that is contrary to God's Word; neither may it ſo expound one Place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a Witneſs, and a Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any Thing againſt the ſame, ſo beſides the ſame ought it not to enforce any Thing to be believed upon Neceſſity of Salvation.

76. General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes; and when they be gathered together (for as much as they be an Aſſembly of Men not always governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and ſometimes have erred, even in Things pertaining to the Rule of Piety; wherefore Things ordained by them as neceſſary to Salvation, have neither Strength nor Authority, unleſs it may be ſhewed that they be taken out of Holy Scriptures.

77. Every particular Church hath Authority to inſtitute, to change, and clean to put away Ceremonies and other Eccleſiaſtical Rites, as they be ſuperfluous, or be abuſed, and to conſtitute other, making more to Seemlineſs, to Order, or Edification.

78. As the Churches of Jeruſalem, Alexandria and Antioch have erred, ſo alſo the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in thoſe things which concern Matters of Practice and Point of Ceremonies, but alſo in Matters of Faith.

79. The Power which the Biſhop of Rome now challengeth, to be the ſupreme Head of the univerſal Church of Chriſt, and to be above all Emperors, Kings and Princes, is an uſurped Power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the Example of the Primitive Church, and therefore is for moſt juſt Cauſes taken away and aboliſhed, within the King's Majeſty's Realms and Dominions.

80. The Biſhop of Rome is ſo far from being the ſupreme Head of the univerſal Church of Chriſt, that his Works and Doctrine do plainly diſcover him to be "that

"Man

" Man of Sin foretold in the Holy Scriptures, whom the " Lord ſhall conſume with the Spirit of his Mouth, and " aboliſh with the Brightneſs of his Coming.

Of the State of the Old and New Teſtament.

81. IN the Old Teſtament the Commandments of the Law were more largely, and the Promiſes of Chriſt more ſparingly and darkly propounded; ſhadowed with a Multitude of Types and Figures, and ſo much the more generally and obſcurely delivered as the manifeſting of them was farther of.

82. The Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Teſtament everlaſting Life is offered to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man; wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old Fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes, for they looked for all the Benefits of God the Father through the Merits of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as we now do; only they believed in Chriſt which ſhould come, we in Chriſt already come.

83. The New Teſtament is full of Grace and Truth, bringing joyful Tidings unto Mankind, that whatſoever formerly was promiſed of Chriſt is now accompliſhed; and ſo inſtead of the ancient Types and Ceremonies exhibiteth the Things themſelves, with a large and clear Declaration of all the Benefits of the Goſpel. Neither is the Miniſtry thereof reſtrained any longer to one circumciſed Nation, but is indifferently propounded unto all People, whether they be Jews or Gentiles; ſo that there is now no Nation which can truly complain, that they be ſhut forth from the Communion of Saints, and the Liberties of the People of God.

84. Although the Law given from God by Moſes, as touching Ceremonies and Rites be aboliſhed, and the civil Precepts thereof be not of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding, no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is freed from the Obedience of the Commandments, which are called Moral.

Of the Sacraments of the New Teſtament.

85. THE Sacraments ordained by Chriſt be not only Badges or Tokens of Chriſtian Mens Profeſſion, but

but rather certain ſure Witneſſes, and effectual or powerful ſigns of Grace and God's Good-Will towards us, by which he doth work inviſibly in us, and not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

86. There be two Sacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel, that is to ſay, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper.

87. Thoſe five which by the Church of Rome are called Sacraments, to wit, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony and Extreme Unction, are not to be accounted Sacraments of the Goſpel, being ſuch as have partly grown from corrupt imitation of the Apoſtles, partly are States of Life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like Nature of Sacraments with Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any viſible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God, together with a Promiſe of ſaving Grace annexed thereunto.

88. The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholeſome Effect and Operation; but they that receive them unworthily thereby draw Judgment upon themſelves.

Of Baptiſm.

89. BAptiſm is not only an outward Sign of our Profeſſion, and a Note of Difference, whereby Chriſtians are diſcerned from ſuch as are no Chriſtians; but much more a Sacrament of our Admiſſion into the Church, ſealing unto us our new Birth (and conſequently our Juſtification, Adoption, and Sanctification) by the Communion which we have with Jeſus Chriſt.

90. The Baptiſm of Infants is to be retained in the Church as agreeable to the Word of God.

91. In the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, Exorciſm, Oil, Salt, Spittle, and ſuperſtitious hallowing of the Water, are for juſt Cauſes aboliſhed; and without them the Sacrament is fully and perfectly adminiſter'd, to all Intents and Purpoſes, agreeable to the Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt.

Of the Lord's Supper.

92. THE Lord's Supper is not only a Sign of the mutual Love which Chriſtians ought to bear one towards another,

another, but much more a Sacrament of our Preſervation in the Church, ſealing unto us our ſpiritual Nouriſhment, and continual Growth in Chriſt.

93. The Change of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine into the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, commonly called Tranſubſtantiation, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to plain Teſtimonies of the Scripture, overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath given Occaſion to moſt groſs Idolatry and manifold Superſtitions.

94. In the outward part of the Holy Communion the Body and Blood of Chriſt is in a moſt lively Manner repreſented, being no otherwiſe preſent with the viſible Elements than things ſignified and ſealed are preſented with the Signs and Seals; that is to ſay, ſymbolically and relatively. But in the inward and ſpiritual Part, the ſame Body and Blood is really and ſubſtantially preſented unto all thoſe who have Grace to receive the Son of God, even to all thoſe that believe in his Name. And unto ſuch as in this manner do worthily and with Faith repair unto the Lord's Table, the Body and Blood of Chriſt is not only ſignified and offered, but alſo truly exhibited and communicated.

95. The Body of Chriſt is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper, only after an heavenly and ſpiritual Manner; and the mean whereby the Body of Chriſt is thus received and eaten, is Faith.

96. The Wicked, and ſuch as want a lively Faith, although they do carnally and viſibly (as St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh) preſs with their Teeth the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, yet in no wiſe are they made Partakers of Chriſt, but rather to their Condemnation, do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of ſo great a thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and the Practice of the ancient Church, ought to be miniſter'd unto all God's People; and it is plain Sacrilege to rob them of the myſtical Cup for whom Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious Blood.

98. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Chriſt's Ordinance reſerved, carried about, lifted up, or worſhipped.

99. The

99. The Sacrifice of the Maſs, wherein the Prieſt is ſaid to offer up Chriſt for obtaining the Remiſſion of Pain or Guilt for the Quick and the Dead, is neither agreeable to Chriſt's Ordinance, nor grounded upon Doctrine Apoſtolick; but contrariwiſe moſt ungodly, and moſt injurious to that All-ſufficient Sacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt, offered once for ever upon the Croſs, which is the only Propitiation and Satisfaction for all our Sins.

100. Private Maſs, that is the receiving of the Euchariſt by the Prieſt alone, without a competent Number of Communicants, is contrary to the Inſtitution of Chriſt.

Of the State of the Souls of Men, after they be departed out of this Life, together with the general Reſurrection and the laſt Judgment.

101. AFter this Life is ended, the Souls of God's Children be preſently received into Heaven, there to enjoy unſpeakable Comforts; the Souls of the Wicked are caſt into Hell, there to endure endleſs Torments.

102. The Doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning "Limbus Patrum, Limbus Puerorum, Purgatory, Prayer for the Dead, Pardons, Adoration of Images and Relicks, and alſo Invocation of Saints," is vainly invented, without all Warrant of Holy Scripture, yea, and is contrary to the ſame.

103. At the end of this World the Lord Jeſus ſhall come in the Clouds with the Glory of his Father; at which time, by the Almighty Power of God, the Living ſhall be changed, and the Dead ſhall be raiſed, and all ſhall appear both in Body and Soul before his Judgment Seat, "to receive according to that which they have done in their Bodies, whether good or evil."

104. When the laſt Judgment is finiſhed Chriſt ſhall deliver up the Kingdom to his Father, and God ſhall be all in all.

The Decree of the Synod.

IF any Miniſter, of what Degree or Quality ſoever he be, ſhall publickly teach any Doctrine contrary to theſe Articles agreed upon; if after due Admonition he do not conform himſelf, and ceaſe to diſturb the peace of the Church, let him be ſilenced, and deprived of all ſpiritual Promotions he doth enjoy.

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